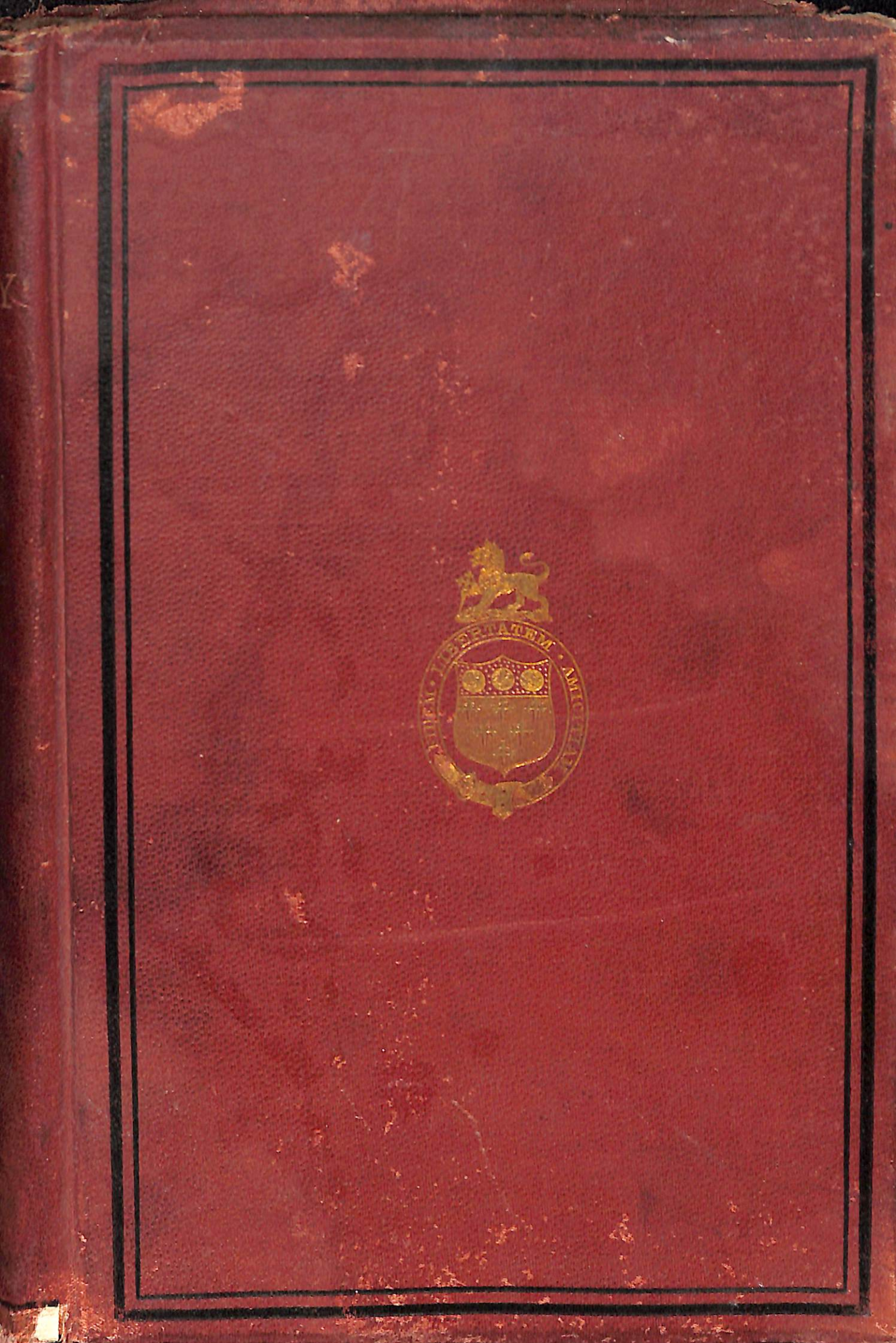
LIBERTATEM

MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

COMPRISING PORTIONS OF

HIS DIARY FROM 1795 TO 1848.

EDITED BY

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

VOL. II.

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GEORGE INSTITUTE
51 St. & LANCASTER AVE.
Philadelphia

CHAPTER VII.

THE MISSION TO RUSSIA.

Eternal Spirit! Ruler of the skies!
From whom all good and perfect gifts arise,
Oh! grant that while this feeble hand portrays
The fleeting image of my earthly days,
Still the firm purpose of my heart may be
Good to mankind, and gratitude to thee!
And while the page a true resemblance bears
Of all my changes through a life of cares,
Let not one worthless deed here claim a place,
To stain the future, or the past disgrace,
Nor yet one thought the faithful record swell
But such as virtue may delight to tell.

Saturday, August 5th, 1809. At noon this day I left my house, at the corner of Boylston and Nassau Streets, in Boston, accompanied by my wife, my youngest child, Charles Francis, my wife's sister, Catherine Johnson, my nephew and private secretary, William Steuben Smith, Martha Godfrey, who attends my wife as her chambermaid, and a black man-servant named Nelson, to embark on a voyage to Russia, charged with a commission as Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to that Court. We went in a carriage over Charles River Bridge to Mr. William Gray's wharf in Charlestown, and there went on board his ship Horace, Captain Beckford, fitted out on a voyage to St. Petersburg direct. We found already on the ship Mr. Alexander H. Everett and Mr. Francis C. Gray, who are going

with me, as secretaries attached to the Legation, but at their own expense. Mr. and Mrs. Gray were also at the vessel, with two of their other sons. There were also a number of gentlemen there, who took leave of us at the wharf. We left it precisely as the Boston and Charlestown bells were ringing one o'clock. Dr. Welsh and my brother went with us down the harbor, and some short distance without the light-house. We received our passage salutes at the Navy Yard in Charlestown, at Fort Independence on Castle Island, the garrison of which was paraded as we passed; from the revenue cutter Massachusetts, Captain Williams; and from the Chesapeake frigate, Captain Hull, which lay anchored about two miles without the light, and from which Captain Hull sent an officer on board with his compliments, and wishing us a pleasant passage. We returned the salutes and the compliments as well as we could. We had a fair wind and a tolerably fresh breeze. About four in the afternoon my brother and Dr. Welsh took leave of us, and went on board the revenue cutter, to return to Boston; we then stood out, with a light breeze and fair weather, which continued all the evening, and had almost lost sight of the land before the darkness of night intercepted the shores from our view.

At this commencement of an enterprise, perhaps the most important of any that I have ever in the course of my life been engaged in, it becomes me to close the day by imploring the blessing of Providence upon it—that its result may prove beneficial to my country, prosperous to my family and myself, and advantageous to all who are concerned in the voyage.

6th. *Sunday.* On rising this morning we found ourselves out of sight of land. Weather cool and foggy. Winds light and rather scant—about south, with some east. All the ladies, Charles, and Mr. Everett, who had never before been to sea, are sick. Mr. Gray, who likewise is a new sailor, has not yet been so. Mr. Smith and I scarcely perceive that we are at sea.

This is the fourth time in the course of my life I have embarked from Boston for Europe. The first was 11th February,[1] 1778, in the Boston frigate, Captain Tucker. The second, 14th November, 1779, in the Sensible, French frigate, Captain

[1] Written from memory. It was on the 13th of February, by the ship's log-book.

Chevagnes. The third, 17th September, 1794, in the Alfred, merchant ship, Captain Macey. On the first and second of these voyages I accompanied my father, who was going abroad upon public missions. On the third I went in a similar character myself, and was accompanied by my brother. The separation from my family and friends has always been painful; but never to the degree which I feel it now. The age of my parents awakens, both in them and me, *the hopes* of our meeting again, and I now leave two of my own infant children behind. My father and mother are also deeply affected by my departure, and I received yesterday from my mother a letter which would have melted the heart of a Stoic. Thus ties which bind me to my country have multiplied with the increase of my years, and the difficulties and dangers of every kind, which present themselves in anticipation upon this occasion, exceed those of any former time, excepting, however, the dangers of war, to which on my two first voyages I was exposed; and which do not threaten us now. My motives for accepting this commission are various. That of serving my country, in the station which its regular organs have chosen to assign me, stands foremost of them all; and though it neither suits my own inclination nor my own private judgment, I deem it a duty to sacrifice them both to the public sense, expressed by the constitutional authority.

13th. Head winds and fogs continually rising and dispersing through the day,—saw nothing. I read over again Plutarch's life of Lycurgus, and made some minutes from it. In the afternoon also I read two sermons of Massillon—on the forgiveness of injuries, and on the word of God. The first of these is the best of this author's sermons that I have yet read. The subject is indeed most interesting and copious, and the manner in which he treats it is adapted peculiarly to his auditory—to men of the world and courtiers. The divisions of the subject are still too technical. The injustice of our enmities, and the insincerity of our reconciliations, are the two parts. The first subdivided into three—taste, interest, vanity—which are the causes of our taking offence. The second also into three—the motives, process, and consequences of pretended reconciliation. There is some censure in this discourse upon the practice

of duelling. There is argument, satire, indignation, tenderness—a keen search of every good corner in the heart and every sound cellar of the brain.

In the second sermon, on preaching, there is more ingenuity but less pathos. The division is founded on the dispositions with which believers ought to attend on preaching, and with those with which they should hear it. In this sermon there is a passage very much to my purpose in the lecture[1] which endeavors to trace the source of difference between Catholic and Protestant preaching. It is page 170, and names *docility* as one of the dispositions with which preaching is to be heard. There is an anecdote told of Louis XIV., that he said to Massillon, after hearing one of his sermons, "Father, I have heard and admired many other preachers, but you always make me dissatisfied with myself." If Louis said so, he had taken the idea from Massillon in this sermon. He says that many hearers come to seek vain ornaments which amuse the patient without healing him, which make the preacher pleasing to the sinner, but not the sinner displeasing to himself. I observe in this sermon many instances of a very peculiar manner of applying passages of Scripture figuratively.

14th. The day was fine, the water smooth, the winds light, but so much ahead that we were unable at any part of the day to steer within three points of our course. Latitude, by observation, 43.26; longitude, 54.30; water, morning, at 67; air, 68; noon, water, 67; air, 69. I made minutes on the two sermons of Massillon which I read yesterday; and on Plutarch's life of Lycurgus; read also his life of Solon. I find amusement in these occupations, and our weather is so mild and the sea so smooth that I can employ more time in reading and writing than I ever could at sea before. Yet it seems to me that I do not employ my time to the best advantage. My thermometer is an amusement—a celestial globe would also be an agreeable companion—and Lacépède's Natural History of Fishes, Pinkerton's Geography, and Mavor's little collection of Voyages and Travels. We have seen nothing since the ship, last Thurs-

[1] A reference to the fourteenth lecture in the course delivered at Cambridge, on pulpit oratory, and afterwards published, vol. i. pp. 332–337.

day, which the captain says took our wind from us; but this afternoon we were entertained with a scull of porpoises, first seen by W. S. Smith, which played for an hour or two around the bow of the ship, and which some of the men, with the usual ill success, attempted to catch with grains and harpoons. The water continues to *bream* or scintillate, which the captain considers a sign of easterly winds.

20th. Wind died away this morning, and left us a day of total calm. The sky was more clear, and W. S. Smith discovered a vessel after us, which he showed to the captain, but which none of the rest of us could see. Latitude, by observation, 48.35; longitude, 43.50; water, 59 and 60; air, 62 and 64. I read two sermons of Massillon, on the certainty of a future state, and on the reverence to be observed in churches. They pleased me less than those of the last week. The reasoning in support of a future state is upon the obvious topics—its necessity for the moral government of the universe, and the opinion entertained by all mankind. He does not touch upon the analogies in physical nature which render futurity more probable. The sermon upon the duty of reverent behavior at church is upon an article of the minor morals, but breathes a fervent spirit of devotion. He compliments the king, Louis XIV., upon his exemplary piety in attendance upon church; but bitterly censures the courtiers who come to attract their master's notice by an affectation of religion which they do not feel, and the worldly women who come to display a pomp of apparel or to make assignations of gallantry. He particularly handles very roughly their *nudities*. This was about the time when Addison frowned upon the naked arms of the Englishwomen. There is a curious account of the four degrees of intrenchment round the sanctuary of the Temple under the ancient Jewish Laws.

31st. *Day*. I rise about six o'clock, often earlier. Read ten or fifteen chapters in the Bible. We breakfast about nine. Spend half an hour afterwards upon deck—at noon sometimes take the observation by the quadrant. Read or write in the cabin until two. Dine. After dinner read or write again; occasionally visiting the deck for a walk until seven in the evening. Sup.

Read or play at cards until eleven or twelve, when we all retire to bed. There is much time for study and for meditation at sea; and when the weather is as moderate as we have generally had it hitherto upon this passage, a person capable of useful application may employ his time to as great advantage as on shore. The objects which excite attention are concentrated within the bounds of the vessel; the rest of mankind for the time seem to be inhabitants of another planet. The prosperity of the voyage consists in the paucity of incident; and the less there is to be told the more there is to be enjoyed. This life is not tedious to those who can make themselves occupation. But its uncertainties, its perpetual changes, its anxieties, and its concentration of interest upon the fluctuations of wind and wave, constitute its principal hardships.

The active mind of Mr. Adams could scarcely remain content, during this long voyage, with speculations upon the writings of the few authors he could carry with him. It would appear from the following paper, bearing date 21st August, that he had spent part of his time in carefully meditating a course of advice for the benefit of the two sons he left behind him as they should advance to manhood, during his absence. It is the only one of its kind that has been found, and is inserted here less perhaps on account of the matter itself, than for the sake of the light which it reflects upon his own mind and character.

LETTERS TO MY CHILDREN.

It is related of Augustus Cæsar, that, being upon his death-bed, he turned, just before he expired, to the friends who were standing around, and asked them what they thought of the part which he had acted on the scene of human life. They expressed their admiration, as their feelings or their prudence inspired. Then said he, "*Plaudite.*"

In the article of death, Augustus was what he had been throughout life, a theatrical performer. The ideas which clung to his last sand were inseparable from representation. He was still acting a part in death, and this expression, while it indi-

cates a coolness and self-possession at the moment when the generality of mankind have lost all the faculties both of mind and body, at the same time proves the consciousness of him who used it that he had been through the whole course of his existence a man in a mask—the Roscius or Æsopus of real life.

The character of Augustus Cæsar is not one which I should ever recommend to you as a model for imitation. I do not altogether approve even of this idea with which he closed his life. It is only in a qualified sense that we can admit that "all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players." But thus far it is admissible, and may be useful; that you should each of you consider yourself as placed here *to act a part*—that is, to have some single great end or object to accomplish, towards which all the views and all the labors of your existence should steadily be directed.

The generality of mankind are under little embarrassment in fixing upon this purpose of existence. Since the sentence upon our first parent, that he should live by the sweat of his brow, toil has been the ordinary price of subsistence, and the labor of a man's life is appropriated by providence to its own support. At the entrance upon the threshold of life your principal concern will be to procure to yourself the supply of your wants, and this may be sufficient for the exercise of all your faculties. If successful in this, as you advance on the stage your relations with human society will multiply. One of the laws of nature requires that after having enjoyed the blessing of existence yourself, you should perform your part in communicating the same blessing to others. As a great portion of the enjoyment of life consists in the society of the sexes, there is an obligation upon you to share your pleasures with a partner. These two moral duties are naturally connected with each other; if by the means of industry and frugality, the most essential of all the virtues to youth, you acquire the means not only of providing for your own necessities but a superfluity which may be applied to the support of others, then commences the obligation of matrimony, which once contracted opens a field upon which the most steady and bounteous prosperity may lavish all its stores. The partici-

pation of your own worldly comforts with a companion for life, and with the children who may be given to the union, is but the natural expansion of that first object of life which has been mentioned—the procurement of the means of subsistence. To your children, however, there is another duty not less sacred than that of giving them bread—the duty of education—of training them up in the way they should go; of preparing them for the conflicts which *they* may have in their turn to sustain with the world. Thus, then, the *object* of life, as it presents itself in the ordinary course of Providence to man, stands in this graduation—the means of subsistence for himself—of comfortable subsistence for himself and his wife—of subsistence, nurture, and education for a family of children. These are the first and the closest ties of human society. Without all these human society could not exist. They are founded on the universal law of self-preservation as applied to the individual and to the species. By providing for his own wants the individual can only support his own existence; and if you suppose the cares of every individual confined to this object, the species would perish whenever this race of individuals should be extinct. The species can be preserved only by the provision made by every generation for the birth, nurture, and support, to a certain stage of life, of the generation next succeeding. It is the debt which every generation owes to its predecessors, and which, not being in the nature of things payable to them, must be discharged to their order. It is the link between the first parents of our race and their remotest posterity—the tie by which we belong at once to past and future ages.

These means of subsistence for the individual, and of preservation to the species, constitute the great end of existence to a great majority of mankind. They fill the ordinary measure of duties and obligations. They are to be obtained in civil society only by some mechanic art or some laborious profession. Whatever that may be, it requires the exercise of a virtue which employs the principal part of the individual's time. I mean industry. Most of these occupations employ the individual not immediately in labors for his own use, but for the use of others. And hence arises a new and copious source of further

obligations. The relations of man are no longer confined to his own family, but extend to his neighbors and fellow-citizens. The exchange of mutual wants produces the complicated system of contracts, and with it an enlarged field of ethics. To the duties of self-preservation it adds those of justice and fidelity to others, but does not materially affect the end of the individual's existence. He exchanges the superfluity of his own labor for an equivalent supply to his own wants, and the greater his ingenuity, his industry, his fidelity, and his integrity, the more completely in the ordinary course of things will his time be absorbed, and the necessary end of his existence attained.

But there are two causes opposite to each other in their nature which require corresponding modifications in the purpose of life—the one, success, and the other, failure, in the profession which he has assumed. These contingencies apply less to that class of men whose employment is agriculture than to any others. The tiller of the soil, barely as such, seldom fails to procure his subsistence and that of his family by his industry, and as seldom can he expect to procure anything more. But when men are congregated in populous cities, the multitude of occupations which arise from that state of things renders the procurement of subsistence more precarious to every single individual, while it accumulates superfluous prosperity upon one part of the community by contributions levied upon the rest. Hence the extremes of riches and poverty, both of which affect in the highest degree the occupations of individuals, and modify the ends of their existence. In proportion as poverty increases, the social obligations of the individual diminish, until they centre again in the first law of self-preservation. When the individual becomes incompetent to the supply of his necessary wants, there results to his family or to society an obligation to provide the means of subsistence for him, in consideration of which, however, they require the right of employing him in such suitable labor as he is able to perform. Of such persons, however, little need here be said, as, ceasing in some sort to be responsible beings, the end of their being can thenceforth be no other than physical existence, as comfortable as the humanity of their fellow-creatures can make it.

But as indigence diminishes, so prosperity multiplies the relations and the duties of social life. He to whom success in his occupation has brought a surplus of the means of subsistence beyond that which is necessary for himself and his family, contracts the obligation of correcting the iniquities of fortune—of disseminating that prosperity with which he has been blest, of becoming the benefactor of his fellow-mortals beyond the circle of his own family. It is perhaps impossible to mark the line where this special obligation commences. But it certainly begins long before any special modification to the object of existence becomes necessary. Besides the immediate family, with the support of which the individual is charged under the primary law of self-preservation, there are remoter domestic relations—relations of good neighborhood, of friendship, of patriotism, and of philanthropy, which bind in looser ties every individual to his fellow-creatures. These are not only reconcilable with those primary obligations of duty which mark out the object of existence, but are in many respects inseparable from them. The good offices of social benevolence depend much in their application upon the circumstances in which the individual is placed, and are modified by them. There are also the duties of a citizen to his country, which are binding upon all, and more forcibly binding in a republican government than in any other. The principle of all other governments supposes that the great interests of the community are, by the operation of certain institutions, exclusively, or at least principally, committed to a certain number of individuals, and that the duties of all others towards the body politic are a burden which they may decline, or which perhaps they are forbidden to assume. But upon the republican principle, every individual has a stake, an interest, and a voice in the common stock of society, and consequently lies under the obligation of attending to and promoting that common interest to the utmost of his power, compatibly with the discharge of his more immediate duties of self-preservation and preservation of his kind. These duties of patriotism and philanthropy may become predominant, and indicate the very object of existence when the primary obligations are discharged already at a man's hands, or so facilitated

as no longer to employ a material portion of the individual's toil and time.

When by the success of his own exertions, or by the exuberance of prosperity inherited from his fathers, the first necessary object of existence has been accomplished, the obligation upon the individual is by his own voluntary act to substitute another object for his pursuit. One of the reasons why the rich, the great, and the prosperous appear in such unfavorable colors is, that not possessing the understanding to select, the spirit to assume, or the perseverance to effect any such steady object of pursuit, they pass their lives in idleness, or in dishonorable occupations—mere burdens of human society, mere cumberers of the ground. And as employment is necessary, both to the body and mind of man, none being provided for them, and they being under a moral incapacity to provide any for themselves, their existence is as burdensome to themselves as it is useless to others.

Take it, then, as a general principle to be observed as one of the directing impulses of life, that you must have some one great purpose of existence. And if you should ever be relieved from that which is imposed upon you, that of providing for yourself, let it be one of your most ardent solicitudes to select another which may best promote your own well-being and the happiness of your fellow-creatures. Obvious as this principle is when thus expressed in general terms, it is not without its difficulties when we attempt to carry it into practice. How to employ our faculties in such a manner as shall produce the greatest quantity of human happiness is a problem of no easy solution. Good intention is but one step towards its solution. The good which an individual can do to his fellow-citizens is seldom proportioned to his dispositions, and the inclination to do good itself, unless enlightened by a clear perception, guided by a discriminating judgment, and animated by energetic and active resolution, evaporates in the dreams of imagination, or proves a poison instead of a healing balm.

There are two different modes by which an individual possessed of a sufficient competency for his own wants may employ his time for the benefit of his country and of mankind.

The first, by taking a share in the public administration of the government. The second, by cultivating the arts and sciences. As to the first, there are countries where many persons under these circumstances are, by the political constitutions of the country, invested by hereditary right with a portion of the public authority. But in ours, the principle of the government is elective, and the attainment of any situation in the public administration depends upon the will of others. Still further, with a very few exceptions, the public offices are not only elective, but for short periods of time. So that neither their first acquisition nor their permanent possession depends upon the will of the individual. From this state of things you may infer certain corresponding axioms.

The object of existence, when selected by yourself, should be as much as possible within your own control. For if you choose that which depends upon the will of others, you not only prepare for yourself probable disappointment, but you diminish your means of usefulness by rendering them precarious. You weaken your power of doing good, by placing the capacity of doing it at the disposal of others. You place not only yourself and your own happiness, but your beneficent energies, under tutelage. It is therefore dangerous to connect the principal end of existence with the participation in the government. Much more dangerous would it be to place it in the attainment of public office. This can of itself contribute very little to your own happiness, and nothing to that of others. Yet an invariable determination to reject the participation of authority is neither commanded by virtue nor compatible with it. The public service, to a man of independent patriotism, is neither to be solicited nor refused. He must be neither obtrusive nor disdainful. He ought not to ask what he cannot want, but to hold himself ever ready at the call of his country. This call, when it occurs, must doubtless to a certain extent modify that which he chooses to make the end of his existence. Public office brings with it much necessary occupation, and must give some of its colors to individual existence. The duties of the office must be faithfully discharged, and at the same time the enquiry ought ever to be present to the officer's mind, how he

can make himself yet more useful to his country. There are talents and qualifications which belong to every public station, and the performance of its functions is generally susceptible of improvement. There is a species of knowledge important if not indispensable to every public officer, and although the appointment or election presupposes competent qualifications in the person chosen, yet whoever is ambitious of performing well his part will find that he has useful employment for much time in fitting himself better for the station which he has already attained. Public office is of various kinds. There are offices merely ministerial and of a subordinate character, easily filled, and requiring labor rather than talents to be filled in the best manner. These are usually sought after as a means of subsistence, and they ought to be reserved exclusively for meritorious indigence. They may be *wanted*, but can never be *desired*. But the offices of high trust and responsibility, legislative, executive, and judicial, all require continual supplies of information, and have within themselves ample sources for constant employment to those by whom they are held.

The cultivation of the arts and sciences affords an inexhaustible and never-failing resource for employment; and it is the most honorable occupation which the leisure of opulence can assume. But the field is so wide that there is danger of wandering over it to no purpose, unless some specific object of pursuit be voluntarily proposed. Miscellaneous and undirected application to study is a more innocent pastime than wealth or grandeur usually find, but is after all but an idle industry. The mind of man is too limited in its powers to embrace all art and science in general. Superior excellence in one department of art or science may be attained by a concentration of efforts, which more diffusely exerted, though in equal degree, will secure nothing more than mediocrity.

The real and only difficulty to be overcome is that of fixing upon the special object of application. There is sometimes an impulse of natural genius so clear and strong that it needs neither stimulus nor direction. It forces its own way, and carries the individual along with it. But as these persons are a law to themselves, they are of no use as examples to others.

The ordinary race of mortals must make themselves a channel in which their desires and energies may flow. Instead of following a transient propensity, which they will find constantly changing its object, their merit will consist in counteracting it. The common man, and as such you must consider yourself, will find his *inclinations* leading him constantly not to the object of his pursuit, but from it. Let me, however, suggest a few principles, which may, by the aid of your own reflections, lead you to a correct decision in the choice which I suppose you may be called to make.

1. Let the chosen object of your existence be such as naturally will engraft itself upon the necessary one—such as may have within itself a capacity of expansion and contraction, according to the good or ill success which may attend its pursuit. When Cortes landed with his troops to undertake the conquest of Mexico, he burnt his ships to take from his companions all hopes of safety in a retreat. This was rather the resort of desperation than of magnanimity. It suited the ferocious character of Cortes, and success has enrolled it in the annals of heroism. But the ordinary policy of the greatest heroes is not to cut off, but to secure the means of safety by retreat. The most ordinary mistake of *political* adventurers in our country is, like Cortes, at their entrance upon public life to burn their ships, to cut off their own retreat, and in the first instance of failure, which is sure to befall them, to plunge headlong over the precipice of ruin. Should your fortune ever lure you into the thorny paths of public life, let your first and most inflexible resolution be, to keep your retreat open, to prepare yourself for an independent retirement, and to keep your mind always ready to return to the humbler and safer pursuits of private life.

2. In selecting a specific branch of art or science for your peculiar assiduity of cultivation, do not waste too much time in deliberation. Let your choice be made coolly, but let it not be postponed from year to year, until the chance of choice or the leisure of pursuit shall be lost.

3. To guide your choice, consult your own genius with the spirit of enquiry, and, if possible, with the judgment of impartiality. Consult your friends, if friends you have capable of

estimating the importance of the object and the considerations which ought to influence your decision. Discard, unless you have a very clear and forcible vocation, the abstract sciences, because they are much more difficult to be made practically useful to others by any use that *you* can make of them. Discard the mechanical arts, because the exercise of them can scarcely ever be made pleasing to yourself or of any important advantage to others. The physical sciences, natural history, astronomy, ethics, oratory, and poetry, with all the varieties of polite literature, may divide your attention, and the accidents of life as they occur may point you more particularly to any one subordinate division for that extraordinary toil and care of cultivation which a thrifty and industrious farmer would bestow upon his *garden*.

4. Accustom yourself to meditate and to *write* upon the subjects to which you devote your special attention. Writing, says Lord Bacon, makes a correct man. Reflect upon what you read, and converse upon the topic of your enquiry with those who understand it best. Methodize your studies, and form some general plan upon which you can resume or lay aside any particular study without retarding or arresting your general pursuit.

5. Finally, let the uniform principle of your life, the "frontlet between your eyes," be how to make your talents and your knowledge most beneficial to your country and most *useful to mankind*.

September 3d. I read the second sermon of Massillon upon prayer, and that upon confession, which finishes the first volume of the Lent Sermons. That upon confession is one of the best in the volume—the figurative application of Scripture very ingenious; the divisions drawn with excellent discrimination; the sources of inadequate confession traced with keen satirical severity, and very close inspection of human nature and its operations. But it might be termed a sermon against confession. He repeatedly expresses at least a doubt whether the institution does not produce more evil than good in the church, and a Protestant might turn the whole of the Bishop's artillery against the Catholic cause. There is a passage upon the base-

ness of the mere terror of hell, corresponding much with sentiments which I have expressed before I had read this sermon.

10th. I read two sermons of Massillon—second volume of Lent—on the dangers of prosperity, and on final impenitence. After reading them I attempted to make an abstract of them, as a trial of memory, but without success. I was obliged constantly to recur to the book. I still find that of all my reading at sea, the memory takes hold scarcely of anything. There are so many things on board which distract attention, that it exceeds all my powers of volition to apply the mind to objects of study. I also read part of Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.

15th. About four o'clock this morning the captain came into the cabin, and waked me with the information that we had land close upon the starboard bow. He thought it Westra Patra Island, one of the Orkney Islands, in latitude 59.21, longitude 3.10. About a quarter of an hour afterwards I rose, and saw the island about seven miles distant, bearing southwest from the ship—apparently an island about two miles long. There was another island seen more to the southward, but so distant that I did not see it. We were going between five and six miles an hour; and as we made no other land, and in about three hours lost sight of that we had made, the captain concluded it was Rona Island, situated in latitude 50.55, longitude 6.16—about four degrees west of our reckoning. We ran with a fair wind and fresh breeze all day, in the course of which we saw four vessels steering our course, and one to the westward. No observation could be obtained. About four in the afternoon land was seen in various directions, on our starboard quarter and beam, in a south and westerly direction. They were the Orkney Islands, Pomona, Westra, and Papa Westra, or Westra Patra.

17th. The breeze and squalls continued all night, driving us eight and nine miles an hour, but it made such a sea, that I had scarcely an hour of sleep in the night. It kept the same steady course all this day, and the captain had some expectation of making the land of Norway before night. We had not seen a vessel since passing by Fair Island until about five o'clock this afternoon, when a brig was discerned steering towards us.

Within an hour's time she came within hailing distance, before which she fired a gun to leeward, upon which we hoisted our colors. She did not show hers, but came to windward of us, then fired a gun to windward and hailed us. Whence from? From Boston. Whither bound? To Russia. Let down your boat and come on board. Which, not being heard distinctly, was repeated. The captain answered that his boat was so small that it would not be safe to go out with it in this weather. The same order was again repeated, and a musket with ball fired, ranging alongside of our ship. It was the dusk of the evening, the wind blowing in continual squalls like a gale, and a heavy sea going. The captain, however, let down the boat, and went into it with Mr. Lowder and three men. They cast off from the ship, and attempted to row to the brig, but drifted so in the course of ten minutes, that instead of getting to the brig, it was with the utmost difficulty that they reached the ship again, having the boat half full of water, and all the time in the most imminent danger, both of oversetting and of being sunk by an overwhelming wave. The captain then hailed the brig again, and told them his boat would not live in such a sea and weather, upon which, without making any answer, the brig shot ahead of us to such a distance that on the moon's setting she was out of sight. Then, after laying to until about eleven at night, our ship wore about again and pursued her course.

18th. We had another rough and laboring night, but the wind not so high as the two preceding days. This morning, however, the sea ran so heavy that in rolling she often shipped water at the sides. About five in the morning we made the land, on the coast of Norway, and at noon were abreast of the Naze, and in sight of it—our latitude being 57.43 by observation; longitude, 7.15 east; water, 56; air, 55. Yesterday both were at 55. The rolling of the vessel in the forenoon made it impossible for me to write, or to read to any purpose, and I gave it up. In the afternoon the wind died away, and we came into smoother water—being in what is termed the Slaave, between the coasts of Norway and Jutland.

19th. We had a calm and quiet night—and this morning about six, the captain called me, and told me there was a

cruiser close on board of us. I rose immediately, and within a quarter of an hour a brig with English colors lay alongside of us. Without speaking, she sent a boat with an officer and four men to us. The officer came on board, and, after examining the captain's papers, left us, saying, "I suppose you may proceed." He told me it was fortunate we had not met him last night, for he might have fired into us; having been yesterday all day in pursuit of two Danish men-of-war, which they chased into Christiansand. This was a brig of eighteen guns. He gave the captain some news—as that the French had defeated the Austrians in a battle, and there was now an armistice between them; that the English in Portugal had also been defeated, and Lord Wellesley obliged to make good his retreat. About seven in the morning we parted from this vessel, and within two hours came in sight of another brig, under Danish colors. She soon fired a gun to bring us to, upon which we waited for her about half an hour. She then passed close under our stern, hailed us, and enquired from whence we came, and where we were bound. On receiving the answer, she hauled down her Danish colors, hoisted the English flag, and sent an officer on board of us, with four men. It seems they had not heard distinctly our answers to their hailing, for on being told that we were from Boston, bound to Petersburg, the officer told his men to go on board his own vessel and tell the captain we were from Boston, bound to Petersburg. He remained himself on board, and examined the captain's papers, telling him that as we were going to Elsineur, and they were at war with Denmark, he did not know whether we could proceed or not. The boat, however, soon returned with the men, and the officer then left us. The name of the first brig from which we were boarded was the Rover, Captain McVicar; the name of the second our captain enquired of the officer, but does not recollect his answer. The weather all the morning had looked threatening and the wind directly ahead. The equinoctial being close at hand, our captain concluded to go into a harbor on the coast of Norway, which was full in view. So we stood in for the land, and made a signal for a pilot. A boat very soon came up to us, with a pilot belonging to Ronga Sound, about three leagues above

Christiansand. While the captain was consulting him, whether to go in there or into Christiansand, a small two-mast boat, with about fifteen armed men, and a swivel, under Danish colors, came and fired a gun to bring us to. A Danish lieutenant of the marine, by the name of Kraff, then came on board from her, and told the captain he must go into Christiansand. The captain at this took the alarm, declared he would not go into harbor at all, and put the ship about to stand out to sea. The lieutenant made a sign to the men in his boat lying alongside of us to come on board, which the captain ordered our crew to resist. We had in half a minute a dozen or fifteen men, with pikes, axes, and swords, on the quarter-deck, and the men from the deck pressing forward to her forecastle, to attempt boarding us. The lieutenant, however, made a signal to them to withdraw. He and the pilot were then very much afraid that we should carry them off, and wanted to get to their boats. The captain asked me whether he had not better now stand off at all events. I told him I saw no reason for changing his first determination, and he concluded to go into the harbor of Fleckeroe, about four miles distant from Christiansand. The lieutenant, by his invitation, went with us, and landed. The captain landed to show his papers to the commanding officer here, and afterwards went up to Christiansand with his papers there. Mr. Everett and Mr. Gray went with him. The officer at land, being informed of my character, desired to see my passport, and having nothing but my commission, I landed and showed it to him. In the evening an officer came from the commodore of all the gun-boats on the coast of Norway on board with his compliments and offers of service to me. About midnight the captain, with Mr. Everett and Mr. Gray, returned, but the papers were to undergo an examination to-morrow. They found the captains of nearly thirty American vessels, which have been brought into Christiansand since last May, by privateers, and are detained for adjudication. The number brought in from May to August is thirty-eight, sixteen of which have been condemned, and appealed to the higher court, and twelve acquitted, against which the captors have also appealed, detaining the vessels still here. Our Government having no agent

here, the captains have appointed a Mr. Isaachson, an inhabitant of the place, who has interested himself much in their behalf as their agent. The captain brought me his compliments and invitation to dinner to-morrow for me and all my family.

" 20th. Immediately after breakfast this morning, I went with Captain Beckford, Mr. Smith, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Gray, in the ship's boat, to Christiansand, about four miles, in a winding passage among the rocks. On our way we met three or four boats with Americans going down to the ship; a gentleman on board of one of them accosted me by name, but I did not know him until we landed—when I found it was Mr. Lawson Alexander, of Baltimore. He, with a number more of the Americans detained here under capture of privateers, was introduced to me at my landing. I went immediately to Mr. Isaachson's, where we found his lady and his mother, Mrs. Appleby. He was himself absent, but soon afterwards returned home. He repeated his invitation to dinner, and regretted that the ladies had not come with us to town. He accompanied me to visit the admiral of the naval force in Norway, Fischer—the governor of the city, Tobiesen—and the commandant of the garrison. The two first of these gentlemen were not at home—the last received us. He is an old officer, far advanced in years, and, speaking only the Danish language, I could have but little conversation with him. On my return to Mr. Isaachson's, a number of the American captains brought me papers containing the translation of their sentences of condemnation. They also delivered me a memorial which some of them transmitted to the President of the United States some months since, and a triplicate of a letter written some time since to me, one copy of which they had forwarded to Petersburg, and another to Copenhagen, with the expectation that it would meet me there, requesting my interference in their behalf. They gave me also the minutes of all their proceedings since they have acted in company, which I read.

We dined between two and three o'clock. There were upwards of twenty of the American captured gentlemen at table, and several others came in after dinner. The admiral of the gun-boats, Fischer, and the governor, Tobiesen, also came

and returned my visit. The admiral is a man apparently between sixty and seventy, who told me he had seen my father at Paris in 1779, when he was there with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, and that he had been in America during the Revolutionary war, as an officer in the French navy, and knew at Boston Governor Hancock and Dr. Cooper, who gave him a copy of his sermon at the organization of the government of Massachusetts under the present Constitution of the State. He was also acquainted with Governor Collins, of Rhode Island. He made me a formal apology for the misconduct of the officer who boarded our ship, and said he should have been in despair if anything like violence had been offered to a ship bearing a public minister. The governor of the city was very polite also in his demeanor; but some of our captains say he was interested in the privateers which took them. Another gentleman also came and invited me to his house to-morrow. His name was not mentioned to me, but he told me he had been well acquainted with Mr. Murray at the Hague. In the evening I returned to the ship in one of the boats belonging to an American ship. Mr. Isaachson accompanied me, and also two boats more, full of those gentlemen, who intended it as a compliment to me. They spent about an hour on board the ship, and then took their leave. The captain came in his own boat about eleven at night, with Captain Leach, master of one of the captured vessels belonging to Mr. Thorndike, of Beverly. He, having by accident missed his own boat, lodges on board our ship this night.

Our captain's papers were this day returned without examination, and with an order from the Commission of Examination that the ship, having a public minister on board, should be suffered to proceed without any interruption whatsoever. The sight of so many of my countrymen, in circumstances so distressing, is very painful, and each of them has a story to tell of the peculiar aggravations of ill treatment which he has received. The desire of contributing to their relief is so strong in me that I shall, without waiting for express authority from the Government of the United States, use every effort in my power in their behalf, to however little purpose it may be as to its

success. While we were at Mr. Isaachson's, at table, he received a letter containing a proclamation announcing that the island of Iceland, which about a year since was taken by the English, is now declared independent of all European Governments. It was but under a sort of nominal dependence upon Denmark.

21st. This is the day on which the sun crosses the line, and we had a heavy gale of wind, with plentiful rain, which began in the night and continued through the greater part of this day. It confined us entirely to the ship. Captain Skinner and Mr. Myers Fisher, Jun., of Philadelphia, came down from Christiansand to visit us, and spent a couple of hours with us in the forenoon. In the afternoon I sent my compliments to Captain Billé, who commands the gun-boats here, and invited him to come and take coffee with us, which he did. He was a captain of a frigate while the Danish fleet was in their possession, and at the battle of Copenhagen, in 1801, was on board of one of the Danish ships. He says that the Commodore Fischer now here is not the same who commanded on that day at Copenhagen, though bearing the same name. Captain Bille has been stationed here since the time when the English took the Danish ships at Copenhagen. He had more information of European news than any person I have seen before. The Americans have scarcely any, and Mr. Isaachson spoke upon the subject with so much reserve that I forbore pressing any enquiries upon him.

22d. Commodore Fischer paid me a visit on board the ship, and gave me a special order under his hand to the commanders of all the gun-boats, requiring them to let me pass freely with my family. About one o'clock three of the gentlemen from Christiansand came on board, with an invitation for me to go there to dine again at Mr. Isaachson's. I went up accordingly, and found a large party assembled to dinner, among whom was the late governor of the place, Chiegeson, the present governor, Mr. Simonson, Mr. Isaachson's father, with his lady, and his brother's lady. Almost all the rest of the company consisted of Americans. We had another elegant entertainment; but when we would have returned on board of our ship,

a storm of wind and rain had arisen, which rendered it altogether impracticable. We were obliged, therefore, to accept of the hospitable entertainment of Mr. Isaachson's house for the night, which was offered and urged upon us in the most pressing terms. The evening was passed at cards, and about midnight we retired to bed.

23d. The storm continued most of the night, and all this morning; but the wind had become more favorable for us to sail; and after waiting until about two in the afternoon, and dining again at Mr. Isaachson's, we took at length our departure, in the midst of a heavy squall of rain and wind. Mr. Isaachson had procured for us a sail-boat belonging to the late governor, with a round-house, in which we were sheltered from the weather. He accompanied us down, as did Captain Thompson, with four boats from the American vessels here detained, and by which our boat was rowed down. We reached the ship about four in the afternoon, and the captain came on board a few minutes after us. The wind was now fair for us to sail, though still blowing a gale. The pilot was on board, and we immediately weighed anchor, assisted by the boats' crews which had rowed us down from Christiansand. Just at sunset, Captain Thompson, Captain Joseph, and Captain Leach, with their boats, left us. Mr. Isaachson, with the governor's boat, had gone shortly before. About seven we were outside of the harbor of Fleckeroe, and the pilot left us. It blew a fresh gale, and the sea ran so high that the rolling of the ship was as great as at any period of our passage.

25th. At sunrise this morning we were abreast of Koll Point, the wind having been light and favorable the whole night, but it now came ahead, and in the midst of the passage of the sound we saw a British line-of-battle ship and a sloop of war at anchor, with several other vessels anchored near them. We made up directly to the man-of-war, and a lieutenant from her soon came on board, examined the ship's papers, had all the men mustered, compared their personal appearance with the description in their protections, and threatened to take one man, a native of Charlestown, because, he said, his person did not correspond with the description. He told the captain that the

passage was blockaded, that we could not go through, and must return through the Cattegat, and by the passage of the Belt. The captain then informed him of my mission and character, upon which he observed that we had better go on board the man-of-war and speak to the admiral himself. Accordingly the captain took his papers, and I went with him and Mr. Smith on board the Stately, a sixty-four-gun ship, Captain Dundas.

At the deck we were received by the lieutenant on duty, to whom the captain stated the circumstances of his situation, and who repeated that we could not pass, as they were stationed there to prevent the payment of the Sound duties. He referred us, however, to Admiral Bertie, whom we found in his state-room on the quarter deck. The captain showed him his papers, and mentioned to him my character. He said he could not suffer us to pass; that the ports in the island of Zealand were all under a strict blockade, and had been so for a year and a half; that his instructions were most precise and positive, not to suffer any vessel whatsoever to pass. But, he said, we should find the passage round through the Belt very easy. The captain stated the great disadvantage of the delay at this late season of the year; that he had no charts of the Belt, and no pilot. He then took out his own ship's charts, showed them to the captain, said he would give him one of them, but that they belonged to the ship and the King. As to the pilot, he said, we might get one at Gottenburg; where we should find a convoy going in a few days through the Belt, with which we might proceed. I then stated to him that I bore a commission as a public minister from the United States of America to the Emperor of Russia; that this ship was fitted out for the express purpose of conveying me to St. Petersburg; that I had my family on board, and that, by the usages of nations, I had understood that it was not the practice to stop the passage of persons in such situations. He asked me if I did not know that the ports in the island of Zealand were all blockaded. I told him I did not; but if I had, as our only object was passage, I should still have relied on the usages of nations, that I should not be obstructed. He asked my name, which I gave him. "And you say, sir, you have your family on board?"

"Yes, sir; my wife, her sister, and an infant child." He then said, that, to be sure, by the custom of nations, the passage of a public minister ought not to be obstructed; and if I would give him my word of honor that the ship would not commit a violation of the blockade by going into Copenhagen or any port in the island of Zealand, he would consider this as a case of exception from his instructions and allow us to pass.

I told him that, as an evidence of the character which I assumed, I could, if he desired, exhibit my commission from the President of the United States. He said that, by way of justification for him, he should be glad to see it. I accordingly showed it to him. He then said we might pass—but that we should meet with another difficulty: that the Danes would take us, and, he feared, condemn the ship and cargo for having had any communication with him. This was in reply to the promise I made him, as far as depended on me, and the captain, on his part, joined in the engagement, not to commit a breach of the blockade by going *voluntarily* into any port of the island of Zealand. But we told him we could not engage that we should not be taken in. After stating this new difficulty, which appeared to have much weight in his mind, he asked me what my determination would be.

I told him that I should proceed; and if the Danes should take us, I should rely upon the Danish Government's showing the same respect to the usage of nations to pay respect to the character of public ministers, as was now manifested by him; that I had often had occasion to appeal to this general practice, and had never found it to fail—nor should I expect it would fail on the part of the Danish Government.

He said that undoubtedly it was a just expectation that every liberal nation would respect the character of ambassadors; that the Danes had been such a nation; but he was afraid I should not find it so now. However, as I was willing to take the risk, we might pass.

We then took our leave, and returned on board our own ship. In the course of our conversation, he observed that he had been stationed here many months, but that, having been obliged to leave the station for a few days, twelve or fourteen

American vessels had *taken advantage* of his absence and passed through. I enquired of the officers on deck whether Admiral Bertie was a relation of the Duke of Ancaster. They said he had married a relation of that family and taken the name.

On this transaction I had occasion to remark a circumstance which was characteristic of English manners. Admiral Bertie paid all due respect to the laws of nations. He said nothing uncivil or offensive; but during the whole time we were with him he never offered us a seat. His conduct was correct in principle, and as to the substance. He indicated, indeed, some sense of benevolence and feeling; for the mention which I made that I had my family on board manifestly made an impression upon him, and the fears he expressed that we should be taken by the Danes appeared to arise partly from a disposition not unfriendly to us; but the most ordinary of civilities he either neglected or purposely omitted.

On our return in their boat the lieutenant left us; but so much time had been consumed, that the wind freshening to a strong breeze, directly ahead, we could not get up to Elsineur this night. Just at dark we came to anchor under the Danish shore, and about three miles distant from the admiral's ship. Towards midnight the weather cleared away, and the wind came round to the northwest.

26th. I went to bed last night between eleven and twelve o'clock; but with some uneasiness upon my mind, on finding that the captain supposed our engagement not to break the blockade included a promise not to stop at Elsineur to pay the usual Sound duties, unless we should be taken and carried in. I had understood that we should not go into any port of Zealand for purposes of trade, but only pass in the customary manner. I went to sleep, but waked again in less than half an hour, with a weight and restlessness which would not leave me quiet for repose. I got up, went and waked the captain, and had more than an hour's conversation with him, the result of which left me still in much anxiety. I knew that my intention was not to engage anything in violation of Danish laws, but only no violation of the blockade. Nor could I suppose it possible that the admiral meant to ask anything more of us. But as

the captain seemed to think at least that we *must attempt* to pass the castle of Cronberg, unless a gun should be fired to bring us to, I felt under much concern, lest we might get into some difficulty by his misunderstanding of our engagement. I was desirous that he should go on board the admiral's ship again and ask an explanation; and if it should be so that the admiral meant to allow us to pass only on the condition of our violating the laws of the territory within which we were to pass, I would still not accept the permission, but turn back at all hazards, and go round through the Belt.

After this conversation, and referring until the morning whether the captain should go to ask this explanation, I was again about retiring to bed, when the captain went upon deck and found that the ship was adrift, bearing down direct upon the man-of-war, and within a mile of her—the wind at the same time blowing very fresh. A second anchor, a small one, was then cast, which but partially arrested the ship. This continued until about nine o'clock in the morning, when she stopped. The wind blew fresh all day, with frequent and heavy squalls. It was fair for our progress, but we could not weigh anchor, from the danger of drifting on shore. About three in the afternoon she began to drift again, when we threw out the third and last anchor, a very heavy one. We had drifted within the ship's length of a large brig, whose bowsprit threatened our cabin windows all the afternoon and evening; and we were within a quarter of a mile of the shore and a reef of rocks. At the approach of night I was anxious for a boat from the shore to send the ladies and child on shore, for which purpose a signal was made at the main-mast-head; but no boat came out. Shortly before sunset a boat from the British man-of-war came on board, with a lieutenant, who gave some advice to our captain. He told him that one good anchor would hold better than three, and recommended to him, in case the wind should change, to cut his cables and go out. He returned on board his ship. The night came on with a prospect of foul weather, which, however, cleared off about midnight. The wind then changed, and continued freshening until the morning.

27th. All this morning was employed in weighing the

anchors, two of which, the largest and smallest, were successfully got on board. At this work all hands were engaged, and the passengers part of the time with the rest. An American vessel came in this morning, was brought to by the British admiral and turned back. The captain came on board our ship. About noon our ship began to drift again; upon which the captain ordered the cable of the third anchor to be cut away, and we stretched out beyond Koll Point, expecting on the next tack to reach Elsineur this night. But from the moment we got under sail, the wind drew continually more ahead, and freshened, until by four in the afternoon it blew a gale. Three times the attempt was made to put the ship round, but she would not come in stays—that is, come round against the wind. At the third time, just as she was coming round, the fore-yard broke short in two near the middle, and at the same time the gale increased to a storm. The captain lashed down the helm, put the ship under close-reefed main-sail, main and fore stay-sails; got down the broken fore-yard, and a spare main-yard up in its stead. Before this time it was dark evening. From five in the afternoon to one in the morning blew one of the heaviest gales that I ever witnessed; which the ship outrode better than I ever knew a vessel in such a situation to do. She shipped not one sea, and scarcely took in any water. By the blessing of Heaven, we had sufficient room for drifting, and no lee shore; and with land so near us on both sides, the sea did not run so high as it must have done in the open ocean. There was no darkness and no severe cold, to aggravate our danger and the sufferings of the crew. Just before dark, and after we had broken our fore-yard, we spoke an American, the Mary, from Newburyport, going back to Gottenburg, turned away by Admiral Bertie. They thought it very odd that we were steering a northeast course and bound to Petersburg.

During the furious tempest of last night, in the continual succession of squalls increasing upon each other in violence, a very little rain fell in scattered drops, seldom enough at once to wet the deck. Between midnight and one in the morning came on the severest of them all, in the midst of which I rose from bed, to which I had shortly before retired, and, going to light

a candle from the lamp in the binnacle, met in the gangway Mr. Pollan, the first mate, who was coming for a light into the cabin—that in the binnacle having gone out. There was now none in the ship. I soon struck one with my tinder-box, and that of the binnacle was again lighted up. During great part of the tempest there was nobody upon deck. About two I retired again to bed, and in half an hour after the storm suddenly abated, a copious shower of rain fell, and the wind came round to the northwest, very moderate. We soon got under easy sail in our course, and at daybreak found ourselves again in sight of Koll Point. We had drifted in the night about six leagues backwards. We soon came up with and passed Admiral Bertie's ship, and proceeding in the narrow passage between Sweden and Denmark, about noon were within about a mile of the castle of Cronberg, at the narrowest point of the sound. A Danish boat, bearing two swivels and fifteen men, brought us to by firing a shot, and immediately after boarded us, and took us into Elsineur Roads. The captain sent word on shore that I was on board, and my character; upon which the port physician came soon on board, and gave us permission to go on shore. We anchored about four in the afternoon. I received an open letter from Messrs. Balfour, Ellah & Rainals, an English house at Elsineur, who have the agency of most of the American vessels. The latter mentioned that they had several letters for me. I went on shore with the captain and Messrs. Smith, Everett, and Gray. We found Mr. Ellah at the landing, and went with him to his house and counting-room. The letters to me were only the duplicates of those from Christiansand, and relating to those cases. A few minutes after we came in, an officer appeared from the commandant of Cronberg Castle, to ask for my passport. Mr. Ellah went with us to the commandant's lodgings in the castle, and I again exhibited my commission, as the only passport I possessed. He expressed his surprise that I had no passport, but took the names of the President and Secretary of State from my commission, with which he appeared to be entirely satisfied. He also took the names of the gentlemen who accompanied me, and the account of my family which I gave him. We returned to Mr. Ellah's.

I had intended to go to Copenhagen, with a view to make a representation to the Danish Government in behalf of the Americans detained here and in Norway. But I was now informed that the King and the Minister, Count Bernstorff, were absent from Copenhagen. The captain and all the gentlemen with me intended also to go. I made enquiries for lodgings for the ladies on shore, not choosing to leave them altogether alone on board the ship; I found that no comfortable accommodations could be obtained. Mr. and Mrs. Ellah offered to give their own bedchamber in their house for the use of Mrs. Adams, but this I could not accept. In consideration of all this, I determined to return on board the ship, and Mr. Smith concluded to go with me. The captain, with Mr. Everett and Mr. Gray and young Mr. Balfour, started for Copenhagen about sunset. Mr. Smith and myself returned on board the ship. I requested the captain and Mr. Gray to ask Mr. Saabye whether, in his opinion, I could be of any service to my countrymen here by going to Copenhagen, and to send me an answer by them.

29th. Mr. Ellah had invited me and my family to dine with him this day. About one o'clock we went on shore, with some difficulty, in one of the shore boats, the wind blowing almost a gale. We dined at Mr. Ellah's, with his family—his lady, sister, children, and a Miss Goode, and a Danish gentleman, a civil officer, called a Politic Master or Inspector of the Police. In the afternoon came in a French Abbé, named Tellier, a man of pleasing manner and conversation. The afternoon and evening were so stormy that the ladies could not go on board ship again, and I took lodgings for the night at a house next door to Mr. Ellah's, kept by one Morrel, an Englishman—a house formerly much frequented and reputed, but, in the present state of war and annihilation of commerce, fallen into decay and almost ruin. We finished the day at Mr. Ellah's, and supped there.

The French Abbé was the first man I have met in Europe who appears to have much information of the state of public affairs, and the first who spoke of them without extreme reserve. He told us many circumstances relating to the confinement of the late King of Sweden, and the embarrassment of the present Government to determine what they should do with him. He

asked permission to retire to a society of the Moravian fraternity, which he formerly visited in Holstein; which was refused. A proposition had been made that he should be allowed to reside in Switzerland; but the consent of the Swiss could not be obtained. The present Swedish administration had applied to the opposition party in England, to propose that he might have an asylum in England; but the opposition had refused. He was now on a small island; under no other confinement, and his family with him. The Duke of Sudermania is king, and the Prince of Holstein and Norway, to whom the succession to the crown has been offered, has accepted it, to take effect after peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark. That between Russia and Sweden is already concluded, of which a handbill from Copenhagen gave us information—Russia to keep Finland, and Sweden to join in the continental system. While at table, Mr. Ellah received the newspapers by the mail. The Hamburg papers contain an account of our sailing from Boston, and the President's proclamation of 9th August, renewing the non-intercourse with Great Britain. The Abbé told us of a curious mode of warfare practised here last winter against Sweden. For about thirty days successively, one or two balloons were sent up every day from the castle of Cronberg, to descend upon the Swedish coast, and loaded with copies of a printed inflammatory address to the Swedish nation, instigating them to revolt against their then sovereign, and urgently recommending to them the extraordinary virtues of the King of Denmark. They produced, however, as he says, no effect, having immediately excited the attention of the Swedish police, which easily procured and suppressed all the papers that came to land.

30th. The captain and his companions returned from Copenhagen this morning about six o'clock. He brought me two letters from the Americans there detained, entreating me to come there, which they thought might contribute to obtain relief for them. The wind being directly ahead, so that the ship cannot now sail, I determined to go and hear what they desired, see Mr. Saabye, and leave with him a representation to be presented to the Danish Government. I went on board the ship; took with me the articles and papers necessary for my

journey, returned to the shore, and about one in the afternoon set off with Mr. Smith in a post coach for Copenhagen. A Danish gentleman, who told us he had himself engaged the carriage, asked if we had any objection to his taking a seat with us, which we readily gave him. The distance is six Danish miles of fifteen to a degree, or about twenty-eight English statute miles. We rode it in five hours, and landed at what is called the English Hotel, in the great square at Copenhagen—kept by Rau and Schmetzer—about six in the evening. Our Danish companion here left us. He told us he was a student in the University of Copenhagen, and at the same time a lawyer; that in this university there are about six hundred students in the three learned professions, but chiefly the law. He informed us of the names of the several places through which we passed —Amsterdam, Hersholm, and Lÿng-bÿe—and pointed to us in the Sound the island of *Hueen*, where, he says, Tycho Brahe resided, and made his observations from a town, the ruins of which are still extant. The island now belongs to Sweden.

The country from *Helsingöer* to *Kiöbenhavn* (these are the Danish names of Elsineur and Copenhagen) is very beautiful, resembling much the county of Kent, from Dover to London, in England. The road is a turnpike, and, although somewhat broken up by the autumnal rains, is yet very good. These rains have continued every day for several weeks, and while on our way this day we had several showers. Part of the country is covered by beautiful oaks and other forest trees. Part consists of turf grounds, many heaps of which we saw exposed to be dried. There is some pasturing land, and some where grain has been standing. The proprietary separations of the lands are partly sloe hedge and ditch, after the English fashion, and partly stone walls about three feet high, backed with a mound of earth and sod up level with the top of the wall. We met a great number of peasants' carts coming from Copenhagen, with one, two, or four horses—wagons on four wheels, the body made of boards in the shape of a bread-trough. The travelling carriages are mostly made in the same shape—sometimes of wicker-work instead of boards—usually three benches crossing them, with or without arms as chairs;

and sometimes in the centre, the body of a chaise with a boot. The body of these carriages rests only upon the axle-trees, and a transverse beam extending lengthwise. But the benches and the chaise in the most convenient of them are suspended upon springs within the wagon. These are almost their only travelling carriages. We met only one coach like our own on the way.

Immediately on my arrival I sent for Mr. Adgate, the supercargo of the ship Helvetius, the first signer of the letter which requested me to come, and who lodges in the house where we stopped. He came and passed a couple of hours with me. He told me his own situation, and that of the other Americans here; which, though unpleasant, is far less so than that of Christiansand. Of those detained here, two have not yet been tried, and two have been condemned. The rest are all cleared in the inferior prize court, and expect the decision of the Court of Admiralty shortly. The cases of condemnation are in both instances for misconduct in the captains. Mr. Smith went with my compliments to Mr. Saabye, to enquire when I could see him at his house, this evening or to-morrow morning. He sent me word he would call upon me at my lodgings to-morrow morning at eight o'clock. I wrote to Mr. Lizkewitz, the Russian Minister Plenipotentiary, to enquire when I could see him at his house. He was not at home when I sent the billet. I also sent to enquire whether Count Bernstorff was in town, and received for answer that he was not. Wrote part of a letter to Mr. Saabye, containing a representation in behalf of the detained Americans, with a request that he would lay the substance of it before the Danish Government.

Day. The three first weeks of the month like the last month. Since we made the land of Norway I have had no regular course of life to pursue. Every day has been altogether different from every other, and this unsettled state still continues.

October 1st. Mr. Saabye called upon me this morning about nine o'clock, and I had an hour's conversation with him upon the cases of Americans captured and detained here. He assured me that he had made every possible representation in their favor, and that this Government was certainly well disposed to

do them justice. He also told me that Count Bernstorff was now at his country-seat, about three miles out of the city, and not far out of the way to Elsineur; that I could see him if I called there at any time before three o'clock in the afternoon. I ordered a carriage and horses, to leave the city at half-past one, and finished the letter to Mr. Saabye. The Americans all came in, and detained me until near one. The Russian Minister had appointed twelve at noon to see me at his house, and invited me to dine with him to-morrow. When I called at his house I found he had been about five minutes gone out. I could not wait for his return, and wrote him an apology, which I left to be sent after our departure. The letter to Mr. Saabye I left in like manner, and wrote a short note to Count Bernstorff, requesting an immediate conference with him, intending to send it in at his house. Just after two we got into the carriage, and went out first to Count Bernstorff's house. There I found he was not at home and would not return until late at night. The wind has been all this day as fair as it could blow for us to proceed upon our voyage. I could not justify to myself a longer delay for business not within my province, and upon which there was so little prospect of my being able to render the service which I desired. I gave up, therefore, the hope of seeing Count Bernstorff, and continued my journey to Elsineur, where we arrived safe about nine o'clock in the evening. We have seen upon our journey scarcely anything but soldiers, of which there are nearly fifty thousand upon this little island of Zealand. Schmetzer, the keeper of the house where we lodged, told us there were soldiers enough, now they were not wanted; but none at all when they were. He also told us that seven bombs had fallen upon that single house at the time of the English bombardment, and one woman killed standing at the gate. There is in the streets of Copenhagen a great appearance of stagnation in all business, and solitude. There is also the reality; for the English blockade operates as a total obstruction to commerce, which was the principal subsistence of Copenhagen.

2d. We all embarked this morning on board the ship, with a fair wind, though a very light one. We weighed anchor.

to proceed upon our voyage; but within half an hour the wind fell away to a calm, the current set in against us, and we were again obliged to come to an anchor, within half a mile of the spot where it had been weighed.

3d. Wind ahead the whole day, with rainy weather and a thick fog. The captain sent the boat on shore for water, and Mr. Smith and Mr. Everett went in it, to see the fair which is now holding at Elsineur. This morning a British man-of-war came and anchored in sight of us, close under the island of *Hueen*, which is ahead of us four or five miles. In the course of the forenoon a ship came down standing close upon the Swedish shore, as if intending to pass the castle. A number of shot were fired at her from the batteries on shore, which fell short of her, and a number of gun-boats came out from the shore, and finally brought her to—took her in and anchored her close under the land. She was the Concordia, of New York, Captain David Johnson, and had been forbidden by the British armed ship from entering any of the ports of Zealand. The British ship immediately got under weigh, came down under the Swedish shore, and anchored directly abreast of us. About eleven at night a boat came out from the gun-boats and requested us to put out the lights in our cabin. They were rowing round the roads, and apprehended that our lights might be too serviceable to the British man-of-war anchored under the Swedish shore.

5th. About eight o'clock this morning, the wind being fair, though very light, we got under weigh, without being molested by the British two-decker which had anchored so near us. We sailed close under the Danish shore the whole day; which being very mild and pleasant, and the prospects on shore very variegated and beautiful, I passed almost the whole day upon deck. The island of Hueen lies nearly midway between the Swedish and Danish shores, and between Elsineur and Copenhagen. It is about nine English miles round. The principal objects which presented themselves as we passed between it on the left hand, and the island of Zealand on the right, are a solitary church, on the highest eminence of the land—the owner's house, bosomed high in tufted trees, towards the

southern extremity of the island—several scattered farm-houses, and on the very beach a few houses of fishermen. The owner is a Swedish nobleman, a Count Tausen. Our Baltic pilot tells me there are about five hundred inhabitants on the island.

Just after passing by its southern extremity we saw beyond it on the Swedish shore Carlscrona, which is a considerable town. On the Danish side we successively passed Pletten village—Sophienberg, formerly a royal palace, but now the property of an individual—Wähbock, a place of paper-mills, and where the principal part of the English troops landed, at the bombardment of Copenhagen—Scotsport, a village, the abode of tanners—and Tarböck—with Charlottenlund, a royal summer-house, sometimes called the Hermitage. All these places afford a beautiful variety of romantic situations. And it was equally pleasing to see that the palaces had no magnificence, and the villages no wretchedness, in their appearance. We had also a view of the palace of Fredericksburg, about four miles out of Copenhagen. This city opened some of its steeples upon us before we had entirely passed the island of Hueen; but, being situated on very low land, it makes not much figure as you pass it. We went without annoyance by the three-crown battery, but opposite the centre of the city there is another battery upon three sunken seventy-four-gun ships: it is in the narrowest part of the channel, at what is called the middle ground. As we came up there, a gun was fired to bring us to, which was quite unexpected to the captain and both the pilots. They thought it was a demand for the usual salute of striking the top-gallant sail; which was done. But immediately after, a second gun was fired, loaded with a ball, which struck a little ahead of our ship. The channel was too narrow to admit of the ship's coming to; so that we were obliged to come to anchor in the midst of the passage. An officer came on board, examined the captain's papers, and informed him he might proceed.

This business delayed us upwards of an hour, and before we got over the grounds we had in succession three more visits from gun-boats and floating batteries. Two of the boats, however, on information who we were, forbore coming on board.

One of them took off our pilot for the Grounds, just at the dusk of the evening, and before we had entirely got over them. The Grounds are shallows between the islands of Amager and Saltholm, just opposite Copenhagen; and the passage is so narrow that they cannot be crossed in the night. Amager Island is joined by a bridge to the city of Copenhagen, and is inhabited principally by Dutch settlers, who supply the city with vegetables. At the southern extremity of this island is a small town called Dragöe, and here terminates the passage over the Grounds. About an hour afterwards we opened the light-house of Falsterbo, on the Swedish shore, and ran in sight of it till midnight.

6th. This morning we had the island of Moen astern, almost out of sight, and, the wind being unfavorable, we were obliged to stretch over to the coast of Swedish Pomerania, upon which we soon made the island of Rügen, nearly opposite to the mouths of the Oder River. We had very fine weather the whole day, and, running close to the wind, we made before night the island of Bornholm, the last of the Danish islands. Our captain and pilot preferring the passage north of this island, between it and the Swedish coast, we were obliged to lay as close to the wind as possible, and this evening to beat between the island and the mainland.

9th. The wind continues steadily ahead, and, after gradually subsiding all the early part of the day, freshens towards night, and in the night blows heavily. Last night we had a severe gale, with a strong current setting also against us. For three days we have been beating half the day about southeast, and half the day northwest, without advancing a league in our course. We have also in the night a heavy sea, which makes repose impossible. The weather, however, has hitherto been fair. This day the wind subsided, and, being the day of a new moon, flattered us with the prospect of a change.

10th. The flattering prospects of the last evening have disappointed us. The night was moderate; and the day has been so, with the exception of a constant succession of squalls, with rain, hail, sleet, snow, and sometimes wind—but the wind continues inflexible; blowing directly from the point to which we

are bound. It has now become very doubtful whether it will be possible for us to reach Cronstadt before the winter sets in with ice. We have not gained one league ahead these five days. I proposed to the captain to go into the little island Christiansöe and wait for a wind, but he thought it could not be done without endangering the ship. He himself proposed to turn back and go and winter at Kiel—and to proceed to Petersburg in the spring. I have taken time until to-morrow morning to reflect upon this proposal.

11th. We are still in sight of the island of Bornholm, and in six days have rather lost than gained on our course. The prospect of reaching Cronstadt before the formation of the ice, which will make it impracticable, has now become desperate, and it only remains to be considered what in this emergency is to be done. After full reflection upon the captain's proposal to turn back and go into Kiel—to winter there and proceed in the spring in the vessel to Petersburg—I determined to decline it; at least until something better shall be found unattainable. The navigation upon the Baltic is now very dangerous, and I have proposed to the captain, if possible, to land us anywhere short of Cronstadt, but ahead of this, from which we may attempt to proceed on our journey by land. This is now the expedient to which we must resort, and the success of this is in better hands than mine.

13th. The night passed away without a severe gale, but with many squalls of wind and rain; this morning it came to blow with so much violence that it became dangerous to have the island of Bornholm so near under our lee. The captain is extremely urgent to turn back and go to winter at Kiel or Copenhagen. The pilot is equally averse to proceeding. Both consider it as impossible to get up this season to Petersburg, and equally impossible to land us at any port in the Baltic short of Petersburg, unless it be Reval or Port Baltic. I renewed this morning to the captain the proposition to go into the harbor of Christiansöe, and there wait for a wind. This he again absolutely declined; but beginning to be short of many articles of provisions, and alarmed at the lee shore of Bornholm, he determined to bear away for it, and weather the gale under

its lee. At noon the ship was brought round, and in less than two hours we were close at the entrance of Christiansöe. We hoisted the flag at the foremast head, and the flag at the castle was hoisted in return, which is the signal that a pilot would come out to us if we chose to stand in. The captain, however, persevered in his determination not to go in, and stood on along the island of Bornholm.

14th. This morning our flag was hoisted at the head of the foremast, upon which two boats came out to us from the shore. The wind still continuing about east by north, and blowing a hard gale the whole day, we stood to and from the shore alternately until the evening. Under the high land of the shore there was little sea, and so little of a gale that the boats were able to come out to us the whole day; but when we stood out clear of the land, the wind and sea were as rough as we could bear with a reefed foresail and top-sails. The first boats that came out brought no provisions, having been forbidden by the commandant, who had taken us for an English ship. Word was then sent on shore who and what we were, with a list of the articles of provisions that we wanted. The boat returned soon after noon with a young officer, who came with the compliments of the Governor of the island, a naval officer named Rote, a knight of the order of Dannebrog, and the offer of anything which we could want for supplies. The officer said he had seen in the newspapers an account of our having passed at Elsineur, and intimated a wish to see the pass or license from the Danish authority. I showed him the order which Commodore Fischer gave me at Christiansand, with which he appeared much gratified. The captain also showed him his papers from Elsineur.

By this officer I sent my compliments to the Governor, with my thanks for his civility, and the assurance that if we should remain here to-morrow, and the weather would admit of my landing, I would go on shore to pay my respects and return my thanks to the Governor in person. The officer had brought me an invitation to come on shore, and one to the ladies to a ball, to-morrow evening.

Between four and five in the afternoon the boat came again

on board, with the supply of provisions which had been desired, and with it came another naval officer, named Smid, who, we had been told in the morning, was the commandant at the village of Hassley, abreast of where we lay, but who told me that he was of the Governor's staff, who repeated the invitation from the Governor to me, to come on shore to-morrow, and said the Governor himself had come from Rönne, the capital of the island, where he resided, to Hassley, to meet me there if I should go on shore. Rönne is distant from Hassley one Danish mile, fifteen to a degree. At Rönne is a road where large vessels may lie in perfect safety at anchor, and the officer very obligingly urged us to go and anchor there. He had brought with him a pilot for the place. Our captain, however, having lost one cable and anchor, was afraid of anchoring in an open road, and preferred standing out and in for the night, as we had done all day. He finally concluded, however, to bear away before the wind for Kiel, with the determination still, if a change of wind should take place, or the weather moderate, to come about again and take the last chance of a possibility to go up the Baltic this season. To this I consented. We accordingly bore away at eight this evening.

15th. We went before the wind all night, and made Moen Island about eight o'clock this morning. But the wind having much moderated in the course of the night, and the warmth of the weather indicating an approaching change, the captain, at my desire, agreed to make one last attempt to resume our course; in consequence of which we hauled by the wind, and stood so the whole of this day. I read two sermons of Massillon —the two last in the second volume of Lent Sermons—on the mixture of good and evil persons in the world, and on real religion. I read also some sections in Paley's Horæ Paulinæ. This is the first day of ten in which I have found it possible to read or write with the composure which admits of due attention. A brig with English colors brought us to, this morning, but left us without boarding us or our hoisting our flag.

17th. Our fair wind forsook us this morning about six o'clock, and came nearly ahead, where it remained all the morning; and from noon to midnight we had a total calm. With the

change of wind our captain's inclination to turn back and go to Kiel returned. I proposed to him to land me at Dantzic, or to go to Carlscrona; but he had plausible, and indeed solid, objections to this. I persuaded him, however, to stand on a little longer; but he and the pilot and all the crew are alarmed at navigating the Baltic so late in the season, and desponding under the long succession and continued prospect of adverse winds. The passengers all share in these feelings, and I, who have so much more embarked than the rest, cannot sufficiently suppress my own impatience. Yet, in the pursuit of a public trust, I cannot abandon, upon any motive less than that of absolute necessity, the endeavor to reach the place of my destination by the shortest course possible. We saw four men-of-war crowding sail out of the Baltic, apparently English—one ship of the line, two frigates, and a brig. They made signals as they were passing, but did not stop us. We saw also several other vessels in the course of the day, but no land.

19th. Fair wind, with a fresh gale, all night and all this day. We stood north for the island of Gottland until noon, without making it, and then our course northeast until night. The islands of Oland and Gottland are near each other, and it is usual to make the latter, as a new point of departure. In this endeavor, however, we have not succeeded. We saw several vessels in the course of the day, and among others one astern, standing the same course as ourselves. She crowded sail to come up with us, and we slackened sail to let her overtake us. She came up and spoke with us about twelve at night—a New York ship, the Ocean, Captain Benjamin Richards, from Malaga, bound to Petersburg; supposes Dagerort, in the island of Dago, twelve leagues' distance; our captain's reckoning makes it fifteen leagues.

20th. Our wind continued fresh and fair all night and all this day, but with rain and fog, and an atmosphere so obscured that we could see no land in any direction. About eight this morning we spoke again to Captain Richards; he supposed Dagerort to be distant six leagues, and that we should see it within two hours. We sailed all day within speaking distance of each other. Our pilot's anxiety at missing sight both of Gottland

and Dago was extreme, and his impatience approached to distraction. Soon after noon, however, we saw under the lee a small Dutch-built schooner beating down against the wind, and altered our course to speak with her. When she came to a suitable distance both ships hove to, but the Ocean only succeeded in speaking. From Captain Richards the intelligence he had obtained was repeated to us. It was that we should shortly make the Odersholm light, which the schooner had seen since noon, on standing out from the land. This agreed very well with our pilot's reckoning, for he had supposed both by that and by the color and smoothness of the water, remarkably different from that we had experienced for several days, that we were already entered the Gulf of Finland. We now stood on in our course with a fair wind blowing very strong, and within two hours saw the Odersholm light, and after it successively, in the course of the evening, the Ragerwick and Reval lights, each distant from the other about twenty miles. The evening was variable—sometimes with a bright moonshine, and promising a continuance of moderate weather, with a favorable breeze. According to its variations, the resolution of our pilot also changed. At one time he ordered the ship to be put under short sail, intending to lay to for the night before reaching Reval; but finally, having seen the island of Hargo, and the moon shining out in a more promising manner, he called up the captain from his berth and made full sail. The place which he was afraid of passing in the night was Revalstan, a reef of rocks east of Reval, which forms one of the dangerous passages of the gulf. What contributed much to his determination, and that of the captain, to proceed, was the idea of the other ship's proceeding while we should stop short. He was very desirous of speaking to the other ship, and asking what she meant to do. Mr. Louder, the mate, who had the watch, would not comply with this request; but, at the last, the pilot would not go on until the captain himself came on deck. The captain, as well as the pilot, had some scruples about passing Reval, and probably concluded to stand on because the Ocean would have stood on without us. I was on deck late this night, and until one in the morning.

21st. We passed by the Reval stone and the Kokskar light-house in the night, the latter part of which was very boisterous. About five this morning the wind came round east of north, nearly ahead for us, and blew a gale until about ten, clearing the sky of every cloud upon it. The remainder of the day was moderate, the weather mild and fine as possible, and the wind drawing so far to the westward as to enable us to make the northward of Hogland Island. We made this about noon, and passed the two fires upon it about seven in the evening. This is a very narrow passage, and one of the most dangerous in the Gulf of Finland. We passed it by moonlight, with a breeze just sufficient to fill our sails, and the moon within two days of being full. In the evening we passed the light on Somerö, and about midnight came in sight of the Sÿskar light. Hogland is about eighty miles, and Sÿskar sixty, from Cronstadt. The Ocean followed us far to windward all the morning, and reached the Hogland passage about ten minutes after us.

22d. We had a light and favorable breeze the whole night and all the morning, during which we passed up the gulf in sight of land on both sides. About eleven this morning we saw the Tolbäcken light-house about six miles below Cronstadt, and soon came up with it. At one, afternoon, we came into Cronstadt Road, where we found a number of Russian men-of-war. An officer came on board from the first of two guard-ships stationed there, and sent his boat on board the second guard-ship for a pilot to conduct us into the Mole. We also made a signal at the foremast-head for a pilot from the shore. But none could be procured, and we came to anchor near the second guard-ship at two. Here we waited for a pilot until almost five, when it became too late to think of getting into the Mole this night. After sending two or three times on board the guard-ship for a pilot, one came at length on board, when it was too late to work the ship into the Mole. The lieutenant from the guard-ship offered us, however, his boat to go on shore; which offer I finally, though with much reluctance, accepted. My object was merely to land and get a lodging for the night at an inn. But I was apprehensive of some obstruction in landing,

though the lieutenant gave us the most positive assurances that there would be none. At length I concluded to go. We were about two miles distant from the Mole, and when we had sailed about half the way to it we met a barge rowing out from the shore with three officers in it, who spoke to our boatmen, and ordered them first to turn back, and afterwards to follow them. Our interpreter, the pilot, understood no more Russian than ourselves; so we followed the barge to a landing within the Mole.

I landed, and an officer who spoke German very politely invited me to go with him to the admiral, Kolokoltzof, before whom all strangers arriving from abroad by sea have to pass an examination. I enquired whether the ladies also were to go; upon which he answered it would be best, but they might go or stay at the boat as we chose. We therefore all went together, walking nearly a mile to the admiral's house. In passing through his antechamber we found there a number of Americans waiting for examination, and among the rest Mr. Fisher, whom we left at Christiansand, and who arrived at Cronstadt before us this morning. We went through the admiral's apartments, where there was company assembled, and in the last of which we found his lady and several others, who spoke French. The admiral himself soon appeared, but speaks only Russian. When informed who we were, he showed us every possible civility; and immediately sent an officer on board the ship to bring her into the mole this night; to which, however, I knew the captain would not consent. The admiral sent immediately for Mr. Sparrow, an Englishman, who is the agent for American ships and masters here, and who informed us that by order of Mr. Harris, the American Consul at Petersburg, he had engaged chambers for us at the best inn of the place. The admiral and his lady both offered us lodgings in their own house, and urged us very warmly to accept them; which, however, we declined. The carriages which they ordered to take us to the inn we, however, accepted. Mr. Sparrow accompanied us to the inn; but on arriving there we found that the chambers which he had bespoken for us had this day been taken by company from Petersburg, and there was not a room in the house

disengaged. It was now dark, between seven and eight in the evening; blowing so fresh that we could not get on board our ship again; so that we were obliged to accept Mr. Sparrow's offer to give us lodging in his own house. Here we found very good apartments, an excellent supper, and a comfortable lodging for the night.

23d. It blew a heavy gale of wind all the night, which continued this day, so that it was equally impossible for the ship to warp into the mole and for any boat to go off to the ship. But it was fair as possible for coming up to Petersburg. Admiral Kolokoltzof, who, with the Governor of Cronstadt, this morning paid me a visit, offered me the use of a Government boat, with a deck and cabin, but at the same time advised us to stay here until the weather should be more moderate. The admiral the next in command under him, Lomenne, also paid us a visit, and recommended to us to wait for fine weather. But we could procure no lodgings at any public house. We had been already too burdensome to Mr. Sparrow, and could not think of continuing longer at his house. An American gentleman, Mr. Martin, was coming up to Petersburg, and offered to bear us company; and by delay we might have lost the finest opportunity for completing in three or four hours of time the remainder of our voyage. We therefore determined to proceed in the Government boat about eleven o'clock. It took us nearly two hours to warp out of the mole, and then three hours up to Petersburg, where we landed just below the bridge over the Neva, upon the quay, at four o'clock in the afternoon. It blew a strong gale all the way up. We passed rapidly the palaces of Oranienbaum and Peterhof, and the bar seven wersts below the city, where there is only eight feet of water, and where the channel is winding and narrow, obliging our boat several times to change her tacks.

When we came to the land, Mr. Martin immediately went and procured a carriage, in which the ladies rode with the child, while we walked to his lodgings. A Mr. Richardson, whom we met upon the quay, and who undertook to look out lodgings for us, came in early in the evening, and with him I went to the Hôtel de Londres, in the street called the Newsky

Perspective, and engaged an apartment of five indifferent chambers, but said to be the best in the city.[1]

25th. This morning Mr. Harris sent a note to the High Chancellor of the Empire, Count Romanzoff,[2] informing him of my arrival, and of my wish to visit him, enquiring at what time it would be agreeable to him to receive this visit. He appointed seven o'clock this evening. Mr. Harris dined with us, and, at seven this evening, went with me to the Chancellor's. We went according to the customary style, in full dress. The Count received us with courtly state and politeness. He asked for a copy of my credential letter, which I gave him, with a French translation. He said that the Emperor was now indisposed with an inflammation in both his legs, which confined him to a seat on his sofa, but he would be up again in the course of a few days. He would take his orders on the subject of my request for an audience to-morrow, and in the mean time he assured me that the information of my appointment had been very agreeable to him. We made our visit short, and the conversation was upon general topics.

28th. Mr. Krehmer paid me a visit this morning in company with Mr. Harris. I went with the latter of these gentlemen to look at a house, the accommodations of which, however, did not please me. We met there the Baron de Schladen, the Prussian Minister, who was in pursuit of the same object, and to whom Mr. Harris introduced me. At four o'clock I went with Mr. Harris and dined at the Chancellor Count Romanzoff's. I had in the year 1781 dined at the same house, much in the same style, with the Marquis de Vérac, then the French Minister at this Court. This was a diplomatic dinner, in the style

[1] In view of the present facilities of travel, it may not be out of place to point out that in the year 1809 this tempestuous and hazardous voyage of seventy-five days in a simple merchant-vessel was deemed the most eligible mode of transporting to his place of destination the first Diplomatic Envoy from the United States ever accredited to the court of St. Petersburg. It is true that the government had directed one of the few national frigates to be got in readiness for Mr. Adams. But, in the condition things were in at that time, it was thought more prudent to take no risk of delay. The result confirmed the wisdom of the decision.

[2] This name is spelt Rioumiantsof in the Biographie Générale, but, as it is pronounced as spelt above, it has not been thought worth while to alter it.

of the highest splendor; about forty-five persons at table. The French Ambassador le Duc de Vicence, M. de Caulaincourt, was the principal personage at table. The Baron de Stedingk, who has been here many years, as Swedish Minister, and who was one of the negotiators of the late Treaty of peace between Sweden and Russia, was also there. Mr. Six, whom I had formerly met at the Chevalier d'Araujo's at the Hague, now Minister here, from the King of Holland. I sat next to the Chevalier de Bray, Minister from the King of Bavaria, whom I once saw in the year 1800, at Berlin. The Chevalier de Navarro, Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, I had also known as a Secretary to the Vicomte d'Anadia, at Berlin. The rest of the company were strangers to me. But they are all covered with stars and ribbons—beyond anything that I had ever seen.

The dinner did not last more than two hours. It was magnificent in every particular. The Chancellor showed me at table, and afterwards, many pointed and formal civilities. He exhibited two superb large vases of Sèvres china, and splendid editions of Virgil and Racine—presents which he had received from the Emperor Napoleon; bestowed in a very gracious manner, which the Count related with much apparent satisfaction. The house—the company—the exhibitions—the recollections of the Marquis de Vérac, and his magnificence, which I had witnessed on the same spot, led my mind so forcibly to the mutability of human fortunes, that it shared but little in the gorgeous scene around me. We heard this day that the peace between France and Austria[1] was concluded; and that Te Deum was to be sung to-morrow in the French Ambassador's chapel on this occasion.

29th. The Chancellor yesterday told me that the Emperor was still confined, which would yet delay my reception for some days. But he repeated that the mission was agreeable to him, and he said he had been much gratified with Mr. Daschkoff's[2] dispatches, which I had called and left the day before yesterday at his house. Mr. Daschkoff, he said, was highly pleased, as well with his reception by the President as with the great and

[1] Determined by the result of the battle of Wagram.

[2] The first Minister sent to the United States by the Emperor of Russia.

numerous civilities which he had received from the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and of the other places where he had been.

November 2d. Mr. Harris called again, and passed a couple of hours with us in the evening. He also sent me a Russian and French Dictionary and Grammar, from which I began the attempt to learn the characters of the Russian alphabet. Among the peculiarities of this country, with which it will be proper to become more conversant, are the stoves, the kitchens, the double windows, the construction of the houses generally, and the drosskys. These and other things will be the subjects of more particular future observation. I tried this day two of their most ordinary liquors—the quas, at two kopecks the bottle, and the chitslisky, at five. They have a taste of small beer, with an acid not unpalatable to me, though much so to all the rest of the family.

4th. This morning I received from the High Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, a written notification that the Emperor being now better, he had condescended to fix the audiences for me to-morrow, immediately after his hearing mass, and that immediately after coming out from the Emperor[1] I should have the honor of being presented to the Empress. While we were at dinner, Mr. Harris came in with a gentleman from the Commandeur de Maisonneuve, who told me that he, who was the master of ceremonies, would call upon me at any hour I should name this evening, to arrange with me the ceremonial of my presentation. I named to him seven o'clock; he came about eight. The formalities of these court presentations are so trifling and insignificant in themselves, and so important in the eyes of princes and courtiers, that they are much more embarrassing to an American than business of real importance. It is not safe or prudent to despise them, nor practicable for a person of rational understanding to value them. M. de Maisonneuve, however, as an old acquaintance, gave me all the information which I could desire.

5th. At ten minutes past one, according to the appointment of M. de Maisonneuve, I went to the Imperial Palace, and at

[1] Alexander the First, at this time in the flower of his age. Born 23d December, 1777, he came to the throne March 24, 1801.

about two was conducted by him to the entrance of the Emperor's cabinet, the door of which was opened, and at which he stopped. I entered, and found the Emperor alone.

As I stepped forward, he advanced to me near to the door, and said, in French, "Monsieur, je suis charmé d'avoir le plaisir de vous voir ici."

I then presented to him my credential letter, and, addressing him in French, said that in delivering it, I was charged to add that the President of the United States hoped his Imperial Majesty would consider the mission as a proof of the President's respect for his Majesty's person and character, of his desire to multiply and to strengthen the relations of friendship and commerce between his Majesty's provinces and the United States, and of grateful acknowledgment for the frequent testimonials of good will which his Majesty, on many occasions, had given towards the United States.

He replied by desiring me to assure the President of the United States that this new addition to the relations between the two countries gave him great pleasure; that in everything that depended upon him he should be happy to contribute towards increasing the friendly intercourse between them; that with regard to the political relations of Europe, and those unhappy disturbances which agitated its different states, the system of the United States was wise and just, and they might rely upon it he would do nothing to withdraw them from it; that the Continent of Europe was now in a manner pacified, and that the only obstacle to a general pacification was the obstinate adherence of England to a system of maritime pretensions which was neither liberal nor just; that the only object now to be attained by the war was to bring England to reasonable terms on this subject, and that she could no longer flatter herself with any support for her system upon the Continent; that Austria, after abandoning herself to inconsiderate counsels, and disregarding the advice which *he* had given her (qu'on lui avoit donné), had now been obliged to make peace, and to sacrifice several of her provinces; that Austria was thus not in a condition to renew the contest; that the King of Prussia was in a situation to make peace equally necessary to him; that he him-

self was convinced that the good of his empire, and of Europe, was best promoted by a state of peace and friendship between Russia and France, whose views, he believed, from the assurance of that Government, were not at all directed to the conquest of England, but merely to make her recognize the only fair and equitable principles of neutral navigation in time of war; that the only danger to England from the establishment of those principles would be that France might be enabled, in consequence of them, to form and maintain again a large navy; but this could be no justification for England's maintaining a system oppressive and destructive to the fair and lawful commerce of other nations; that the establishment of this just system of maritime rights was the purpose of France, "and as for me, I shall adhere invariably to those which I have declared. I am sensible that it subjects us to inconvenience; that the people suffer privations and some distress under the present state of things. But the English maxims are much more intolerable, and, if submitted to, would be permanent."

In expressing his determination to abide by his declared principles, his tone and attitude assumed a firmness and dignity which he had not taken before, and which, immediately after, slided again into that easy and familiar manner with which he had first accosted me.

In the midst of this conversation he had taken me by the arm and walked from near the door to a window opening upon the river—a movement seemingly intended to avoid being overheard. I occasionally answered his remarks, by observing to him that, as the political duty of the United States towards the powers of Europe was to forbear interference in their dissensions, it would be highly grateful to the President to learn that their system in this respect met the approbation of his Imperial Majesty; that being at once a great commercial and a pacific nation, they were greatly interested in the establishment of a system which should give security to the fair commerce of nations in time of war; that the United States, and the world of mankind, expected that this blessing to humanity would be accomplished by his Imperial Majesty himself, and that the United States, by all the means in their power, consistent with their peace and

their separation from the political system of Europe, would contribute to the support of the liberal principles to which his Majesty had expressed so strong and so just an attachment.

He said that as between Russia and the United States there could be no interference of interests and no causes for disunion; but that by means of commerce the two states might be greatly useful to each other, and his desire was to give the greatest extension and facility to these means of mutual benefit.

After this he passed from topics of general politics to conversation more particularly concerning myself and my country. He enquired how long we had been upon our voyage, and how we had borne the inconveniences and fatigues of the sea; whether I had ever been in Russia before; what were our principal cities in America—the number of their inhabitants, and the manner in which they were built.

I told him that I had been in Russia formerly, and had passed a winter at St. Petersburg during the reign of the Empress Catherine; that I had then admired the city as the most magnificent I had ever seen, but that I scarcely knew it again now; that the two principal cities in population of my country were New York and Philadelphia, the latter of which had been founded by the celebrated Quaker Penn, of whom his Majesty had certainly heard; that the inhabitants in each of these two cities were now about one hundred thousand; that they were both elegant cities, with handsome buildings, three and four stories high for the most part, and forming handsome and convenient dwelling-houses suitable to the citizens of a republic, but which in point of splendor and magnificence could not vie with the buildings of Petersburg, which to the eye of a stranger appeared like a city of princes.

He said that was nothing—that a republican government whose principles and conduct were just and wise was as respectable as any other.

I said, Assuredly; but in regard to the buildings, no person would know better than his Majesty that Petersburg was the most magnificent city of Europe, or of the world.

He said he had not been at Vienna or at Paris; but he had been at Dresden and at Berlin; that Dresden was small, but

Berlin was a beautiful city, as to all the part of it which could be called modern, and to which Frederic the Second had been specially attentive; that the ancient part of Berlin was not so handsome; that Petersburg had the advantage of being a city entirely modern, and built upon a plan.

On which I remarked that this was not its only advantage: that this plan was that of a man such as very seldom appeared on the face of this globe, and that it bore the marks of his sublime genius; that it had the further advantage of all the improvement which a succession of sovereigns could give it, who had entered into the ideas of that great prince, and had taken a pride in contributing to their full execution.

He asked me to which of the United States I belonged, and upon being told Massachusetts, he asked me what was its climate. I told him that it was in the northern part of the Union, and had the climate the most nearly resembling that of this residence of any in the United States. He asked how long our winter commonly was. I said between five and six months. "Then," said he, "we have two months more here. We have eight months of winter—September, October, November, December, January, February, March, and April; and sometimes it lasts till June. But," said he, "you have good sledging in your country?" I said we had; but that the snow seldom lasted long upon the ground at a time. "We cannot complain of that," said he. "When it once comes, it is sure to last long enough." I then said that there was an advantage in that, inasmuch as it facilitated the communications by the roads. It was, he said, a very great advantage, for it made roads in the winter better than any that could be made by human art; that all the gravel stones or iron in the world could not make such a road as a few hours of snow and frost; and that the advantage of this was immense to an empire so extensive as this—so extensive that its size was one of its greatest evils; that it was very difficult to hold together so great a body as this empire.

I was on the point of saying that, great as this evil was, his Majesty had recently increased it—referring to the Treaty of peace with Sweden, and the acquisition of Finland; but reflecting that the remark might be taken in ill part, or at least thought

too familiar and smart for such an occasion, I suppressed it, and made no reply.

After a short pause, the Emperor dismissed me, by renewing the assurance of his pleasure at receiving a Minister from the United States, and with the obliging addition, that he was well pleased that the choice of the American Government had fallen upon me; that he should be happy to promote the relations between the two countries through this medium, and he hoped I should find my residence agreeable here.

Upon which I took my leave in the usual form, and went again with M. de Maisonneuve to the apartment of the Empress. Here he entered with me and stood near the door, while I advanced up to her Imperial Majesty,[1] who was about the middle of the room, standing alone, with a lady, whether of honor or a waiting woman I did not ascertain, standing behind her Majesty, near the stove in the corner of the chamber.

The Empress, who was dressed in a gown of lace, without a hoop, with a necklace of rubies, and a chain of the like precious stones round her head, connecting the utmost simplicity with most costly ornament, addressed me by saying she was happy to see me here, and enquiring how I found the roads. I told her that I had come the whole way by water. Upon which she made enquiries about the length of our voyage, and others of the same kind. From this she passed to remarks upon the climate, the bad weather, the cold season which was approaching, and the city of Petersburg. Upon this my answers and observations were of the commonplace kind.

Her Majesty then said that two or three years since they had had the pleasure of seeing here two of my countrymen, Mr. Smith and Mr. Poinsett, whose manners had been calculated to inspire great esteem personally to themselves and to their country, and asked me whether I had seen them since their return.

I said that I heard that two of my countrymen had been favored with the honor of admission to her Imperial Majesty's

[1] Elizabeth, Princess of Baden, born January 24, 1779, married to the Emperor October 9, 1793. He was a little over, and she was as much under, fifteen. They had no children, and the marriage was not deemed a happy one. They died within six months of each other. She survived until May 16, 1826.

presence, and that I knew they recollected with great pleasure the reception they had met here; that I had not the pleasure of being acquainted with Mr. Poinsett,[1] but I had seen Mr. Smith at Washington upon his return from Europe, about two years since, and knew how much he prized the manner of his treatment at this Court.

On taking leave of her Majesty immediately after this conversation, conformably to the established usage, I kissed her hand, a ceremony which M. de Maisonneuve told me many persons forgot to perform, which the Empress herself never took in ill part, being the most amiable princess in the world, but that the Empress Dowager was more apt to be displeased at such an omission.

Having thus finished the ceremonies of presentation to the Emperor and Empress, I went in person to the house of the French Minister, the Duke de Vicence, who not being at home, I left a card there. He had sent two cards yesterday, one for Mrs. Adams and one for me—a circumstance for which I know not how to account.

6th. I received this morning from M. de Maisonneuve a list of persons to whom visiting-cards are to be sent. To the members of the Emperor's Council, however, he intimated that it would be considered as a mark of attention to go to their houses and deliver the cards. They are in number about twenty-five. Mr. Harris called upon me this evening, and we went round to about half the houses—leaving the remainder for to-morrow morning.

7th. This morning Mr. Harris called again upon me, and we went round together and finished the tour of personal visits to the members of the Emperor's Council. The remainder of the day I was employed principally in writing to the Secretary of State.

9th. This morning Monsieur le Commandeur de Maisonneuve called upon me, to give me further information about the ceremonies. He informed me that I must write a note to the

[1] J. R. Poinsett, afterwards for many years in public life, both in the foreign and home service. He was Secretary of War in the administration of Mr. Van Buren, and died in 1851.

Chancellor, requesting to be presented to the Empress-mother; and also for Mrs. Adams to be presented to the same Empress; and also to the Empress Elizabeth—that is, the Imperial Consort; that the day would be fixed for next Sunday, when there was to be a Te Deum, and a grand gala-day; that all the foreign Ministers must attend at the Te Deum, of which they would receive a seasonable notification; that on Saturday evening, about seven o'clock, Mrs. Adams and myself would do well to pay a visit to Countess Litta, the first dame d'honneur, who executed the functions of Grande Gouvernante; that she would then be at home, of course, it being at the eve of the presentations, and he himself would be there at the time; that Mrs. Adams would then receive further advice as to forms from the Countess. I accordingly wrote, and sent the note to Count Romanzoff.

10th. In the evening I went with Mrs. Adams, by an appointment made with Mr. Harris, to the Chevalier de Bray's, the Bavarian Minister—the only member of the Diplomatic Corps at this Court who is married, and has his lady here. We saw there the mother and sister of this lady, who live with her—Mr. Six d'Oterbeck, the Minister of Holland, the Comte de Lüxbourg, Secretary of the Bavarian Legation, and the Chevalier Brancia, Secretary of the Legation from Naples. We made a short visit. M. and Madame de Bray were both very obliging. But her account of the forms for Mrs. Adams's presentation differed from that of M. de Maisonneuve, so that I thought it best to call upon him and ascertain whether I had properly understood him. He was, however, not at home. Mr. Harris mentioned to me from M. de Bray, that besides the visits by cards, which I have paid to the members of the Diplomatic Corps, by the usage of this Court it was expected also that I should visit them all in person—a usage I never heard of elsewhere. I employed in writing to America as much of the day as I had of time left.

11th. I received a written notification, from the Grand-maître des Cérémonies, of the Te Deum to-morrow, on account of the peace between France and Austria. M. de Maisonneuve, on whom I called again without finding him at home, sent me

word that he would be at Count Litta's this evening until seven o'clock. Just before that hour, therefore, I went with Mrs. Adams, and we were received politely by Count and Countess Litta, who told us that Mrs. Adams would be presented to-morrow to the Empress-mother; but she knew not whether I should also be presented to her, or Mrs. Adams to the reigning Empress. M. de Maisonneuve's information respecting the forms of Mrs. Adams's presentation was correct. After we returned to our lodgings I received a written notification from Count Romanzoff that I was to be presented to the Empress-mother to-morrow morning before mass, and Mrs. Adams after mass; but that he had received no answer from the reigning Empress; that as soon as he should receive one he would inform me of it. I wrote a note to Mr. Harris to enquire whether he would attend the Te Deum to-morrow, and proposing in that case to go in company with him.

12th. Mr. Harris answered my note this morning, and called upon me just before eleven o'clock. I went with him to the palace and attended the celebration of the mass, and the Te Deum. Just as we were going out from the house, I received a note from Count Romanzoff superscribed "très-pressée," informing me that her Majesty the Empress-mother had changed the hour for the presentation of Mrs. Adams to half-past two o'clock. I gave notice accordingly to Mrs. Adams.

On arriving at the palace, we were introduced first to the antechamber, where all the foreign Ministers were assembled; and I was soon called out to have a private audience of the Empress-mother.[1] She is said to be very much attached to the punctilio of etiquette, which the reigning Empress is not; but her Imperial Majesty is all condescension and affability; full of conversation, and upon a variety of topics. She spoke about America, which, she said, was "un pays bien sage." I told her that we were much obliged to her Majesty for the good opinion she entertained of us. She asked whether there were

[1] Paul I. married in 1776 for a second wife this lady, then a Princess of Würtemberg, niece of Frederic the Second, the great object of his admiration. The effect of his accession to the throne upon the issue of the Seven Years' War is well known.

not great numbers of emigrants arriving there from Europe. I told her not many of late years. "How so?" said she. "I thought there were even in these times more than ever." I said that the ports of Holland and other countries from which they were wont to embark had been closed against our commerce, and they could not find opportunities to go; that our commerce was shut out from almost all Europe.

"But," said she, "it is freely admitted here." I said, yes; it was an advantage which we still enjoyed and very much cherished; that from the friendly dispositions which his Majesty the Emperor was pleased to manifest towards the United States, I hoped we should continue in the enjoyment of this advantage, which was important to the interests of both countries.

She said there were many very excellent articles of commerce brought here from America. And, said I, many sent from this country equally important to us. So that it is a commerce extremely beneficial to both parties. This, she said, was the best kind of commerce. She enquired after Mr. Smith and Mr. Poinsett, who were presented here two or three years since, and of whom she spoke in very favorable terms. She asked me about our voyage. Said she had heard I had been at Berlin. Had I ever before been in Russia? I said I had, at a time when her Majesty was absent, travelling on the Continent. She said it must have been in 1781 and 1782. Which I said it was.

On taking my leave she said she was happy to see me; and hoped I should find my residence at Petersburg agreeable; that she would have the pleasure of making the acquaintance of my lady this day.

I then returned into the hall of the foreign Ministers, where I had some conversation with several of them. The French Ambassador, whose name is Caulaincourt, and whose style is Duc de Vicence, Grand Ecuyer de France, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire près S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, and whom I informed that I had called to see him at his hôtel in person, told me that he was sorry not to have been at home when I called, and that he also had called upon me, and had not found me at home. This I believe was a mistake.

General Baron de Stedingk has been formerly Swedish Am-

bassador at this Court, and was the first Swedish Plenipotentiary at the late Treaty of peace between Russia and Sweden. But he is here without any diplomatic character at present. He told me that he had been an officer in the French army during our war, and was wounded at the battle of Savannah. He said he received the order of the Cincinnati Society; but did not wear it, because he had not the permission of his King so to do. I made many enquiries of him concerning my old Swedish acquaintances, and received some information from him concerning some of them. Mr. de Wiggers, agent of the Hanseatic Cities, was introduced to me, and spoke with much pleasure of his friendship for Mr. Harris.

About twelve o'clock we were informed that the mass was about to begin, and went into the chapel. The Emperor, Empress, Empress-mother, Grand Duchess Ann, and the Princess Amelia of Baden, the Empress's sister, and the Grand Duke and Czarovitz Constantine, with the Prince of Würtemberg, brother to the Empress-mother, came in immediately after. A railing of massy silver separates the chapel from the place of the hearers. The mass is heard standing, except at one particular moment, when everybody kneeled. At the close of the Te Deum, the Metropolitan presented to the Emperor, who then went within the railing, a large crucifix, which he kissed, the Archbishop at the same time kissing the Emperor's hand. The same ceremony was performed to the two Empresses. The Te Deum was a separate and extraordinary performance for this day. At the moment of its beginning a salute of cannon was fired from the Admiralty, near the palace. The ceremonies were performed in the Russian language. The music altogether vocal—no instrumental music being allowed in the rites of this Church. The voices were admirable.

During the performance of this mass two messengers belonging to the Department of Ceremonies were successively sent to Mrs. Adams to inform her that she must come, first at two o'clock, and then at half-past one, by different arrangements ordered by the Empresses. She came in seasonable time, and was presented, first to the Empress, with whom the Emperor was at the same time; then to the Empress-mother; and finally,

immediately after me, to the Grand Duchess Ann, a young lady of fourteen or fifteen, sister to the Emperor, whose audience was short, and who spoke to me of our voyage, of the weather, and of the city of St. Petersburg. There were several gentlemen, foreigners, presented to the Empresses and Grand Duchess besides us, which occasioned the disorder and confusion in the time. About three in the afternoon it was all finished, and we came home to our lodgings.

I shortly after received a note from the Chancellor, enclosing a passport in favor of one Graham, purporting to be from the Mayor of New York, enquiring as to its authenticity, which was suspected. A Mr. Plessig had sent me some days ago this passport, with his own warranty that Graham was a native American, and a request that I would authenticate the passport. I had sent it back, on the information of Mr. Harris that the passport was probably a forgery, and the bearer, Graham, no native American citizen, but an English officer, who had never been in America. I now wrote a note in answer to that of Count Romanzoff, and in the evening called upon Mr. Harris to show it to him. He was in company at his neighbor Mr. Severin's, where I sent for him, requesting to see him for a few minutes. He came home, and I passed a couple of hours with him, and took his advice respecting my answer.

13th. I sent this day my note in answer to that of Count Romanzoff, and requested the opportunity of a conference with him upon the subject. I was to have paid a number of visits; but found myself successively engaged by so many people of different descriptions calling upon me, that I could not get out until very late. Then walked with Mr. Harris, and visited the large English warehouse. Walked afterwards in the public walk, fronting the Admiralty. In the evening I went with Mrs. Adams to pay the visit of ceremony *after* presentation to the Countess Litta, where we were not received. We then went to Madame de Bray's, where we found some company—a Countess Zubow and her daughter; Mademoiselle Lesseps, daughter of the French Consul; M. Lajard, Secretary of the French Legation in Persia; and some others.

14th. After having been detained at home this morning until

two P.M., I went with Mr. Harris, who called upon me for the purpose, to pay the visits in person to the members of the Diplomatic Body now residing here. The French Ambassador, and the Minister of Würtemberg, Count Schenk de Castel Deschingen, were not at home. But we were received by the Spanish Minister, General Pardo de Figueroa; the Dutch Minister, Monsieur Six d'Oterbeck, and the Saxon Minister, Count Einsiedel, as also by the Minister of Naples, the Duc de Mondragone. We conversed with these gentlemen upon a variety of subjects: with General Pardo, upon the situation of affairs in his country—with which he is apparently much dissatisfied, and upon which, though representing here King Joseph, he speaks with great freedom; with Mr. Six, on commercial affairs, the policy of France and England, upon literature and political economy, and upon Mr. Six's lands in America, where he has large possessions; with Count Einsiedel, upon the King of Saxony, who was formerly Elector, and at whose Court I was presented in the year 1799, and upon the gallery of pictures at Dresden, with which the Count is well acquainted, being himself a connoisseur in paintings; and finally, with the Duke de Mondragone, upon the cold climate of Petersburg and the warm one of Naples, upon house-hiring, lodgings, and furniture.

We came home at about four o'clock, and Mr. Harris dined with us. Between eight and nine in the evening we went to a splendid ball, given by Count Romanzoff to the Empress-mother, and at which were also present the Emperor and Empress, the Grand Duke Constantine, and the Grand Duchess Ann, with a court of about two hundred and fifty persons. As almost total strangers, we found this ball somewhat tedious. But it resembled in every respect the parties of a similar kind which we often attended at Berlin, where the King and royal family of Prussia were present. At this, however, the dresses were more splendid, and the profusion of diamonds and other precious stones worn both by the men and women, as well as of ribbons, blue and red, was greater than I ever witnessed anywhere. There was a fine supper, served at ten or fifteen tables, covering the second story of the house, besides the Emperor's table below; which I did not see, but which is said to

have been very highly ornamented. The crowd in the dancing-rooms was very great. The principal dancing was in what they call Polish dances, consisting simply in a number of couples walking up and down in the room as in a procession. The Emperor and Empress-mother spoke, I believe, to all the foreign Ministers. He asked me some questions about my former visit to St. Petersburg. I told him that I had then been well acquainted with the house in which we now were, which was then the residence of the French Minister, the Marquis de Vérac. He said he supposed I had been here upon private affairs of my own. I told him that I had been attached to a Legation from the United States, which was not received here, it being in the time of the American war. He said that must have been a very interesting period of our history. The Empress-mother spoke about the climate and the weather. Mr. Harris arrived late, having had his carriage overset upon his first attempt to come. At about one in the morning the Emperor and the imperial family retired.

15th. Mr. Harris called upon me again this morning, and we concluded our diplomatic visits in person. The Baron de Schladen, Minister from the King of Prussia, the Baron de Bussche Hunnefeldt, Minister from the King of Westphalia, and the Baron de Blome, Minister from the King of Denmark, did not receive us. The rest of the gentlemen did. General Baron de Stedingk, formerly Ambassador from Sweden at this Court, is now here without any regular diplomatic character. He expects to be here about nine months, and spoke of it as uncertain whether he should not afterwards be fixed here again, in his former capacity. He appears mortified and dejected at the situation of his country. He spoke of the late King much as he is characterized in a recent speech of the present King, as a man "qui n'a jamais calculé la possibilité d'une chose." He says that during the whole of the late war Sweden paid for a hundred and twenty thousand troops, and never had more than four thousand engaged in any action—never more than ten thousand acting at once against the Russians, who amounted in Finland to one hundred thousand men, because he had taken it into his head that one Swede was a match for ten Russians,

and nothing would convince him to the contrary. This trait of character is enough to account for all his misfortunes, and the present condition of his kingdom.

The General spoke of M. Champagny's late letter to General Armstrong, and expressed some surprise that he had asserted in it "des choses qui ne sont pas." He spoke in high terms of the Grand Duke Constantine, who, he said, was frank and honorable in his character—"*Celui-là*, on peut se fier à ce qu'il dit."

Our next visit was to the Comte de Maistre, Minister of the King of Sardinia. His master, who has been stripped of all his dominions, excepting the island of Sardinia, from which he derived his title, now receives a pension from the Emperor of Russia, and his Minister here lives upon a part of it. He is a Piedmontese by birth, a Frenchman by character, a man of sense and vivacity in conversation, and as a victim of the French Revolution, keenly smarting under the present order of things. He says he shall die here; and he has in fact neither home nor country to which he can return.[1] We next visited the Chevalier Navarro d'Andrade, Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal. I had known him as Secretary to the Portuguese Legation at Berlin. His country, too, has been overrun by the French, and he is without communication with his Government. He was unwell—having been obliged last evening to leave the ball at Count Romanzoff's. At his lodgings we met a General Sabloukoff. We lastly called upon Monsieur de Wiggers, Agent from the Hanseatic Towns—the remnant of which, Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and Dantzic, have all been swallowed up by the French. He spoke of the ball last evening, and wondered that General Baron Stedingk was not invited to play cards with the Empress-mother; for, though he had not now the official character of an Ambassador, he was one of the most distinguished persons of his own country. He then told us of the slights and contemptuous treatment which Baron Stedingk received from the

[1] His name is now associated only with his Soirées de Saint Petersbourg, and other publications in defence of the doctrines and policy of the Church of Rome, not excepting the Inquisition. His present of an edition of these works remains in the library of Mr. Adams.

Emperor Paul, and of the prudent and pleasant manner in which he got over it. From this he passed to the excessive tediousness and insupportable vexations of attendance upon Paul's Court; which indeed, by his description, was much worse than anything at the present time.

We completed this tour of visits about half-past one o'clock. At two I went to Count Romanzoff's, by appointment. He received me in his private cabinet, apologizing for it, as intending by it an invitation to call upon him whenever it might be agreeable to me. I told him the circumstances of the information which I had received from Mr. Harris respecting the questionable passport, and its bearer, Graham. He expressed himself much obliged to me for the notice, of which he said he would make such use as might be proper, without any exercise of authority which might affect the possible rights of the individual. He entered also into much general conversation. He assured me of his great attachment to the system of friendly intercourse with the United States, and his conviction of long standing that the interests of Russia perfectly harmonized with theirs. He said, Je dois vous prévenir que nous sommes ici de grands Anglomanes; that the prejudices in favor of England were founded upon old habits and long-established commercial intercourse; but that the English exclusive maritime pretensions, and views of usurpation upon the rights of other nations, made it essential to them, and especially to Russia, that some great commercial state should be supported as their rival; that the United States of America were such a state, and the highest interest of Russia was to support and favor them, as by their relative situation the two powers could never be in any manner dangerous to each other; that he had been many years inculcating this doctrine at this Court; that the Emperor had always manifested a favorable opinion of it; and he had had the satisfaction of perceiving the sentiments of his Imperial Majesty daily becoming more strongly confirmed in this system. He said if there was anything in which I could contribute to the purposes of this object, any views of the American Government that I could suggest, without wishing to penetrate into their secrets, he would only say that he should cheerfully lend his

aid to anything that I might propose; that in drawing up the instructions of the Comte de Pahlen, the Minister who is going from the Emperor to the United States, he intended to consult me, and would insert anything which I should think might be useful to the great end of drawing closer the relations between the two countries.

His object appeared to me to be to ascertain whether I had power to conclude a Treaty with Russia, and to lead directly to propositions for that purpose from me. I answered him in general terms, which I endeavored to make such as corresponded, for politeness, with his own. I told him how much gratified I knew the President of the United States would be on receiving information of these sentiments, and of those, so conformable to them, which the Emperor had expressed to me in the private audience which he had granted me; that the United States, who found themselves and their commerce at once under the pressure of injustice by both the great rival powers, France and England, would still find great satisfaction and support in the knowledge that a sovereign so powerful and so enlightened as the Emperor of Russia was devoted to neither, but, like themselves, favored a course equally independent of both.

He said he should make no scruple to say to me that he did not approve the present system of France in relation to commerce; that he had seen and conversed with the Emperor Napoleon; that he had found him in general of a sound judgment and a quick perception, but that "en fait de commerce ce n'est qu'un étourdi." At the same time, he said, he hoped I should not think he meant to give him a mauvaise réputation. But he wished to know whether in the application of this system there was anything which could accommodate the views of the United States, and if there was, requested that I would suggest it.

I told him that the great and only object desirable to the United States was that to which they were entitled by right, Freedom to their commerce—freedom of admission and departure for ships—freedom of purchase and sale for goods; the more completely they could obtain this, the better; that

in the restrictions upon them, I thought the proceedings both of England and France unjust and impolitic; and was persuaded that the more liberal system established under his auspices by Russia was not only of great advantage to both countries, but would very much increase the commerce already existing between them.

He told me also, among other things, that Colonel Burr, now at Gottenburg, had applied for a passport to come to Petersburg; which had been refused him, unless it should be regularly applied for under the sanction of the representative of his country at this Court. He spoke of the British Ministry, and asked my opinion of the persons composing it. I told him he must be infinitely better acquainted with them than I was; which, however, he did not admit, alleging that he had but lately entered upon the department of foreign affairs, and before that time had purposely avoided any particular attention to the composition of foreign Governments.

I told him that I heard Lord Bathurst was appointed the Secretary of State for the foreign department in the room of Mr. Canning.

Who was Lord Bathurst?

I said I had heard very little of him.

The Count said it was the same with him; mais ce n'est pas un homme neuf. I have seen his name, said he, in some ministerial list before; and I have little hopes from any man in England who is already known. They are all equally intractable. England must be brought to give up some of her inveterate prejudices, and I do not expect she will until the circumstances bring forward new men, who can without inconsistency accede to a new system. Do you know, said he, of any distinguished men in England who would be more likely to come to terms of a general pacification than the late Ministers?

I told him of the principal personages of the present opposition—such as Lord Grenville and Lord Howick.

As for them, said he, I do not expect anything better from them than from the others. No one of them has yet brought his mind to the conviction of the necessity which will compel England to follow the current of affairs which is setting in a

certain direction among mankind. There was, he said, something epidemical in the course of human events, which made it necessary, as well among nations as individuals, for one to pursue a course governed in a great measure by the course of others; and this was what English statesmen would not perceive.

I told him that it was indeed true that Lord Grenville had always been a strenuous asserter of the English pretensions, and had particularly distinguished himself by his opposition to the Treaty with Russia in 1801, when England had conceded something.

(The Count spoke very slightingly of the concessions in this Treaty, which he thought amounted to nothing at all; upon which I observed that the explanatory article had indeed appeared to take back most of what the Treaty had conceded, and that it was probably Lord Grenville's opposition which had occasioned the explanatory article.) But I said that in my opinion the foolish obstinacy of England, which was leading that nation so rapidly to ruin, was dependent upon a single man.

Who was that? said the Count. The King?

No. It was the Earl of Liverpool—a man who for many years had possessed a great ascendency over the King's mind, and who, I perceived, since the resignation of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, had been charged with the duties of both their offices, besides his own.

The Count appeared not to have been acquainted with the character and history of Lord Liverpool; of which I gave him a short account. After having passed about an hour with the Count, I took my leave and returned home.

16th. We had a visit this morning from Mr. Navarro, the Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal, and in the evening from the Baron de Bussche Hunnefeldt, the Minister from the new kingdom of Westphalia. They were both complaining of the present state of things. I was enquiring of Navarro after Mr. Brito, whom I formerly knew in Holland. Navarro says that he is at Paris, detained as a prisoner, as he happened to be there at the time when the French invaded Portugal, and

refused to swear allegiance to the King of Portugal who is to be. Navarro has two brothers in the same situation, and there are about sixty Portuguese at Paris detained in the same manner. None of them has taken the oath.

Baron Bussche told us that he was here upon compulsion; that he was a Hanoverian subject, and an officer in the King of England's service; that having an estate in Hanover, the only alternative left him was to have it confiscated or to come here as Westphalian Minister; that he had entreated King Jerome to excuse him from this mission, who had approved of the frankness and candor with which he had made his objections, but insisted on his coming, and would take no denial. And here, he said, where everybody hated the French, he partook of that hatred, as being connected with them, though he hated them as much as anybody. I said it did appear as if many people here did not love the French. 'Tis universal, said he. There is the Emperor and Romanzoff on one side, and the whole people on the other.

17th. The Count de Maistre, the Sardinian Minister, returned our visit this morning. In the course of conversation he expressed his regret at not having been here in the time of the late Emperor Paul, whose eccentricities of character were so remarkable. He mentioned a sarcasm of Diderot upon him when he was at Paris in 1782, which I had never heard before. Some Frenchmen were speaking in high terms of Paul's politeness and accomplished manners. Says Diderot, "Vous êtes bien bons de croire à cela. Ouvrez la veste; vous verrez le poil." Now this is untranslatable into English.

19th. The first night after we came to the Hôtel de la Ville de Bordeaux, kept by Monsieur de Bouillery, the canal before our windows, called the Moika, froze over. The river Neva has been these two or three days freezing, and is this day passable on foot upon the ice. Last night and this morning Réaumur's thermometer was at twelve degrees below the freezing point, which is equivalent to five above zero of Fahrenheit. There was accordingly no parade of the troops before the Emperor this morning, as he makes it a practice to omit the review when the frost is below five or six of Réaumur's thermometer. I

called upon Mr. Harris, and went with him to the chapel of the Maltese Palace, where we heard mass performed. It was exactly like that in the Emperor's chapel last Sunday—the whole service chanted—no instrumental music—and all the worshippers standing. There are not even any seats in the churches; so that no person can sit down. The singing was very excellent. We afterwards went to the Cathedral Church of St. Alexander Newsky, at the end of the Perspective, and found it very magnificent. There is a sarcophagus and shrine of the saint, of solid silver, with some of the principal events of his life carved upon the sides of the coffin; a number of pictures, some of which are valuable, and one set round with costly jewels, a present from the Empress Catherine.

25th. Dined with the Saxon Minister, Count Einsiedel, with a small diplomatic party of about fifteen persons. The French Ambassador had been engaged, but had been sent for to dine with the Emperor. The Count's dinner was very elegant, and his house is quite magnificent. I had conversation upon Spanish affairs, and upon Homer, with General Pardo; upon German literature and the German language, with Count Einsiedel; and with Mr. Six upon the new monarchical Constitution of Holland, which he says was principally made by himself, and upon the general situation and prospects of Europe. The Chevalier de Bray, who dined with us, paid the ladies a visit before I came home. General Sabloukoff and his lady visited us also this evening. She is a daughter of Mr. Angerstein, a celebrated merchant of London. Madame de Bacounin is a sister of General Sabloukoff.

27th. Called upon Mr. Harris this morning, and found him again confined to his room with a cough. He has made to me since I arrived here a number of presents, some of which were of sufficient value to make me hesitate about accepting them; and to Mrs. Adams and Catherine a Turkish shawl each, still more expensive. Disapproving of receiving presents of value while in public office, I have always refused those which have been offered to me, and in now yielding to an exception, in consideration of the situation of Mr. Harris and myself here, I have determined to make it very limited in its extent, and to

return equivalents in point of cost, that at least I may derive no profit from the *interchange*. I gave him this morning my seal, with the device which I had engraved in London in 1796, and which, by a curious coincidence, has his name upon it—the engraver, Harris, having put it there as a memorial of his work. This goes but a small part of the way towards fulfilling my intention. Mr. Raimbert and Mr. Montréal called this morning upon me.

I had an invitation, with Mrs. Adams and her sister, to dine at the French Ambassador's *sans cérémonie*, at half-past three. We went about four, and were the last there, excepting the Duke de Mondragone. The dinner was of forty persons, the Corps Diplomatique of French connections—Princess Wäzemsky, Madame de Vlodek and her sisters, and two or three other persons. General Ouvaroff and his brother were of the party. After being about two hours at dinner, the company returned to the hall, where Mademoiselle Bourgoin, a French actress, who is performing at the theatre here, declaimed scenes from Phèdre, from Zaïre, from L'École des Maris, and from Le Florentin, M. de Rayneval, the premier Secrétaire de l'Ambassade, reading the alternate parts of the dialogue. Immediately after this a band of music struck up, and a polonaise was walked round the hall. Then the company was conducted through the suite of apartments and dining-hall to a small theatre, where another actor of the French troupe of comedians performed a number of sleight-of-hand tricks. Thence we returned to the hall, and danced two or three hours, after which was a supper, and between one and two in the morning we came home. I endeavored to amuse some of the tediousness of the day by conversation with some gentlemen of the company; but there are very few topics of conversation upon which I can talk with them. General Pardo, the Spanish Minister, has understanding, literature, and taste, and withal is perfectly accomplished in the science of cookery. He told me that he had offered at Paris, for Charles the Fourth, King of Spain, three hundred and fifty thousand livres for a Death of Adonis by Giorgione, the master of Titian, and could not get it; but that he did purchase for one hundred and ten thousand livres an original picture of

Christopher Columbus, taken from the life by the same Giorgione. He also promised me a pamphlet which he has written and published, on the Pictures in the National Museum at Paris. The Baron de Schladen, the Prussian Minister, gave me some information respecting many of my old acquaintances at Berlin. They are scattered, like the Prussian monarchy itself, to all the winds of heaven.

28th. I went with Mrs. Adams to look at a house lately occupied by General Toutouhein, and belonging to the Count de St.-Priest. It is a very good house, and handsomely furnished—in part; but the rent is eight thousand roubles a year. I dined at Count Romanzoff's—a great diplomatic dinner, of forty persons, given to the newly-arrived Austrian Count de St.-Julien. I sat at table between Mr. Six and General Pardo, and had some conversation with both of them. Mr. Six says that his expenses, the first year he came here, were fifty-five thousand roubles, and every year since, between forty-five and fifty thousand; that those of the French Ambassador amounted at least to four hundred thousand roubles a year; that the Emperor Napoleon encourages great expense here upon a principle of policy, and also among his officers, not liking to have men too independent about him; that, like Frederic the Second, he confines his rewards to very few persons, but heaps them in profusion. There was at table a Prussian General Pfuhl, who, Mr. Six said, was one of the ablest men in the world, who had lately published in German some remarks upon the system of conscription, though he did not acknowledge himself as the author. He said he would send it to me to-morrow. He was very much afraid that this conscription system would be introduced into Holland. General Pardo told me that there were lineal descendants of Columbus, of Cortez, and of the Mexican Emperor Montezuma, living in Spain. The Duke de Veraguas was descended in direct line from Columbus, and the title of his eldest son was Marquis of Jamaica. The family of Montezuma had been always remarkable for their devotion, and even superstition. The great-grandfather of the present Duke, who was the great-grandson of Guatimozin (there must have been a greater number of descents), was, about a century since, Viceroy of Mexico; and

after an administration of five years, which was so excellent that it is remembered with gratitude by the people of the country to this day, he returned quietly to Spain. The General said that the Government must have been very confident of its own strength to trust such a man with such a place. The French Ambassador made me an apology for having invited us to so unceremonious a party as that of yesterday, and told me that it would give him pleasure if at any time I would come about five o'clock and take a dinner with him, without waiting for an invitation.

Day. We rise seldom earlier than nine in the morning—often not before ten. Breakfast. Visits to receive, or visits to make, until three; soon after which the night comes on. At four we dine; and pass the evening either abroad until very late, or at our lodgings with company until ten or eleven o'clock. The night parties abroad seldom break up until four or five in the morning. It is a life of such irregularity and dissipation as I cannot and will not continue to lead.

December 3d. I went this morning with Mr. Everett to the chapel of the British factory, where we heard prayers read, and a sermon, by the present chaplain, Mr. Loudon King Pitt. The prayers were read strictly according to the Book of Common Prayer, including the prayers for King George and that he might be victorious over all his enemies—which, considering that he and Russia are now at war, appears to be not a little presuming on the indulgence of this Government. In the prayers, however, for the King and royal family of England, the Emperor and imperial family were added, for participation of the blessings invoked. There was a long occasional prayer introduced, which Mr. Pitt read from a written paper, and which seemed to be of his own composition. It deprecated the bitter cup of the present times, and prayed for a union of counsels between Britain and Russia. The sermon, from Jeremiah vi. 16, was on the propensity of mankind to change—a commonplace topic, handled in a commonplace manner. After church I walked over to the Wasily-Ostrof, and measured, by pacing, the building belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences. It is one hundred and sixty-four paces in front, and one hundred and

forty-five deep—that is, four hundred and fifty by three hundred and eighty-two feet.

4th. Catherine Johnson and Mr. Everett went with us to the Imperial Palace of the Hermitage. Here is one of the most magnificent collections of masterpieces in many of the arts that the world can furnish—pictures, antique statues, medals, coins, engraved stones, minerals, libraries, porcelain, marble; and the catalogue seems without end. I took little notice of anything but the pictures. With these I often lingered behind; and after nearly three hours of inspection, felt only the wish for three months of examination. The collection is not rich in pictures of the Italian schools, but of the French and Flemish there is a profusion—and several very excellent pictures of the Spanish painters. Mr. Labensky, the Director, accompanied us, with great politeness. We went for a few minutes into the theatre, where they were singing a chorus in the opera of Télémaque.

5th. I received this morning from Count Romanzoff a notification that the Emperor had fixed on to-morrow, after hearing mass, for the presentation of Messrs. Smith[1] and Everett, and at dinner-time a notification from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies that there would be a court held to-morrow, being the Fête of her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Catherine, and of the Order of St. Catherine. Mr. Harris called on me, and went with me to visit Count Strogonoff, Prince Beloselsky, the Duke de Serra Capriola, Monsieur de Gourief, and Count Kotschubey. Count Strogonoff and the Duke de Serra Capriola only received us. Count Strogonoff is an old nobleman of the highest rank, the most splendid fortune, and the most respectable and amiable character of the empire. He has cultivated a taste for the fine arts, and possesses one of the choicest collections of pictures in Europe. This was his jour de fête, and we found much company coming and going while we were there. He showed us himself many of his finest pictures, and other masterpieces of art, among which was a costly vase of malachite, a production of copper-mines, which he says is found only in Siberia. The Duke de Serra Capriola was many years Minister

[1] John Spear Smith, the son of General Samuel Smith, the Senator from Maryland, had come out to Mr. Adams as attached to the Legation of the United States.

from the King of the Two Sicilies at this Court, and thought he recollected having seen me when I was here before; but upon a comparison of dates we found that impossible, as he did not come here until 1783. I left Petersburg in October, 1782. He is married to a daughter of Princess Wäzemsky; but since the expulsion of his sovereign from his kingdom of Naples he is here without a diplomatic character. We found Mr. Navarro with him. We came home about three, which is now exactly the hour of sunsetting. I dined with the Saxon Minister, Count Einsiedel, and a small company of twelve persons, among whom were Monsieur de Laval and a Prince Gagarin, whom I did not know before, Count Jawonsky, M. de Bray, M. Navarro, Baron de Schladen, and Count Lüxbourg, whom I did know, and two or three gentlemen whom I still do not know. After dinner I had considerable conversation with M. de Laval, who is a French emigrant nobleman, married to a Russian Princess Kazitsky, and who has great possessions, as he told me, in iron mines and works, which makes him personally interested in the maintenance of the relations between the United States and this country.

6th. Soon after twelve o'clock, Mr. Harris called on us, and we went to the palace. Mr. Smith went with me, and Mr. Everett with Mr. Harris. We were introduced first into the Diplomatic Hall, and remained there about an hour; after which, the mass being over, we went into the Hall of the Throne, where, soon after, the Emperor and imperial family made their appearances. The French Ambassador took his station nearest the door, and the Corps Diplomatique stood in succession after him. The Swedish General Baron Stedingk, and the Austrian General Count St. Julien, placed themselves purposely out of the range of the foreign Ministers, to avoid the appearance of placing themselves below the Ambassador. The Emperor, Empress, and Empress-mother spoke to all the Ministers. The Emperor asked me whether I had found any old acquaintances of my former visit to this country. The Empress asked me how my wife supported the climate of the country; and the Empress-mother, whether I had heard from my children that I left in America. Mr. Smith and Mr. Everett were afterwards presented. The Emperor spoke to them in

French and English. In half an hour's time the circle was over, and the imperial family retired.

7th. I went with Mr. Harris and paid a visit to M. de Laval, whom we found with his lady; but she went out immediately after. M. de Laval had in his chamber some excellent maps and globes. He invited me to dine with him whenever I should not be otherwise engaged on Mondays. From his house we went and visited Mr. Tilesius, Professor of Natural History at the Academy of Sciences, whom we found in the midst of some repairs he is making in his chambers, but who received us with great civility. He accompanied the Russian Embassy to Japan in 1804 and 1805, and showed us the drawings of many objects in natural history, particularly fishes, and of scenes, to be published with the narrative of this voyage. It is now ready for publication, and to-morrow the copy of the first publication in Russian is to be delivered to Count Romanzoff for the Emperor. The German translation, which is in fact the original, is to be published in January. There is some doubt whether it will appear in French. Mr. Tilesius is also employed upon a comparative dissertation on the anatomy of the elephant and the mammoth, several of the drawings for which he also showed us. He agreed to go with us to-morrow to see the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. I came home at three in the afternoon, and at five went to dine with General Pardo, the Spanish Minister. The Chevalier de Bray and Count Lüxbourg, the Secretaries of the French Legation, and Messrs. Labensky and Köhler, the Superintendents at the Hermitage, with Mr. Harris, constituted the company. Mr. Köhler is a German, and fond of German literature. Mr. Lajard is a Frenchman, recognizing no literature but that of France. There was some discussion between them. Mr. Köhler told me that Heyne's last edition of the Iliad had not given satisfaction in Germany—that a later edition, by Wolff, containing only the Greek text, without notes, was more esteemed. General Pardo showed us the Baskerville quarto Virgil and Horace,[1] and the Spanish Sallust, with

[1] Which volumes, with several other choice editions of the classics, were afterwards purchased at General Pardo's sale, and still remain in the library left by Mr. Adams.

the translation by the Infant Don Gabriel, who is now in Brazil —printed by Ibarra, the same who printed the famous Don Quixote, of the Escurial. About eight in the evening I came home, and between nine and ten Mr. Harris called again. I went with him to a ball at Mr. Bergien's, where was a company of about one hundred and fifty persons. The Grand Duke Constantine was of the party. The entertainment was splendid, and the house very magnificently furnished.

8th. Mr. Tilesius came with Mr. Harris this morning and paid me a visit. I went with them and the gentlemen of my family to the Imperial Academy of Sciences, where we saw the library, the museum, and the other principal collections of the place. Many of the articles I recollected at my visit to the same place during my former residence at St. Petersburg. The relics of Peter the Great and of his works, his heyduke seven feet high, and his horse, with the anatomical preparations of Ruysch, and the elephant, were familiar to my remembrance. Many things have, however, been added since that time—principally from the Russian Embassies to China and Japan, and chiefly collected by Mr. Tilesius. The complete skeleton of the mammoth is also of a late date. The celebrated piece of mechanism by Roentzer was not there at my former visit, nor is it worth being there now. The fossils, insects, marine shells, birds, and beasts are more numerous than formerly, but their particularities do not fasten upon the mind. We shortened our visit, finding the apartments all very uncomfortably cold.

10th. About nine this morning I went out with Mr. Smith to see the Emperor at the parade, a review which he makes of his troops every Sunday, excepting when the frost is too severe—that is, more than six or seven degrees below zero of Réaumur's thermometer. The line of troops extended from Count Romanzoff's house in the Palace Square to the bridge over the Neva. The Emperor, accompanied by the Grand Duke Constantine and several officers, among whom is the French Ambassador, galloped round in front of the troops and back again; after which the troops filed off before him, in front of the palace. It was past eleven before we came home, and too late for church.

14th. Visited Mr. Six, with whom I passed an hour in conversation, and who is the most conversable of any person that I find here. He wants to be esteemed, and is not so much so as I think he deserves. He gave me several curious little manuscripts of his own writing, and one of the Pensionary Van de Spiegel; and he told me several interesting anecdotes of his negotiations in France, and of the Emperor Bonaparte, of whom he has a very high idea. Thence I went to Mr. Meyer's, where I found very different sentiments, most cautiously disclosed. Then to Mr. Raimbert's, where was the same commercial dissatisfaction with the present state of things as at Mr. Meyer's. Mr. Raimbert told me that he wished me to come some day and ask a dinner of him; for if he should send me a special invitation, and the French Ambassador should hear of it, he might ask why he did not invite him also; that he had already intimated to him that he would come and dine with him if he would invite him. But it was necessary to make so many ceremonies with ces messieurs that he had no inclination to invite him. However, as ces messieurs portent de grands sabres, it was dangerous to affront them; and, therefore, if I would come and dine with him of my own motion it would leave him an excuse for not inviting the Ambassador.

21st. I took this morning a long walk over the part of the city which we inhabit; and as the sun this day rose at fourteen minutes past nine and set at forty-six minutes past two, I was out during almost all the time of daylight.

22d. We had received invitations to attend the funeral of Mr. Martin Glukoff the elder, the Russian merchant with whom Captain Beckford transacts his business. They were by cards from his sons, Martin and Alexander Glukoff, and contained also an invitation to dinner after the ceremony. Mr. Harris, who considers it unbecoming to go into a Russian merchant's house, dissuaded us from attending this funeral, and told me that as to the dinner, it was not usually expected that the persons invited should attend it, as two or three hundred persons were invited, and preparations made for only thirty or forty. Not partaking of Mr. Harris's aversion to Russian merchants, and intending to return the civility of attendance for the civility of

invitation, I concluded to attend the funeral, but to decline the dinner; which I now regret, as it appears there was ample preparation made for all the company invited, and as I perceived that Mr. Glukoff the son was hurt at my declining the invitation to dinner, which he personally repeated to me at the monastery.

At nine in the morning we went to the house, and were introduced to a large hall, which was darkened and hung entirely round with black cloth. Here the corpse of the deceased was lying in state, on a bed, in a large coffin, the upper lid of which was in the form of a box-cover, and was fixed over the lower or cradle part when the procession moved. At the top and bottom and on the two sides of the coffin were large candlesticks, four or five feet high, covered with black crape, and having in them wax tapers of a proportionable size. About two feet distant at the foot of the coffin stood a papa or priest, with stand before him, on which was a book, chanting in a very low, solemn, and plaintive tone, in the Russian language, something which I could not understand. On one side of the hall sat a row of perhaps twenty women in mourning attire. On the other were seated several priests, apparently, by their dress, of higher rank than the officiating pope, two of whom wore the decoration of the red ribbon. There were also several empty chairs, in one of which I seated myself by Mr. Glukoff's invitation. The hall was nearly full of other company standing. The priest continued his low chant nearly half an hour. Then appeared the Metropolitan, who took his stand at the same spot, and delivered to each of the other priests a lighted taper to hold, and each of them kissed his hand on receiving it from him. They then ranged themselves round the coffin, lighted tapers were given to every person in the company, and the Metropolitan made what I took to be a short prayer. This concluded the ceremonies at the house. The upper cover was then fixed over the coffin. After the sons and daughters had gone up and kissed the cheek of the deceased, and the domestics his hand, the coffin was carried out; all the priests followed, and the company afterwards. The corpse was followed by the men of the family, and some of the priests with lighted tapers on foot. The rest followed in carriages, and the procession went from the Wasily-

Ostrof across the bridge, and through the great Perspective, to the Monastery of St. Alexander Newsky. Here, in the small chapel near the entrance, we found the corpse again laid in state, and a ceremony commenced which lasted nearly two hours. The Metropolitan, all the priests, and a choir of singers officiated at this, which I presume was the celebration of a solemn mass. At the close of this a carpet was laid, and two benches with cushions placed on it, back of the head of the coffin. The Metropolitan and another of the titled priests came and sat down on the benches. The Metropolitan again distributed lighted tapers to each of them, and they kissed his hand; lighted tapers were also given to every person attending, and, after some further singing, a paper was given to the Metropolitan, which he read, and which was then put into the coffin with the corpse. It is said to be a recommendation of the deceased to the keeper of Heaven's gates—a passport to be presented to St. Peter. A few drops of some liquor, perhaps consecrated oil, were also poured into the coffin. The relations and dependents again went up and kissed the cheek or the hand of the deceased. The coffin was again closed with the upper cover, carried into the graveyard beside the chapel, and deposited in a grave perhaps eight or nine feet deep. The persons who attended threw in a little dust and a slip of pine branch, with which the chapel, the passage from it to the grave and to the street, and all the floors and stairways of the house, were strewed. On the return of the Metropolitan from the grave, numbers of persons, well dressed, pressed up to him and kissed his hand as he passed. Mr. Glukoff, in renewing his invitation to me to dinner, told me that it was a Russian custom; but having already declined, and trusting to Mr. Harris's information, I persisted in declining, and came home with Mr. Smith. Mr. Everett and Mr. Gray returned to the house, but did not stay to dinner.

I passed the evening at home, and wrote an answer to Count Romanzoff's note. By not attending Mr. Glukoff's dinner I lost part of the ceremonies usual on these occasions. The priests all were at the dinner, before which the Metropolitan, it appears, distributed a little rice to all the company. The dresses of the priests were different, I suppose according to their rank. That

of the Metropolitan was splendid, and decorated with precious stones, particularly his mitre. The long beards and flowing hair are the same in all. The deceased wore a beard, and the national Russian dress. His sons and their families dress in the common European costume.

24th. At twelve o'clock I attended, according to order, at the palace. The mass was already commenced, but the Corps Diplomatique was not assembled. They came in soon after, and were introduced at the chapel, when the Te Deum began; which was about one o'clock. Just before it was finished they were conducted out again, and after the ceremony was finished, the Empress-mother and Empress held a *cercle*. It was finished about two.

We dined, all the family excepting Mr. Smith, at Mr. H. Severin's, and I was obliged to leave the table at half-past seven, to attend at the Empress-mother's ball. Mrs. Adams did not go. She passed the evening at Madame de Bray's. The ball was very splendid. Count de Maistre, the Sardinian Envoy, says that at such a fête they have fifteen thousand wax candles lighted, and that it costs eighteen thousand roubles. The supper was magnificent, and the Empress-mother, who did the honors of her house, went round all the tables, and spoke to every guest. She spoke to the foreign Ministers before, at, and after supper, and during the whole evening was very gracious in her manner. The supper began about midnight, and there was dancing again afterwards. The imperial family retired about two in the morning, and the company immediately dispersed. There were about three hundred persons present. In the intervals of time at home I read Massillon's sermons on the injustice of the world to righteous men, and on death.

26th. At seven in the evening I went to Count Romanzoff's. I found Baron de Blome, the Danish Minister, with him. He left the Count's cabinet as I went into it. I told the Count that I came at the request of a number of my countrymen whose property had been arrested in a very extraordinary manner, by an order of the Danish Government, in the ports of Holstein; that as to the dispositions of the King of Denmark with regard to English merchandise or property, that was no concern of

mine; but that a great amount of property unquestionably neutral, direct from America, and after having passed through every examination required by the laws of Denmark, had now been arrested under this order; that purchases to a large amount of the productions of this country had been made here and at Riga, on the credit of this property, and the regular payment of which depended upon its speedy liberation; that as the subject therefore in some sort became interesting to the Government of this empire, I had requested this interview with him to state the circumstances to him, and to ask whether the interposition of the Emperor's good offices with the Danish Government might not be used in any manner, whether officially or otherwise, as to levy this sequester upon American property as speedily as possible; that being aware that it was a subject upon which, in my character as accredited to this Court, I could make no formal application, I had not thought proper to address him an official note concerning it; but relying upon the Emperor's good will towards my country, which he had often manifested, and on the Count's own dispositions, which were equally friendly, I had flattered myself that by the exertion of his Imperial Majesty's influence with the Danish Government, something might be done to obtain the release of this American property, and to relieve my countrymen, the owners of it, from their distress.

He said that in regard to the Emperor's dispositions towards the United States, and as far as he could speak of his own, though infinitely distant from his Imperial Majesty, by his place, they were as friendly as I could believe them to be, and that he personally lamented greatly the distress under which commerce in general, and with it that of the United States, was laboring; that nothing short of a general peace could probably put an end to these embarrassments, and that this general peace depended upon England alone; that he knew not why this general peace should not be made; that nothing would be asked of England, but, on the contrary, she would be left in possession of what she had acquired; that until she could be reduced to reasonable terms of peace, it was impossible that commerce should be free from rigorous restrictions, because it was by

operating upon her commerce that she must be made to feel her interest in making peace; that as to this particular measure of Denmark, it was far from being agreeable to him; and he intimated that it was the subject upon which he had just been conversing with the Baron de Blome; that he knew by dispatches from M. Lizakewitz, the Russian Minister at Copenhagen, that the measure had given great dissatisfaction to the Danes themselves; that there was no occasion to disguise the fact; it was not a voluntary act on the part of the Danish Government—it had been exacted by France, whose force at their gates was such as Denmark had no means of resisting, and who considered it as a measure merely of severity against English commerce; that France had suspected Denmark of conniving at the commerce with England; at least he knew that Mr. Champagny had reproached them with it in very severe terms; and that, in fact, the whole, or nearly the whole, of that trade must substantially be viewed as English commerce, since there were now none but English colonies which produced the articles that went under the name of colonial merchandise.

I assured him that, with the exception perhaps of coffee, all the articles of colonial trade were produced within the United States; and that with respect to coffee, as well as the rest, there were all the Spanish islands, which produced them in great quantities, besides the English possessions.

"But," said he, "is not the produce of the United States in these articles of inferior quality? Cotton, for instance?"

I told him the United States produced the best of cotton, and in immense quantities; that in all the Southern States, as well as in Louisiana, the cultivation of this article within the last twenty years had flourished beyond imagination, and that of all the cotton brought by those American vessels whose cargoes had been thus arrested in Holstein, I was persuaded that nine-tenths at least was the genuine produce of the United States themselves; that considerable quantities of sugar were also produced in Louisiana, and in Georgia, which doubtless constituted a great proportion of those cargoes; and that the rest was probably the produce of the Spanish islands. Certainly very little, if any, came from the British colonies.

"As to the Spanish islands," he said, "they could now not easily be distinguished from the British, as they had declared themselves for the party of the Junta, which in a very extraordinary manner had formally declared war against Denmark."

I remarked that if, in consequence of this declaration of war, the Danish Government thought proper to prohibit the importation for the future of articles the produce of the Spanish colonies, it was a measure of expediency which they were free to take, but that it could never warrant the seizure of goods already imported under the sanction of the Danish laws, which had passed through every examination required of them, and had received the pledge of protection due from the Government of every civilized nation to private property; that if this was a *French* measure, of which the Government of Denmark was only the passive instrument, I trusted that the influence of a sovereign so powerful as the Emperor of Russia, and in relations so close with France, would not be exerted without effect at Paris, and it would be immaterial to us where the means should be used, if they produced the result of doing justice to us and restoring to my countrymen their property. The conduct of England towards my country had been such as certainly not to inspire me with any partiality in her favor, and I believed the principle of what was called the Continental system, which was to bring England to dispositions for peace by distressing her commerce, a very good one; but I was surprised that it was not at this day perceived that measures which destroyed the commerce of all other nations, instead of reducing turned altogether to the profit of that of England; that the Emperor Napoleon's experiment had now been three years in operation; and that in the midst of the most wasteful expenses, the grossest internal mismanagement, the most unfortunate expeditions, and, in short, of everything that could exasperate the people of England against their own Government and raise the clamor for peace, no such clamor was heard; and the commerce of the country, far from being diminished, was flourishing beyond all example. As a proof of which I referred him to the address from the corporation of London to the King on the late jubilee, and to the King's answer.

The Count laughed, and said that as to addresses to Kings and their answers, he believed the best rule was to take all such boastings in an inverted sense; "for," said he, "you know when the father of a family and his family are talking together before the world, they naturally will not speak of their distresses."

I replied that in such cases as this I believed the conclusion would be more consistent with the fact by taking the words in their plain and direct sense; that the flourishing or distressed state of commerce was a state of things too notorious by its simplicity, too certain by the practice of reducing it all to precise figures by official returns, to admit of direct falsehoods thus asserted in the face of the world; that London was a city almost entirely commercial; that the numerous classes of people subsisting upon commerce were not accustomed to boast of profit while they were actually suffering distress—nor even of suffering without loud complaint; that if, at this time, any other King in Europe was to receive an address from the principal traders of his kingdom, they would not boast of the flourishing state of their commerce; nor would the corporation of London have dared to do so if the fact had been strikingly the reverse. It was not, however, upon this address alone that I relied as evidence of the fact. Other indications of the same kind were numerous and decisive. How indeed could it be otherwise? The active commerce of all other nations, thanks to France, was annihilated. France herself, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, had nothing that would bear the name of commerce left in their own ships. The United States had scarcely any. Their intercourse with almost all Europe was suspended. Here alone they were still freely admitted, and into those ports of Holstein, where this violent measure must now break it up again to the foundation; that the portion of commerce carried on by American vessels in the Russian ports was small; the number of the vessels was ascertained, and his Excellency, as Minister of Commerce, knew to what it could amount. He also knew how much of the trade was transacted in Russian vessels; and yet it was not for me to tell him that between England and this country the commerce actually carried on was little less than in time of peace; that all articles of English

growth and manufacture were to be had here as if the intercourse was unobstructed; and that every article of Russian produce for which England has occasion goes as plentifully to England as ever.

He said the price of these articles in England had recently risen—from which I told him a further proof of my position might be derived; for that the rise of prices in England had followed as a consequence upon the rise of prices here, which had been very considerable. The inference from this last fact was irresistible; for if the trade with England was actually suspended, the prices of Russian produce here must have fallen, from the accumulation which would have been unavoidable. The commerce, therefore, was carried on—and by whom? it was not to be disguised, principally by the English; who, by means which I should not undertake to account for, did contrive to evade every ordinance and regulation, and the more surely evaded them in proportion as they were more severe; that I had personally had an opportunity to observe this on my voyage hither. For in the Danish dominions the trade with England was forbidden upon pain of death, and yet, on going into a port of Norway, I had seen vessels which had passed through the British squadrons as in time of profound peace, and I was informed from unquestionable authority that there were then seven ships notoriously English in the port of Bergen, loading with timber for England upon English account.

He said that he agreed with me in the reasoning, but not in the conclusion; that all commerce was to be considered as a benefit to both parties; that he had no faith in the doctrine of balances of trade, or that any commerce could long exist unless it was profitable on both sides; that if commerce therefore suffered, as in the present state of Europe there could be no doubt it did, the greatest commercial nation in the end must suffer most; that although this crisis had already continued longer than was to be wished, yet it could not be considered as a time sufficient for effecting the intended result; that it would be better that the whole commerce of the world should cease to exist for ten years, than to abandon it forever to the control of England; that the effect of the restrictive system

would eventually press hardest upon England; and that Mr. Pitt, whose talents as a Minister must be acknowledged to have been great, was compelled by the clamors of the English nation, arising from the distress upon their commerce, to make peace.

That, I acknowledged, was true, but was imputable to a system of measures in relation to commerce directly opposite to the present—a system which encouraged and favored the trade of the nations which were the rivals of England, so that England could not support a competition with them. And although the English commerce might partially suffer in the general mass with the rest, it was much more than indemnified by the part which it had acquired from the ruins of all the other commercial nations.

The Count asked me if I had read a late publication of Mr. d'Ivernois on the subject. I had heard of the book, but not seen it. He said its representations corresponded much with the ideas I had expressed; but that he had only taken the state of Ireland to prove his position. This was not very conclusive, for the commerce of Ireland formed a very small part of that of the United Kingdom; and the great stress laid upon the alleged prosperity of this particular branch of the trade, raised a strong presumption that the actual state of the whole was distressed. He concluded by saying that, on the subject of my request, he would take the orders of the Emperor and inform me of the result; but as this was a measure emanating from the personal disposition of the Emperor of France, he was apprehensive there existed no influence in the world of sufficient efficacy to shake his determination.

The general impression upon my mind was that the Count himself was fully persuaded of the truth of my representations, and that he really disapproved of these measures, but that Russia would not interfere in the case. He told me that immediately after the return of the Emperor, Count Pahlen's secretary would be dispatched to Paris, with his final instructions, and orders that he should immediately proceed to America. He supposed that he would have no difficulty in finding an opportunity to go—of which, however, in the present state of our commerce, I intimated some doubts. He said he would send

me word before Mr. Ivanoff should go, that if we pleased we might take the opportunity to write by him.

27th. Mr. Harris was with me in the evening, and showed me the two forged American registers which he has detected, and the letter he has written to Count Romanzoff concerning them.

29th. We had all invitations from the French Ambassador to the ice-hills, at his country seat at the Kammenoi-ostrow. The company were to meet at noon, and pass the day and evening there. Mrs. Adams and Catherine, being unwell, could not go. Just as I was on the point of setting out, I received a note from Count Romanzoff, requesting me to call upon him at two o'clock; I was therefore obliged to postpone my ride to the ice-hills until three.

At two o'clock I called upon Count Romanzoff, who told me that yesterday, being the first day since the Emperor's return, he had transacted business with him; he had reported to his Majesty my application to him, requesting the interposition of his good offices with the Danish Government for the restoration, as speedily as possible, of the property of Americans sequestered in the ports of Holstein; that he had informed his Majesty of the answer which in his official character he had thought it his duty to give me, and to lead me to expect, leaving the decision free to him, conformably to his own inclinations. That the Emperor had judged differently upon the subject from him. He had ordered him immediately to represent to the Danish Government his wish that the examination might be expedited, and the American property restored as soon as possible; which order he had already executed. He had sent this morning for the Baron de Blome, and requested him to transmit to his Court these sentiments of the Emperor, with the assurance that his Majesty took great interest in obtaining a compliance with them; that the Emperor was gratified at this opportunity of proving his friendly dispositions towards the United States; perhaps the interest of his own subjects might justify his interference on the occasion: this was what he had not thought it necessary to examine. It was sufficient for him that it would manifest his regard for the interests of the United States.

I assured the Count that I should inform my Government of this fresh instance of the Emperor's benevolence, and that I would answer beforehand for the grateful acknowledgments which it would produce; that I was the more agreeably surprised at this determination, as from the last conversation I had had with his Excellency I had been apprehensive of a different result; that on leaving him before, I had felt obliged to him for the frank and candid manner in which he had spoken in relation to the object of my application, which I preferred infinitely to a more flattering manner, which might have led to hopes that would be disappointed; but that, having entertained little or no hopes of success from his manner of considering the subject at that time, I was now the more delighted to find that my countrymen would have the benefit of his Majesty's powerful intercession.

The Count said that he wished by this course of proceeding to deserve my confidence.

I observed to him that for this purpose it was unnecessary, as my confidence in his dispositions was already as strong as possible.

He desired me to mention to Baron Blome, when I should have the opportunity to see him, that he had told me this determination of the Emperor, and of the Count's interview with him respecting it. He said that Baron Blome had repeated to him what he had said to me, that it was a measure to which Denmark had been impelled by France, and which she had taken with reluctance.

I enquired how the Emperor found his health since his tour to Moscow. He said well; and that he had been delighted with the marks of attachment which he had received from the people there; that he would probably repeat his visits there occasionally, for he had said to him yesterday it was an excellent idea he had had, of establishing his sister Catherine at Twer; "for when I have a mind to go to Moscow I have only to take her in my pocket, and can go then without any of the expense and parade of an imperial journey," as might be necessary, said the Count, for a journey with the Empress, or Empress-mother. He said the Emperor had charmed the people of Moscow by

riding in an open sledge, according to the custom of the country, and by going round and observing all the quarters of the city, which he knew as if he had been bred there; and that the people had received him with more proofs of joy and attachment to his person than they had given at his coronation.

I left the Count after an interview of about half an hour, and then went with Mr. Smith to the French Ambassador's ice-hills at Kammenoi-ostrow. We got there about half an hour before dinner, just in time to see a little of the sliding down the hills and take part in the amusement. There was a company of about fifty persons—the Ambassador's usual company—most of them specially equipped for the purpose—the men with fur-lined spencers and caps, pantaloons over boots, fur caps, and thick leather mittens, the ladies with fur-lined riding-habits. About four o'clock dinner was served, and lasted about an hour. In the evening the ice-hills were lighted with lamps and torches, and some of the company went out again, but did not stay long. The cold, which had been all day very severe, towards evening increased to fifteen degrees below Fahrenheit's zero. It moderated, however, before midnight. In the house, cards, dice, and dancing employed those who delight in such sports. I came home with Mr. Smith before nine at night, to spare the servants the severity of the weather. Nelson, however, got his toes frozen.

I saw Baron Blome at the ice-hills, and had a long conversation with him on the detention of the American property in Holstein. He told me again that it was a measure to which they had been goaded by France; that it was more injurious to themselves than to us; that this little trade in American vessels, which had given them an opportunity of laying a transit duty, was the only source of revenue left them; but that in Hamburg they had been jealous of it, and had written to Paris that the Danes were carrying on a contraband trade with the English. Upon this France had loaded them with bitter reproaches, which were altogether unmerited. For Denmark had excluded more rigorously the English trade than anybody. Except the outskirts of the kingdom in Norway, over which it was impossible for the Government to have an effectual control,

the exclusion of English trade had been complete. Denmark had sacrificed herself for the common cause, and, instead of acknowledgment, this was the return she received.

I took this opportunity to repeat to Baron Blome the ideas which I had suggested the other day to Count Romanzoff respecting the Continental system and the Emperor Napoleon's idea of carrying it into effect. I told him that it was impossible for a human heart to feel a stronger abhorrence than I had of the proceedings of the British Government towards Denmark; that I knew and felt for the situation of Denmark; that in point of principle, and of real interests, those of Denmark and of the United States were precisely the same; that I hoped the day would soon come when they might freely pursue those interests without reproach from any quarter; that if the present course of measures was merely personal to the Emperor Napoleon, he must soon perceive, as blindness itself could not but now perceive, that Britain was profiting by the commercial losses of all his friends; that his measures had now been three years in operation; that all other commerce was ruined, while in England it was more prosperous than ever; that the duties on imports had exceeded nearly by two millions those of any preceding year; that no clamors, no petitions for peace, were heard of among the English people; that if on the field of battle the Emperor Napoleon should see his army on the brink of destruction, and his enemy almost in possession of the victory by an error which it was still in his power to repair, and to secure the day, he was too good a general to sacrifice himself and his troops to a proud perseverance in mistaken measures; that as a statesman, to persist obstinately, or from the petty vanity of never acknowledging error, in a course which in its effects was altogether advantageous to his enemy, and to resist the evidence of demonstration itself, argued a weakness of character, which I hoped he would dread more than to retract a false step; that in the estimation of effects, he as well as others must calculate the extent of human power, and that with such a surface as the Continent of Europe, under the stimulus of mutual superfluities and wants, commerce could not be destroyed; that in the condition of Spain, the very idea of excluding British

commerce from the Continent, by *prohibitions*, was like an attempt to exclude the air from a bottle, by sealing up hermetically the mouth, while there was a great hole in the side.

The Baron expressed himself perfectly convinced of the accuracy of these remarks, and wished that the Emperor of France might soon open his eyes to conviction. He appeared to take in good part what I said, and promised to transmit to his Government the claim of Mr. Williams, which I mentioned to him, though he said they considered all vessels under British convoy as fair prize.

Day. Little different from the last month, and no better.

I close the year with sentiments of gratitude to Heaven, for the blessings and preservations which my family and myself have experienced in its course. It has witnessed another great change in my condition—brought me to face new trials, dangers, and temptations, relieving me from many of those in which I was before involved. It has changed also the nature of my obligations and duties, and required the exertion of other virtues and the suppression of other passions. From this new conflict may the favor of Heaven continue its assistance, to issue pure and victorious, as from the past. May it enable me better to discharge all my social duties, and to serve my country, and my fellow-men, with zeal, fidelity, and effect. Imploring the blessing of God upon my family present and absent, upon my wife and children, my parents, my kindred, friends, and country, I look with trembling hope at the mingled light and shade of futurity, and pass to a new year with the fervent prayer for firmness to perform as well as prudence to discern my duty, and for temper and fortitude to meet every possible variety of events.

January 8th, 1810. We all went to a ball this evening, at the French Ambassador's, after calling and leaving cards at Princess Wăzemsky's. It being her birthday, the ball was given in honor of her. There were about a hundred and thirty persons there. The supper was served about two o'clock in the morning, and we came home about four, leaving the company still dancing. I had much conversation with Count Soltykoff, the adjoint Minister of Foreign Affairs—a man of about forty, of

grave manners, very reserved, but always ready to converse. He spoke to me about D'Ivernois's late pamphlet, and asked me what I thought its weak part. But he did not give me his own opinion.

At supper I sat next to Count Czernicheff, a young officer about twenty-five years old, who has been repeatedly sent by the Emperor in special missions, about the person of the Emperor of Austria and of the Emperor of France. He has been during the whole of the last campaign with Napoleon, and in his immediate family—constantly the companion of his table, and sleeping in his tent. He told me he had been present at eight pitched battles, among which were those of Eylau, Friedland, Essling, and Wagram. That of Essling, he said, was totally lost, "mais grandement," by the French, and that it was entirely the fault of the Austrians that they did not take advantage of it. He said that the military reputation of the Archduke Charles was irretrievably lost, and that all the present misfortunes were imputable to him almost alone. He told me several particulars relating personally to Napoleon. I asked him if he was subject to the epilepsy. He hesitated about answering, but finally said, not to his knowledge. Then, casting his eyes on both sides, as if fearful anybody might hear, he said, "il a la galle rentrée." He added that he slept little, waked often in the night, and would rise in his bed, speak, give some order, and then go to sleep again. The Duke de Mondragone told me it was not certain whether he was to marry a Princess of Saxony or of this country.

9th. I called upon Mr. Six and Mr. Navarro. Mr. Six says "it is certainly not a Russian Princess that the Emperor Napoleon is to marry; that the imperial family here, and especially the Empress-mother, never would consent to it; that two years ago he wanted to marry the Grand Duchess Catherine—who, though the most ambitious woman in the world, absolutely refused to have him. The Grand Duchess Catherine is her grandmother over again. If anything should ever happen here, it will be in her favor. The idea has never yet occurred to her, but it is impossible that it should not occur. And it would be the most ungrateful thing in the world, because, &c.

The Grand Duchess Catherine detests the French, and the Ambassador made her an excellent answer at the Peterhof fête last summer. The Ambassador kept two country houses: one at Kammenoi-ostrow, to be near the Emperor, and one on the Peterhof road, to be near 'sa belle,' Madame de Vlodek. The Grand Duchess Catherine rallied him about his fondness for the Peterhof road. The first time he was taken by surprise, and got over it as well as he could, but prepared himself for the second. Effectivement, the Grand Duchess renewed the attack. 'Oui, Madame, je trouve le chemin de Peterhof charmant. But I have another reason for frequenting it.' 'Comment cela, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur?' 'Because it enables me the sooner to receive the news of the frequent victories of l'Empereur mon Maître.' The Ambassador's ball last night was very pleasant and lively. A year ago he could not have given such a ball; half the ladies at least who were there last evening a year ago se seraient faites malades, would have shammed sickness, to decline going. All the women were of the English and Austrian party—to begin par la maîtresse de l'Empereur. But she has no political influence at all. She is the last person in the world through whom anything could be obtained. Some little place or trifling favor for any person she might patronize perhaps might be accepted, but the Emperor makes it a point of honor to allow no political influence to the woman by whom he has children because she is beautiful and he is young and fond of pleasure. The Ambassador is going to give another ice-hill party in a few days. 'Il fait une dépense d'enragé pour cette femme là' (Madame de Vlodek). The Emperor Napoleon has been unanimously advised by all the persons in his confidence to this divorce of the Empress. He is going to make his Empire of the West, and will incorporate the whole of Holland with it. How wonderfully and how steadily he is favored by fortune!" &c.

Mr. Six is very communicative, and I regret very much that he is going away. He not only gives much information, but says that from which much more important inferences may be drawn. Navarro was not at home. I left his papers and his pamphlet. Mr. Harris told me that M. de Rumigny had called

upon him, and asked him whether the young gentlemen in my family were "liants;" that he should be glad to be particularly acquainted with them; to go out with them to the ice-hills, &c. This gives further materials for reflection.

11th. I had received a card of invitation, and one for Mr. Harris, from Princess Beloselsky, to attend the funeral of the Prince, who died last Sunday night. The hour appointed for attendance at the house was nine this morning. Mr. Harris not having been yesterday at Mr. Cramer's as I had expected, I left the card for him at his lodgings last evening, with an invitation if he should attend the funeral to go with me. He came this morning, but it was so late that when we arrived at the Prince's house we found the procession already gone; we soon overtook it, however, and reached the monastery soon after ten o'clock. The ceremony resembled in almost all respects that of Mr. Glukoff's funeral; excepting that it was not so long, that the Archbishop who officiated was dressed in more splendid jewelry, and that the coffin of the Prince had a rich canopy of velvet over it with a coronet on the top. The attendance in this instance was of persons of the highest rank. Of the foreign Ministers there were only the Duke of Mondragone, Count Schenk, and the Baron de Bussche—all in full dress uniform. About twelve the ceremony was finished, and we came home.

13th. This, being New Year's day according to the computations of the Greek, which is the Russian, calendar, is observed as a day of great festivity and solemnity. We sent round visiting-cards to all our acquaintance, and to all the persons of distinction who are entitled to be visited; and we received cards of visitation of the same kind in return. At noon I went with Mr. Smith, and accompanied also by Mr. Everett, to Court, where, after the celebration of mass, which was attended by the imperial family, the cercle of the foreign Ministers was held. The Emperor, Empress, and Empress-mother all spoke to me in the most gracious manner. They speak to all the foreign Ministers of the first and second orders, but to no others. After the cercle was over, and the Court for the Russian nobility, which is in another hall, I was presented, with many other

foreigners, to the two young princes, Nicholas[1] and Michael, brothers of the Emperor, who usually reside with their mother at Gatschina, and have not before been in the city since my arrival here. I was introduced to the two princes, alone, immediately after Count St. Julien. Mr. Smith and Mr. Everett, with all the other gentlemen who attended, were presented to them together. I then went to Mr. Harris's lodgings, and, accompanied by him, called in person at Count Romanzoff's, Count Soltykoff's, the French Ambassador's, M. de Gourief's, the Grand Chamberlain Narischkin's, Princess Wäzemsky's (and she alone received us), Count Strogonoff's, Princess Beloselsky's, M. de Laval's. It was now late, and I came home to dinner. About nine in the evening I went to the masquerade at the palace, with Mrs. Adams; it is called a masquerade, but there are no masques. The imperial family and persons admitted to Court appear—the men in Venetian dominoes, the ladies in common Court dresses. All the apartments of the palace are crowded with people of every description, and in all the dresses of the several provinces of the empire. The Empress-mother played at cards about two hours. The Emperor and the imperial family walked the polonaise through the apartments until eleven o'clock, and then went into the Palace of the Hermitage to the supper. To this the foreign Ministers, and in the whole about two hundred persons, were admitted by special invitation. The supper was served upon several tables; that in the centre appropriated to the imperial family, but at which the French Ambassador was also seated. The other foreign Ministers had the second table to themselves. Count Severin Potoçki came and took a seat at it next to me, but was informed that the table was reserved for foreigners, and went to another. The Emperor passed round the table, speaking to about half the persons seated at it. Upon Count St. Julien's rising, he told him it was contraire à l'étiquette, and that he must keep his seat. He told me that sixteen thousand tickets had been distributed, and that the number of persons who attended was upward of thirteen thousand. Before one in the morning the imperial family rose from supper and returned to the halls; they soon after retired.

[1] Afterwards Emperor, in succession to Alexander, though not the next brother.

We came home before two. At the Court this morning I was informed that some considerable changes had this day been introduced into the organization of the Emperor's Council of State, and several new appointments to office were announced; among the rest Count Litta, as Grand Echanson, in the place of the late Prince Beloselsky. I asked the French Ambassador for half an hour's conversation with him some day next week, and he agreed to Tuesday morning, eleven o'clock, when I am to call upon him.

16th. Mr. L. called this morning for his passport, which I gave him. His visit this day delayed me until almost twelve o'clock, before I went to the French Ambassador's. He had appointed to see me at eleven. I was, however, at his house in sufficient time.

I told him the object upon which I wished particularly to converse with him at this time was the order of the King of Denmark, under which the property of American citizens to so large an amount had been sequestered in the ports of Holstein; that this measure was said to be intended only for the purpose of suppressing an illicit trade between these ports and the English, and for the condemnation of English property; but in reality it had fallen most oppressively upon American citizens and American property.

He doubted, at first, whether he could do anything in the case; but finally promised to write to his Government the substance of our conversation, and its object on my part; that the Court of Denmark should restore as speedily as possible the property, really American, sequestered by their late order, and discriminate in its severity between the English and the Americans. I led the conversation much into the general subject of the Continental system, and the impolicy of those measures which, instead of injuring the English, went to the ruin of all their rivals in commerce, and operated entirely to their advantage.

He appeared not to have much information upon the subject, but, as far as he understood it, to agree with me in opinion. He supposed the American Embargo law was still in operation.

While I was with him, Count Schenk, the Minister of the King of Würtemberg, called, to go out with him to the ice-hills.

I therefore left him and returned home. At three o'clock I went with the ladies to his country house at Kammenoi-ostrow. The cold was at six degrees below zero of Fahrenheit's thermometer; and as by some accident the Ambassador's own hills were not in perfect order, his company went and used those at the Emperor's palace, about half a mile from the Ambassador's house. We did not go. About four o'clock he came with his company from the hills. His company were, as usual, his own diplomatic circle, and the family connections of Madame Vlodek. There were a few young men whom I had not seen before, and among the rest a Prince Kurakin, son of the Minister of the Interior. In the evening there was a dance, and Messrs. Rayneval, Rumigny, Lajard, and Lowenstern appeared in female attire. I played at whist with Count Lüxbourg, Mr. Labensky, and Mr. Tettard. About ten in the evening, and before supper, we came home.

18th. On this day was performed the usual solemnity of the benediction of the waters of the Neva. At eleven o'clock I attended at Court, according to the notification yesterday received. The foreign Ministers, excepting the French Ambassador, who attended the Emperor on horseback, were first received in the apartments of the Hermitage, and, after being there about an hour, went to the antechamber usually allotted to them, from the windows of which we saw the procession of the Archbishop and priests from the palace, through the Admiralty walk, to the temple below the bridge, where the ceremony was performed. The Emperor and his suite joined the procession. After the ceremony, the two Empresses, with the Princess Amelia of Baden, returned to the palace, and went upon a balcony which overlooks the river. The troops, to the number of about thirty-two thousand men, filed off before them. The Court attendants and the foreign Ministers went upon the balcony immediately after the Empresses, and remained there until they retired. There was a collation provided in a corner of the hall, which opens upon the balcony. The Emperor did not make his appearance at the palace. The Empresses spoke to all the foreign Ministers, and retired from the balcony about three o'clock.

25th. At noon I went to the palace, and attended the Court,

which was held between one and two o'clock. The foreign Ministers did not attend at the mass. The Emperor, Empress, and Empress-mother, as usual, spoke to all the foreign Ministers.

28th. We have at length got through the continual series of invitations which have so long kept us in a state of dissipation and absorbed my time in a manner the most opposite to my wishes and my judgment. I passed this day altogether at home, excepting the time taken for a walk of exercise. I read a sermon of Massillon, on the immutability of the divine law—the second in the fourth volume of the Carême. I resumed also the Russian Grammar, and learnt something further of the characters of the alphabet. My correspondence, however, continues greatly in arrear, and I know not whether I shall ever bring it up.

31st. Engaged all the morning in writing to the Secretary of State, to send by Mr. Baxter. In the evening we all went to the Great Theatre, where we saw Rusalka, the Nymph of the Dnieper—the fourth part—a great Russian opera. Its character resembles much the English pantomimes—with a variety of scenery—the action extravagantly romantic, the ballets indifferent, and the music still more so.

Day. I rise at eight or nine in the morning. Read and write until ten, or more commonly eleven, which is our usual hour for breakfast. After that I read and write again, or receive, or pay visits, until three P.M. Then walk one or two hours. Dine about five. Pass the evening sometimes in company abroad, sometimes at the theatre. About midnight is our common hour for retiring to bed. But this has during the past month been frequently protracted until three, four, and sometimes five in the morning. Having gone through the course of invitations which we were to expect, we may promise ourselves for the future a more tranquil life. My time hitherto has been wasted almost entirely.

February 2d. Mr. Baxter and Mr. Berry went off this morning. After writing part of the day, I walked on the quay of the Neva. On returning I met Mr. Harris, and walking with him on the quay below the bridge, we were overtaken by the Emperor, who stopped and spoke to us about the weather. He

walked by direction of his physician, for the benefit of his foot, which is not yet entirely recovered from the injury it suffered last autumn. He walks entirely alone, and stops and speaks to many persons whom he meets.

27th. Count Romanzoff had appointed me this day at twelve o'clock to see him; at which hour I accordingly went, and found him in his cabinet, with M. Gervais, one of the under officers in his department, who immediately left him. I again returned him my thanks for the care of my packets forwarded by his courier to Paris, and of those which had come by his courier and he had sent me. I mentioned also that I had sent him a copy of the official documents published by the Government of the United States concerning the recent negotiations with Great Britain and France. He enquired whether it was probable, as seemed to be indicated by a passage in a late speech of the King of England to Parliament, that the negotiations between them and the United States would be resumed.

I told him that if the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty were such as his speech professed, the negotiations undoubtedly would be resumed; and that as we must always implicitly believe the word of a King, thus solemnly spoken in the face of the world, I considered it as certain that they would be resumed.

The Count made no reply to this, except by a smile, and a very significant look, in return for my compliment to the faith of Kings.

I then mentioned to him that I had a letter from General Armstrong, in which he expresses his feelings of congratulation to me that I am in a place where there is some regard for our country and its rights, and that I had also letters from Hamburg expressing the gratitude of my countrymen there for the interposition of the Emperor with the Court of Denmark, and the effect which many of them had already experienced from it, in the liberation of their property.

He said Baron Blome had informed him a week or ten days ago of the answer he had received from his Court, to the dispatch he had sent in consequence of Count Romanzoff's application to him, by order of the Emperor—which answer was that the Danish Government would pay the most particular

attention to the interest which the Emperor had taken upon this occasion; that they would give all possible dispatch to the proceedings, and that their own wishes were conformable to the desire manifested by the Emperor upon this subject. He then added that he was glad that the opportunity which the Emperor had thus taken to show his friendship for the United States had been attended with this success. He regretted that the commerce of the United States elsewhere appeared still to be subject to seizure and ill treatment, and that altogether it seemed impossible there should be any safe commerce until the peace; that the profligacy with which the English, under the obvious connivance of their Government, were attempting to carry on their trade with fraud and forgery, was such as he could not reflect upon without astonishment. The English were a nation illustrious by the men of genius and learning, distinguished in the arts and sciences, whom they had produced—illustrious by the degree of power and importance in the affairs of the world which they had attained. Their commerce also had been very extensive; and although it was known and admitted that in their commercial intercourse with others their activity and enterprise gave them advantages, of which they were always eager to make the most they could, that they would make those with whom they would treat commit as many faults as they could lead them into, and turn them with all their ingenuity and address to their own benefit; in short, that they had an extraordinary talent at making profitable bargains, yet there was a sort of integrity, to the reputation of which they had always aspired, and which they had effectually acquired. A British merchant was considered as a man of honor, a man of principle, who would disdain to participate in a base or infamous transaction for the mere profit of trade. "But now," said the Count, "I will give you a sample of what are the principles of British merchants. There arrived in our ports last autumn thirteen ships with cargoes, which entered as coming from the port of Lisbon, under neutral colors. Among the documents which they exhibited was a *certificate of origin*, apparently under the hand and seal of the Russian consul at Lisbon. This gentleman has long been personally well known to me, and I have

a high esteem for his character and good conduct—in which point of view I have often mentioned him to the Emperor himself. I had no reason on seeing those certificates of origin to doubt from the appearance of the hand or the seal that they were authentic; but as their vessels had been detained here over winter by the ice, and I could have time in that interval to get an answer from him, I took good measures to get a letter transmitted to him, with a list of those vessels, and of the documents apparently executed by him, with an enquiry whether these were all authentic. I have lately received his answer, and not one of the documents is authentic—the whole thirteen are forgeries. Now, I ask," said the Count, "what difference in principles there is between this case and the same transaction upon the seal of a deed, or the signature of a bill of exchange—and what one is to think of a Government which licenses people to trade on such documents."

He then continued, that the Chargé d'Affaires of the Queen of Portugal had often *tormented him* (m'a tourmenté) for the admission of Portuguese vessels from Lisbon. This was impossible. The Emperor had made no change in his relations with Portugal. He was not at war with Portugal; he continued to receive Mr. Navarro as the Queen's Chargé des Affaires. Portuguese vessels from Brazil or elsewhere, not enemies' ports, would be freely admitted; but from places notoriously in possession of the English it could not be, without making a burlesque of the Imperial ordinances against trading with the English.

The Count made also many enquiries whether I had any intelligence from South America, which appeared to be an object of peculiar interest at this moment; but I had none. On some allusion that I made to the rigor with which the French Government and its dependencies were proceeding towards America, which I told him would most powerfully negotiate in the United States in favor of their reconciliation with England, he asked me whether I knew that Colonel Burr had gone to Paris. I said I had heard he was arrived there. He said he did not know of his arrival; but that he knew from a certain source that he was gone there. He said Colonel Burr had written a letter to him requesting permission to come here; but that, not

being desirous of encouraging people who had fled from the violated laws of their own country to come into this, he had not answered his letter. If he wanted to come here he must make his application through me, and, if I had desired it, no difficulty would have been made. He enquired what Burr's project had been; which I explained to him as well as its complicated nature would admit in the compass of a short conversation. After this I told the Count of the letter I had received from London for the Abbé Brzozowski, au Collége des Nobles—of the circumstances under which I had received it, and of my determination to send it back to the person who had forwarded it to me, unless he, the Count, were of opinion that I might without inconvenience send it to the person for whom it was destined. I added that if the writer, in requesting me to convey this letter to its address, had thought proper to leave it open for my perusal, and I had found it relating only to private concerns of business or friendship, I might have sent or delivered it to the person to whom it is directed without giving the Count any trouble on the occasion; but that I could not become the intermediate of any correspondence from a foreign country at war with this, the contents of which were unknown to myself, without giving notice to him and obtaining his consent; that I presumed this was a letter merely upon private concerns; that I knew the American gentleman who forwarded it to me, and had no suspicion that he would be accessory to the transmission of any improper correspondence; and as the letter was said to be important (I supposed to the correspondent), I wished he might not be disappointed by failing to receive it.

The Count at first discovered some surprise, and said he believed I had better send the letter back. He enquired particularly how it had been forwarded from England; said that from the *name* of the person to whom it is directed, he appears to be a subject of the Emperor, and not a Russian; that there was no such thing here as a Collége des Nobles; that he supposed it must mean the Corps des Cadets, and that this Abbé was one of the instructors there.

I told him that such had been my conjecture. After pausing a few minutes, the Count requested me to wait a day or two,

during which he would make enquiries, and then return me a final answer whether to deliver the letter as directed or send it back. He seemed then inclining to think it might be delivered, and he thanked me in terms of the greatest cordiality for the notice I had thus given him; declaring his entire approbation of the principle, and his particular sense of the delicacy which I had observed towards this Government in the application of it.

I spoke to the Count concerning the note which I presented nearly three months since, relative to the claims of the Weymouth Commercial Company and Mr. Thorndike. He said this subject belonged altogether to the Department of the Marine; but that he would speak to the Minister of Marine about it. He made a similar promise with respect to accelerating the expedition of passports for American citizens coming into this country or going out of it. They are always delayed from a fortnight to three weeks, after going through all the formalities required by the ordinances, before passports can be obtained.

The Count said he had frequently heard the same complaint made before; that it belonged to the Minister of the Interior to remedy this evil, and he would speak to him concerning it.

As I took leave, the Count invited me, and desired me to invite Mrs. Adams, to supper at his house on Thursday next. He said that to explain an old bachelor's giving a supper to ladies, he would observe that it was for the Princess Amelia of Baden, who is going away, and who had permitted him to give her a supper. I left the Count about two o'clock.

March 27th. I went to Count Romanzoff's this morning at eleven o'clock, the hour he had appointed in consequence of my request for an interview with him. I found Mr. d'Alopeus and Mr. Benkendorf with him, who retired immediately on my going into his cabinet. He said they were both on the point of going to Naples, and had come to ask him for passports. As to Mr. Benkendorf, he was a young man, who might form himself there in the diplomatic career as well as anywhere; but he was inclined to put off the departure of Mr. d'Alopeus as long as he could. He did not like to see him go to Naples. He had all proper respect for the King of Naples, but

the relations of that country with this were not of sufficient importance to require that they should be confided to Mr. d'Alopeus, whom he considered as one of the ablest diplomatic characters of this empire. The Chargé d'Affaires of Naples, he said, had sent to request an interview with him. He supposed it was to inform him of the appointment of a new Minister here, which he understood had taken place—the Duke of Mondragone, on account of his own domestic affairs, or for some reason of that kind, not desiring to return here. The Count then enquired what was the object upon which I had desired to see him. I told him it was on the case of the American vessel the Intercourse, which had been condemned by the Commission for Neutral Navigation at Archangel, upon which Mr. Harris had some time since presented to him a note, and which at a former interview I had also mentioned to him. I assured him that the vessel and cargo were undoubtedly American property; and dwelt upon all the alleviating circumstances which could be adduced to prevail upon him to have the proceeds of the sale restored to the owner, Mr. Cutts. I observed to him that this had been suggested as a probable indulgence to Mr. Cutts by the Commissioners themselves, as he had assured me; that one motive for the condemnation was the vessel's having touched at Gottenburg on her way from Bilboa; but that she had arrived just at the time of the conclusion of peace, and at a time when I had heard that other vessels had been admitted.

He said this might be a mistake; that no vessels whatever had been admitted from Sweden before the signature of the Treaty at Frederickshamm, and that during the negotiations there had not even been an armistice.

The other ground of condemnation was the want of a rôle d'équipage, which I said was to be accounted for from the length of time since the vessel had left the United States, and the changes in the crew which had been necessary.

The Count promised to attend to the subject, and intimated that they were in discussion with another friendly power on similar cases.

On the whole, there is very little chance for the restoration

of Mr. Cutts's property. I then told the Count of the recent intelligence from Denmark; that a new ordinance respecting privateers was about to be issued, and that a large number of privateers was fitting out in the ports of Denmark.

I spoke of the anxiety which it had occasioned among the Americans now here, and who propose returning to America with cargoes of the produce of this country. Though inclining to think this apprehension without foundation, I said, I was myself fearful it might interrupt the freedom of navigation of our vessels that would be coming here; and, I said, as this was an object interesting to this country as well as to us, perhaps an intimation might be given to the Court of Denmark from this Government, which would operate as a restraint upon the Danes, and afford some protection to our trade.

The Count said that if the free course of vessels coming to this country should be obstructed, they might, no doubt, address reclamations to the Danish Government; but that as to an ordinance for privateers, it was hardly possible to make any objection against such a measure as that. Denmark was probably stimulated to it by France, and it was impossible that there should be any security for commerce until England should incline to terms of peace. What should now prevent this he could not conceive. Spain had heretofore been alleged as a cause for declining negotiation. But Spain was now entirely subdued—Cadiz alone excepted. The English army had abandoned its defence, and had retired into Portugal. What could now be the motive for persisting in the war, unless it was the mere pleasure of perpetual hostility?—a system which could hardly be supposed as the intention of any Government. The Count enquired what was the present state of our affairs with France and with England.

I told him that I had no recent intelligence; that extracts from English newspapers had announced that Mr. Pinckney, our Minister at London, had left that city and embarked for America, but I had no authentic information to that effect; that from America I had no accounts of anything important since the rupture of the negotiations with Mr. Jackson; but that if, as appeared from the latest accounts from England, the British

Government was inclined to a settlement of differences with America, I presumed that it would be accomplished, especially as the violence with which France and her dependencies were proceeding towards us would exasperate the spirits of the people against them, and make them more readily incline to conciliation with England; that the conduct of France towards us was unaccountable; that if we were at open war with her she could do us no more injury than she now does, and we should then at least enjoy the advantage of a free trade with England.

The Count said that it was not for him to account for the motives by which a foreign Government might be guided; but he could see no rational ground for the proceedings of France towards America. He asked whether it was true that so much American property had been confiscated at Naples.

I told him, not only in Naples, but in Holland, in France, in Spain; wherever they could lay their hands upon our property they had taken it; and without any possible motive other than the determination to plunder.

He said he hoped at least they had not got the vessels at Cadiz, of which he had seen in the English newspapers that there were a great number.

I said I hoped at least they would escape.

He said that he saw by another article in the English papers that the French Toulon fleet was out; and that an action between them and Lord Collingwood was expected.

I told him I was sorry to hear it, as the issue of such an action would undoubtedly be the same as that of all their naval battles in the present war, and would only tend to buoy up the temper of the English people for a further continuance of the war, without producing any imaginable good.

He said it would have the further ill effect of destroying the remnant of any counterpoise to the naval force of Great Britain, without which it seemed impossible to expect a permanent peace.

I observed that it appeared probable there would be a change in the British ministry, as they had been several times left in the minority in the House of Commons; and it was very difficult for a ministry to stand against a majority, or even with a

small majority, in that House, as the Ministers usually had the prudence to retire while they could command a majority to sanction their proceedings.

"But," said the Count, "it does not follow that a change of men will be a change of ministry. Should Mr. Canning, for example, come in again, it would not be a change of ministry. And even if Lord Grenville should come in, it is doubtful whether it would be such a change as to produce peace. Lord Grenville was the principal personage in a ministry which commenced and carried out the war that laid the foundation for all those of the present times. He may be called emphatically the man of the war; and in his late speeches in Parliament he seems to blame the Ministers only for pursuing a different system of war from that which he had pursued—that is, for sending expeditions to the Continent instead of money. Now, to be sure, a war merely with money does not bear so hard upon a nation as a war with men; but, then, what can it effect? What is the result of this pitiful dole to beggary? An ally of a generous spirit, instead of receiving it as assistance, will consider it an offence. Now, I can confide this to you (je puis vous le confier). In our war with France which preceded the peace of Tilsit, a war which we were waging for the English, since it was commenced on account of Hanover, we had proposed to the English that they should send an expedition to the Continent, which might operate as a diversion in favor of the King of Prussia and the King of Sweden, with whom we were then upon good terms. Instead of that, they sent a million sterling, to be distributed equally among the three sovereigns; and this was the time when Lord Grenville was the Minister, and his great expedient. The generous sentiments of the Emperor induced him to order the part of the money which was sent here to be kept in deposit, and it has been sent back to England since the commencement of this war with her."

I replied that if Mr. Canning should come again into the ministry, I did not believe that a peace would be possible so long as he should continue there; but that if Lord Grenville should come in, particularly if in conjunction with Lord Grey, I thought there would be a possibility of peace; that upon the

subject of the maritime pretensions of Great Britain, Lord Grenville was, to be sure, in some degree pledged, but as a statesman of experience and judgment, he must submit to the necessity of modifying systems according to times and circumstances; that as to his emphatical attachment to the former war, it was to be remembered that he professed to consider that a war of principles, a war against Jacobinism, a war against the French Republic. I presumed he could not have anything to dread at present from the Jacobinism or the Republicanism of France.

The Count smiled, and said, that to be sure, when one reflected upon the whole history of the French Revolution, and saw that violent republicanism thus terminate in the greatest excess of monarchy, it ought to be a great lesson for mankind.

I now took leave of Count Romanzoff, and came home; soon after which Baron Blome, the Danish Minister, called to pay me a visit. I mentioned to him the private accounts which had been received here of privateers fitting out in the Danish ports, and the paragraph in the newspapers mentioning that a new ordinance for privateering was soon to be issued.

He said that he could not undertake to answer that it was not so; but he had received no indication of it from his Government; that if it was so, undoubtedly it must be from a foreign instigation, and there could only have been left the alternative of doing it of their own accord or by compulsion; that he himself had advised the suspension of the privateering; and that having his estates in Holstein, he knew how advantageous to his own country the trade which the Americans had brought there was. But as I had told him how anxious the Americans now here, and who were going home at the opening of the navigation, were in consequence of these accounts, he said that certainly there could be no danger for them, since it was only against English trade that the privateers could be armed. But probably vessels coming into the Baltic would be molested, for the English would not suffer them to come without licenses, and that his Government considered every vessel having a British license as lawful prize.

I told him that according to the Orders of Council of April last, the navigation to the Baltic would be open to American

vessels direct from America without British licenses, and that I did not expect that the British would add any new restrictions.

He appeared not to have known this modification of the Orders in Council. In conclusion, as he was going away I told him I hoped he would write to his Government and urge them not to permit the Americans to be molested by their privateers; but he only answered by general assertions of his own good dispositions. He told me that Princess Wäzemsky was to dine with him, and what disconcerted him much was that she must dine at three o'clock, while he was accustomed to dine at five.

28th. The weather at length has moderated, after ten days of cold almost as severe as any we have had this winter. We have never, however, had the fire made more than once a day in our chambers. In our bed-chamber it has not been made more than five times this winter, and in the adjoining chamber often not more than three or four times a week. The temperature of the chamber has been from 12 to 15 of Réaumur's, or from 57 to 66 of Fahrenheit's thermometer. From 13 to 14 of Réaumur, or from 62 to 64, is that which I find most comfortable,—that is, no unpleasant sensation either of heat or cold is experienced.

April 3d. I went with Mr. Harris and visited Mr. Tilesius and Captain Krusenstern.[1] Mr. Fuss was not at home. Mr. Tilesius was complaining much of the want of patronage for objects of science and art here. He says they employed only scholars to engrave his drawings which accompany the voyage; that they spoiled his drawings, and did not engrave them well. He therefore doubts whether any English or French translation of the work will appear. The Emperor pays entirely for the plates of the Russian work, which have cost him one hundred thousand roubles. But the mere paper upon which they are struck off has risen so much in price, that they cannot afford to give it good, and use mean paper, which is another disgrace to the work. The Russian edition is of one thousand copies, of which not a hundred will ever be read; and the German edition so small there are no copies left for new subscribers. M. Tilesius

[1] The commander of the Russian expedition around the world in 1803–6. Mr. Tilesius was the naturalist belonging to the scientific corps.

gave me, for he would not allow me to pay for it, his own copy of the first volume, and has taken my name down as a subscriber for the remaining volumes. The dissertation upon the mammoth he thinks will not be published at all. Captain Krusenstern is here on a visit. He commands the Blagodat, the largest ship in the Russian navy, and perhaps in the world. He has been many years in England, and two or three in America.

7th. At ten this morning I called at the office of Mr. Grootten, who accompanied me to the Alexandrofsk manufactory, of which he is the superintendent—a manufactory for spinning cotton yarn, under the patronage of the Empress-mother.

The buildings are about seven wersts, or five miles, from the city, on the banks of the Neva, beyond the Monastery of St. Alexander Newski. The establishment is under the direction of a Mr. Wilson, an Englishman. There are four or five hundred carding, spinning, and winding machines, which are kept at work by three steam-engines, variously constructed, according to the recent improvements upon that great mechanical invention. There is also connected with the establishment a manufactory of cotton stockings; where they also wove silk stockings while the silk was to be procured. The needles, cards, and much of the machinery are made within the manufactory. The labor is executed by about five hundred foundling children, nearly an equal number of both sexes, and most of whom are taken, at the age of eight, nine, or ten years, from the foundling hospitals of St. Petersburg and of Moscow. They remain here, the boys until twenty-one, and the girls until twenty-five years, unless sooner married. They then have liberty to quit the establishment, or to remain connected with it, at their option. They have apartments accommodated for the married couples, of which there are now about twenty-five, and they are increasing. The institution having existed not more than twelve years, it has only been within four or five years that the marriages began to take place. Of the earliest, almost all the children died, and even now a small proportion of those that are born are likely to live. This mortality is attributed to the ignorance of the parents. But the confinement of the chambers allowed to the families, their extreme poverty, the want of cleanliness, and the almost

pestilential air which I found in them, sufficiently accounted in my mind for the fact.

In two of the family apartments I saw Russian cradles, which are a sort of hammock suspended by four small cords from the end of an elastic pole, fastened by the other end near the head of the bed. It hangs about four feet from the floor, and the mother can reach her hand to the pole to rock the cradle from her bed, by bending the pole at pleasure. It is a very clumsy contrivance, and the child must be always in danger of falling to the floor, an accident which four times in five must prove fatal.

The working foundlings themselves look for the most part wretchedly, and very unwholesome. Of two hundred and forty girls from ten to twenty-five years of age, I scarcely saw one that could be called handsome, and very few not positively ugly. When we arrived, they were just going to dinner—the girls in a long room, with tables on the two sides, and a passage-way between them. The girls were all standing between the bench and the table, with their faces towards the little image of the Virgin hanging at the wall, at the other end of the hall, and chanting grace before meat. At the farthest end the floor of the room was raised a step higher, and a separate small table was placed, at which about twenty of the girls took their seats. Their fare was the same as at the other tables. But to be seated there is an honorary distinction for particular industry and good conduct. The dining-hall of the boys is of the same form and dimensions, a story higher. But there were not more than nine or ten at their table of distinction. The plates and dishes of the girls were of wood, those of the boys of pewter. Their dinner was a thin turnip soup, and a dish of boiled buckwheat, of the consistency of hasty-pudding; their bread rye, and their drink quas. They are served at tables by invalids belonging to the establishment, and who have no other duty. They have school-rooms, where, at certain hours of leisure and on Sunday mornings, they are taught to read, write, and cipher. They attend public worship at a church in the neighborhood, the priest of which gives them also occasional religious instruction at the buildings of the institution. The girls all sleep in one long bed-chamber, where there are four rows of beds the whole

length of the room, and in several recesses there are four rows more. The appearance was neat, the bedding all clean; but the air was not good. That of the boys' bed-chambers, which were in two or three stages of a large square hall, with inside staircases to the second and third stages, was much worse—almost insupportable. Mr. Wilson told us it had not been ventilated the whole winter. By the regulations they must all be in bed before ten at night, and rise at six in the morning. Their task of work is twelve hours a day, and for any extra work which they choose to do they are paid.

The girls and boys are kept very carefully separate, and although marriages between them are encouraged, yet Mr. Grootten says not a single *accident* has happened. Is this owing to constitutional coldness, to the continence of hard labor and penurious subsistence, or to the perfection of subserviency secured by their mode of breeding and education? Perhaps to all the causes, combined with the climate and the rigor of the regulations.

The machinery has been very expensive, and before the introduction of the steam-engines, which is only four or five years, it was kept at work also at great expense. French and German projectors devised a number of water-wheels, which, after the waste of much time and money, were found utterly useless. Then came a Mr. Gascoigne, an Englishman, of great mechanical genius, the inventor of the sort of great guns now called carronades, but which from him were in the first instance called Gasconades. Some unsuccessful speculative inventions had impaired his fortune in England, and he had come to Russia, where he was employed at the head of a manufactory of iron some one hundred and fifty or two hundred wersts from St. Petersburg, when the direction of this institution was also put into his hands. He introduced horse-mills to work the machines—a great improvement upon the former processes, but which still left the establishment so expensive that they could not vie with the cheapness of the English manufactures. Mr. Gascoigne had one-third of the profits from the sales, and accumulated a great fortune, of which he died possessed a few years since. He had introduced Mr. Wilson as his assistant in

the direction, and since his death Mr. Wilson has his place; but without his emoluments. He has introduced the steam-engines, which have much reduced the expense of the works, and since the war with England, followed by the prohibition of English goods, this manufacture is in a flourishing condition. But Mr. Wilson has no pay—nothing but occasional presents; leaving him in a state of anxiety and suspense with regard to his future prospects—and the order of St. Wladimir, which he received last year from the Emperor as a mark of his favor. There are twelve different kinds of machines used in the process of carding and spinning the yarn. But three or four of them are employed in effecting the modification of the cotton, which might be accomplished by one, and Mr. Wilson has invented a machine for that purpose, which is now just beginning to work. There is also much of the labor still done by the hand which might be done by machinery; particularly the wiring of the leather for the carding-machines. I mentioned to Mr. Wilson the American invention for this purpose, of which he told me he had heard before. They have also here various small machines for making up the yarn into packages for sending away. The reels wind off seven threads of a given length, which are fastened together and form the first combination of the prepared article. A number of these gatherings, according to the fineness of the yarn, forms a skein. The skein is weighed, and according to the number of skeins to a pound is numbered from twelve to twenty. The skeins of the same numbers are weighed in parcels of ten pounds, and from the scales are put into a hollow squared steel press, in which they are screwed down into as small a compass as the hand of the workman can press them; then they are taken out in a cube apparently solid, and made into packages of brown paper tied up with twine. These are deposited upon shelves in the place where they are made up, for ten days together—after which the ten days' work is all removed at a time to the warehouse of the manufactory, ready to be taken away by the traders from Moscow and other parts of the country, who purchase it by wholesale and take it here at the manufactory. Very little of it is taken at St. Petersburg. Besides the cotton, they also spin some coarse thread from flax—

a material to which Mr. Grootten wishes that the whole manufactory were confined; because the flax is the produce of the country itself. After spending about four hours in going over the different parts of this establishment, I returned with Mr. Grootten to the city, and left him at his house.

11th. I called upon Mr. Tilesius, and requested his aid to procure all the volumes of the Transactions of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg necessary to complete the collection for the library of Harvard University. He promised me to mention it at the conference of the Academy and give me an early answer. He showed me a letter he had received from Mr. Pallas, who is in the Crimea. He still complains of the neglect of sciences at the present day. The age of Catherine, he says, is past. Excepting Mr. Fuss and Mr. Schubert, there are no learned Academicians. Pallas is gone; Gmelin and Guldenstaedt are dead; Storch is a courtier, who writes panegyrics upon the reigning sovereign, and celebrates the glory and prosperity of Russia under Alexander the Great. The rest are all Russians—that is, nothing. The Academy is daily declining, and supports itself now principally by printing books for individual authors.

He showed me also a press which he has made for coloring prints. It is precisely upon the principle of Watt's copying-press; only larger. He showed me also a number of colored prints for Gmelin's Historia Fucorum which he has taken upon vellum paper to send to Dr. Barton. But he says they cost five roubles a print. He had sent the volume to Dr. Barton with the plates struck on Russian paper and uncolored. Dr. Barton complained of the badness of their execution; and he sends him these to show him what can be done. Mr. Tilesius was the editor of the German edition of Pallas's Voyages. I enquired of him for Pallas's work on the various dialects of the Russian Empire; but he said if it was to be procured it would only be by advertising for it in the newspapers—that the work was incomplete, and is now to be continued by Mr. Adelung. I found with Mr. Tilesius a Mr. Gauler, the engraver; whose pupils are employed in engraving his designs for the voyage of Krusenstern. At seven in the evening we attended the first

lecture of Mr. Boucher, upon maritime and commercial law. The introductory lecture was panegyrical upon the Emperor Alexander, and said much of Mr. Boucher himself. He was about three-quarters of an hour reading it.

14th. Taking my usual walk this morning, I met General Pardo, and walked about an hour with him. His conversation is very agreeable; his learning profound; and his taste in the fine arts enlightened and elegant. But he passes not a little of his time in translating Horace into Greek. I doubt whether this can even be called Nugæ Canoræ. Yet what right have I to reflect upon it? How do I pass my own time? In politics his views are extensive, and in many respects correct. But his opinions are so much biassed by his prejudices and his passions that no dependence can be placed upon him. His belief is the child of his feelings, and his information is more inaccurate than that of any man that I have met here, moving in that sphere. Just as we parted, the Emperor passed us in his sledge, driven by a mujik with a white shaft trotting-horse, and a galloping furieux.

15th. I attended this morning the service of the Greek ceremonial in the Church of St. Isaac. In some respects it differed from those that I have witnessed heretofore. There were only two officiating priests. The choir of singers at the left hand of the chancel was small, but the singing, as usual, excellent. There was one ceremony which I could not ascertain whether it was the administration of the communion or of baptism. There were only two vessels, as if containing one the bread and the other the wine—the former borne by the inferior priest upon his head, the other a cup carried in the hand by the other priest, raised to the level of his eyes. The cup only was administered, and that only to the infants of a number of women, who held them in their arms. On the whole, I concluded it was baptism. The subordinate priest read nearly half an hour from a book—but whether it was a homily or chapters from the Bible I could not ascertain.

After the service was over, that which I took to be baptism was repeated to two women with infants, who were not there in time for the first. They stood about the centre of the church.

The inferior priest read to them from the book for some time. They then went up to the balustrade. The inferior priest then took the children successively from the mothers, carried them to the superior in the sanctuary, and a moment after returned, and gave them back. The mothers appeared delighted to have obtained the blessings. The multitude of self-crossings, the profound and constantly-repeated bows, the prostrations upon the earth and kissing of the floor, witnessed the depth of superstition in which this people is plunged perhaps more forcibly than I had seen before. The aisle of the church, where alone the service can be heard, was crowded; but there appeared to be only people in the lowest classes of society, mujiks and common soldiers, there.

A collection for charity was made during the service, and beggar boys and girls were going about and asking alms frequently during the performance. I saw one little girl obtain several single copecks, principally from the soldiers. The collection was received on tin canisters with narrow holes on the lids to let in the money. But there were several copeck and two-copeck pieces on the lid itself; and some of those who put on it two-copeck pieces took single copecks from it in exchange.

In the centre of this church, which is built in the regular shape of a cross, the trophies lately achieved from the enemies of Russia are suspended. They are not numerous. I saw one English flag there; but I know not where it was taken. The pictures, as in their other churches, are some good and some very bad. I suppose those the worst executed are the most esteemed for sanctity.

16th. Mr. Six paid me a visit this morning, and we had a long conversation upon political subjects. He is the exact counterpart of General Pardo. The Emperor Napoleon is his idol. He once told me he was afraid Napoleon before he died would take upon him to demand the adoration of mankind, as being something superhuman. This idea, he said, was entertained by the whole family of the Bonapartes, and as strongly by his own King, Louis, as by any of them. I do not know whether Napoleon will ever assume the god or not; but if he should, Mr.

Six would be one of the most devout of his priests. His subjugation of soul is complete. But he is a man of great political information; of long experience; of better principles than most statesmen of this or any other day; of good intentions; of good disposition,—anxiously desirous of the esteem of others, and especially of those whose judgment he fears. Conscious of compliances with the times, which stubborn virtue cannot approve, his mind is in a frequent, if not continual, struggle to justify himself to his own feelings. The worship of Napoleon is thus in some sort necessary to his quiet. It helps him to apologies of which he feels the want. When his chain galls him he looks at it and takes comfort in the thought that it is gold. Pardo bites at his with the fury of a phrenetic, but without having the strength to break it. Six's information is usually more accurate than that of the General. He is not so much blinded by his passions. He loves to tell *secrets*, and often communicates, with injunctions of profound secrecy, the common rumors of the Exchange.

The day I dined with him last week, he told me that the Rotterdam Gazette that day arrived had brought accounts of a French officer having landed in England, who was said to be the bearer of propositions for a pacific negotiation; that by a private letter he was informed that this officer was Marshal Duroc. This, however, he begged me not to mention, as he had communicated it to no other person but the Ambassador and myself. The next morning Mr. J. S. Smith asked me if I had heard the report current upon the Exchange two days before, that Duroc had landed in England upon an errand of peace. The Hamburg newspaper on Saturday brought the report and its refutation. This day Mr. Six observed to me that it appeared Duroc was not the man, though he had been announced in the Morning Chronicle.

18th. As Count Romanzoff had neither sent nor written to me concerning the letter which I had told him I had received from the Abbé Brzozowski, after waiting some weeks, I took it for granted that his silence implied consent that the letter should be delivered. I accordingly sent it last week, and received immediately from him a letter of thanks, with the title of Le

Père Général des Jésuites, a person whom I did not know to be still existing. He paid me this morning a visit, and renewed his thanks for my care of the letter, with the request that I would take charge of his answer; which I readily promised to do. The letter itself was from America. He asked me many questions about America. His namesake Prince Alexander Galitzin, the Procureur du St. Synode, once spoke of him to me.

22d. I went successively this morning to the St. Nicholas, the Assumption, and the great Roman Catholic church, to attend the service of the day. The Church of St. Nicholas was open, and about twenty shrines were lighted up with tapers hanging before them; and many worshippers at many of them, crossing and prostrating themselves, according to the manner of the country, before them. The shrines in general were gaudily dressed out. The only one particularly remarkable contained a portrait of St. Nicholas, with twelve scenes, I suppose from the legend of his life, painted in miniature round the figure of his person, which was only a kit-cat. It was very well painted, and in a handsome frame; but there was no public service performing. The Annunciation and Assumption Churches were not even open,—and the Roman Catholic Church service was finished just as I went to go in. I met a crowd of people coming from it, many of them with palm-branches in their hands. The branches were all budded, and almost in leaf. They must therefore have been raised in green-houses. It is, by the old style reckoning used here, Palm Sunday, though in every other part of Christendom, where these festivals are observed, it is Easter Sunday. I had never before observed the commemoration of the day by carrying palm-branches, of which I have this day witnessed great quantities. Its allusion is to the entrance of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem—for which see St. John's Gospel, chap. xii. v. 1, 12, and 13. St. John is the only one of the Evangelists who mentions that the branches of the trees were *palm*.

27th. This day being Good Friday, by the old style calendar, I went to the Church of St. Nicholas, and heard the service of the day; which I did not perceive, however, to differ from the

ordinary mass. Their mode of worship here is such that one service can be attended only by very few persons. The churches are built in the form of a cross, thus:

The place where the service is performed is at one of the ends, as at *a*, which is railed off by a low balustrade. There are neither benches nor chairs. The people stand in the aisle, and every individual must have space enough round him to cross himself incessantly, to bow himself down almost to the earth about once in five seconds, and to prostrate himself on hands, knees, and forehead, according to the ardor of his devotion.

In the mean time beggars are circulating through the crowd to catch the critical moment of charitable feeling and receive the donation of his copeck. I saw one this day of the most squalid appearance, in tatters which scarcely hung together upon his body, but with a leather bag half full of the alms he was receiving, and giving single copecks in exchange for two-copeck pieces. But the donors themselves appeared as much objects for charity as those to whom they gave it. In general, both at the Nicholaï and Isaac's Churches, I saw scarcely a person attending that was above the class of ordinary mujiks. I afterwards went to the Roman Catholic church, where I found a priest in the pulpit preaching a sermon in the Polish language. He was very animated in his discourse, and seemingly pathetic; there was a portable wooden crucifix, in a groove at his left hand, by the side of his pulpit. While speaking with much vehemence, he seized this crucifix, held it forward to the people, many of whom immediately fell upon their knees and bowed their heads to the floor before it, while he continued with increasing exertion of lungs and muscles to apostrophize them upon the object represented to them upon the cross, until the end of his sermon.

29th. Easter Sunday; the greatest holiday of the Russian calendar. It celebrates the resurrection of Christ. The ceremonies, as at Christmas, begin at midnight. Mr. Everett and Mr. Smith attended at the Church of St. Isaac, where a service of about two hours was performed, partly without the church, around which the priests went three times successively in procession, and

partly within it, where was a representation of the sepulchre from which the Saviour arose. The crowd of people attending was excessive. At midnight the signal was given by the firing of a cannon at the fortress, followed by several others; and at two or three subsequent periods of the night a salvo of twenty-five or thirty guns was fired. The midnight service is performed at all the churches, and the Emperor and imperial family attend at their chapel. Among the customs of the country is that of embracing one another at this period, and all the people who attend at the Court Chapel are admitted to kiss the Emperor's sleeve and the Empress's hand. It is also the custom to make presents upon this day, and particularly of eggs. The mujiks present real eggs, hard boiled and dyed red with logwood; for which they receive roubles. Persons of higher standing present eggs of sugar, glass, gilt wood, porcelain, marble, and almost every other substance, and of various dimensions, many of them made into cups, or boxes filled with sugar-plums; others with painting and biscuit figures upon them, emblematical of the crucifixion and resurrection. Some of these eggs are made to cost a hundred roubles or upwards. Servants present these eggs to their masters, and receive presents in return, as at the new year. Friends present them to one another and embrace. It is a mode of gallantry allowable towards ladies by gentlemen of their intimate acquaintance; and in return for an egg the gentleman is entitled to a salutation.

The parade was this morning more splendid than usual, and of longer continuance. I went to the Roman Catholic church and heard mass performed. There appeared during the daytime to be no service at the Greek churches. The streets all day were crowded with people. New dresses, equipages, liveries, were driving round the city, and met at every turn. The whole circle of Court visits by cards must be paid, as on New Year's day; and the visits in person are more numerous than at that time. I paid four or five visits in person, leaving cards. The Court attendants came to pay and receive their compliments, as usual. I met Mr. Harris, and walked with him on the square of St. Isaac and the line. On the square are a number of fair shows, under temporary shelters erected for the occasion, and the

common people were amusing themselves in whirligig chairs and swings. There are four chairs to a wheel, which contain two persons each, and move round in a perpendicularly circular motion. But it is very slow, and kept up only by a mujik pushing forward each of the chairs as it descends. The swing is a plank suspended by four cords fixed at its ends from a gallows standing over it; on the plank are two seats for two persons each; at each end of the plank a man or woman standing, and holding by the cords which pass from the plank to the cross-piece of the gallows, keeps the swing in motion by the exertion of the muscles, and by changing the centre of gravity at the moment when the swing reaches its highest elevation on each side. This they do by simply bending their knees, and thus shortening their own length; and I saw at least as many swings kept in motion by women as by men. The mass at the Catholic church was remarkable only as it was long. The music was exquisite. The sermon, in Italian, had been preached before the mass.

May 5th. I called upon Mr. Harris this morning, and we went together to see the shows at most of the booths on the square of St. Isaac. At the first were a dromedary and two monkeys, a dancing bear, and a couple of poor tumblers, with a man, one of whose legs was deformed, and seemingly jointed like a hand and arm; for he used that foot as a hand, to eat, drink, play upon the violin, with two pairs of cymbals at once, and other like performances. At the second were only dancers on the tight-rope, and tumblers—very miserable. At the third a puppet show, with a stuffed figure dressed up like a giant, which they send out to stalk in the square before their barn for the purpose of attracting company. At the fourth, which a painting on the outside of the stall announced as the *English* school, there were about half a dozen dancing dogs, indifferently trained. The fifth was an exhibition of the Chinese shadows; the broken bridge, and the traditionary song which we used to hear at the fairs in Holland thirty years ago. The singer was, of course, Russian; but his voice grated harshest discord. The shipwreck and the war of the fishes was much according to the usual style. This exhibition had the most numerous attend-

ance. The entrance at each was half a rouble for each person. All were of the lowest order of public amusements.

6th. I had a visit this morning from Mr. Six, who told me he had concluded to remain here another year, and appears of opinion that the issue of the transactions respecting Holland is much more favorable than was to have been expected. After dinner I went out and walked in the Mall fronting the Admiralty to see the *Gaschellics*, or procession of carriages. It was more numerous than on any former day; as it usually is on the last of the Easter holidays. There were three rows of carriages, which moved round the Church of St. Isaac, and thence to the Palace Square, of which they also went the round, and then returned. I suppose there were about a thousand—most of them with four horses. The crowd of people on foot was also great; the proportion of women small. The throng was greatest about seven o'clock, soon after which the carriages began to withdraw. About half-past eight they were almost dispersed, and the swings and whirling chairs and hill-sliding ceased all at once.

12th. The ice of the river at length broke up at two or three o'clock this morning. This circumstance is said to be unusual. The most ordinary time of the day when this event occurs is between two and six in the afternoon. From noon until two this day I walked on the quay to the foundry. The river was entirely open, nearly to where the bridge had been. Below that, although in motion, it was slowly passing, and in solid mass, extending from bank to bank. About sunset I walked again on the quay below the bridge. The whole passage was then clear, and several boats were then crossing the river. It was about three in the afternoon when the guns at the fortress were fired, and the Governor passed in the first boat, to announce in form the event to the Emperor, to whom it is said he presents a glass of the water to drink, and from whom he receives a present of a hundred ducats. It is a subject of so much interest here, and its influence is so great upon the occupations and amusements, as well as upon the comforts of the people, that it furnishes a continual fund of conversation and innumerable wagers—a fashion introduced by the English merchants, but which is very general. From this time the summer season is

understood to commence. The nobility and wealthy merchants leave their town residences for their country-seats; the double windows are taken from the houses, and the business of navigation takes place of that in sledges. The ladies were out this evening almost until dark—that is, until between ten and eleven o'clock.

13th. Russian May-day. The French Ambassador invited the ladies, Mr. Smith, and me to dine at Catherinenhof, to see the procession of the carriages. It is the custom of the country, on the first day of May, from five in the afternoon until about nine in the evening, for almost all the pleasure-carriages in St. Petersburg to go in procession from the Peterhof gate to the village of Catherinenhof, about two miles out of the city. The Ambassador had borrowed the country-seat of Mr. Beyer, a merchant who transacts business for him, to give a dinner to some of his friends and procure them an opportunity to see the whole procession. Mr. Beyer's seat is on the road to Catherinenhof, about a quarter of a mile this side of the village. Mrs. Adams being unwell, the ladies did not go. I went with Mr. Smith at three o'clock, the hour appointed for dinner. We visited before dinner the green-houses, where we saw an abundance of flowers in bloom, a number of strawberries nearly ripe, and peaches about the size of a pigeon's egg. Not a symptom of vegetation yet in the garden, where all the fruit-trees are still clothed with matting. The company consisted of the Chevalier de Bray and Mr. Lesseps, with their families; General Pardo and Count Bussche, with their daughters; Count St. Julien, Baron Blome, and Mr. Six, Mr. Krebbe, and the Ambassador's family—Rayneval, St. Genest, Rumigny, and Lajard. The house was newly painted, and, as that made it necessary to keep the windows and doors open, it was uncomfortably cold. Some of the company came late, and it was half-past four when we sat down to dinner. I sat by Mr. de Bray, who told me several curious anecdotes of Count Rumford. About six we rose from table and joined the procession of carriages. The Ambassador sent an open carriage upon the ground, with four elegant bay horses, and two jockey postilions richly dressed. He went himself on horseback, as did Baron Blome; Blome

was in his full Court uniform. The other Ministers had handsome carriages, with drivers in their best dresses. The carriages appeared to me much the same as on the square of St. Isaac last Sunday—few handsome, and no magnificent, equipages. The reigning Empress was there with six horses, and the Empress-mother with eight. I came home about eight o'clock, completely chilled, with a hoarse cold and sore throat.

14th. Visit this morning from Mr. Six. He told me a number of anecdotes respecting the revolution which placed the Emperor Alexander upon the throne. He says that he has ascertained to demonstration not only that the Emperor was in no manner accessory to the murder of his father, but that he was affected with the deepest horror at the event; that he absolutely refused for a long time to assume the government, to which he was finally persuaded by old Count Soltykoff, who had been his governor and the superintendent of his education. Paul had until within six months of his death had but one bedchamber with his wife. But his favorite Turkish slave Kutoissoff had bred discord between them; and he had ordered the door between his chamber and the Empress to be barred. He had notice, when the conspirators broke in upon him, in time to seek a retreat through this door. It was barred as he had ordered, and he lost his life. There was another door, between his chamber and that of his valet-de-chambre. The officer commanding the guard that night, and a conspirator, that same evening locked the door and took the key away in his pocket, justly foreseeing that the valet-de-chambre, on finding the key gone, would not mention it to the Emperor, for fear of being punished for negligence in losing the key. The first plan of the conspiracy was formed by Count Panin,[1] and Benningsen. It was communicated to the Governor of the city, Pahlen, who engaged in it. The Zouboffs were merely instruments. More than eighty persons were privy to the project; many of whom spoke of it with great indiscretion. At Moscow the news was expected for many days before it arrived. Pahlen himself, at a dinner a fortnight before, said to somebody who was speaking

[1] A blank left for another name not remembered at the moment, and never supplied. Probably it was Ouvaroff.

of Paul's strange conduct, "This will not last another fortnight: we are all too tired of it." At Prince Beloselsky's, on the very night of the deed, a person said in presence of the Prince and all his company, "The Emperor Paul has not four hours more to live." And M. de Laval went home at midnight with this notice, and was called up in less than four hours and told that the Emperor Paul was dead. Paul himself had received some intimations of what was in agitation. He was extremely jealous and suspicious of everybody. The very morning or day before his death, he had uttered in presence of his mistress, Princess Gagarin, threats against the Empress, the Grand Duke Alexander, and everybody, indiscriminately. Princess Gagarin was alarmed at it, and gave notice of it to General Ouvaroff, who went to Count Pahlen, one of Paul's greatest favorites, to request he would use his influence to appease the Emperor's mind. Pahlen let him into the secret, and prevailed upon him to join the conspiracy. These are among the anecdotes which Mr. Six has collected respecting that tragedy. I asked him if he had heard that Paul's Empress, when informed of Paul's death, after recovering from the first shock occasioned by the intelligence, said to the officer who brought it, "Eh bien, je suis donc votre Impératrice." To which the officer answered, "Madame, c'est sa Majesté Alexandre qui est mon maître." He said he had not; but that under the external forms of attention and affection, he knew that there was no cordiality between the mother and the son. He said she was not popular here, and, at this time particularly, was blamed for having prevented two years ago the marriage of the Grand Duchess Catherine with the Emperor Napoleon.

I dined this day with the Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, at a great diplomatic dinner. There were several persons present who were strangers to me; among the rest, Count Gregory Razumofsky, newly appointed Minister of Public Instruction, and Baron Strogonoff, just returned from a public mission to Spain. At dinner I sat next to Count de Maistre, the Sardinian Minister, a man of taste and letters, who told me, upon some enquiries which I made, that if there was any grammar and dictionary of the Slavonian language extant, it must have been

compiled by the Propaganda at Rome. The Slavonian translation of the Psalms used here by the Church was considered, he said, as a masterpiece. Many of the clergy here believed it to be the work of St. Jerome, who was a native of Dalmatia. But it was not probable. For St. Jerome, who was so celebrated by his Vulgate translation, if he had made that of the Psalms into the Slavonian, must have mentioned it in some other of his numerous works. I came home early, and attended Mr. Boucher's lecture. He is now thoroughly upon the subject of maritime law, and discussed the question of open and close seas. He pronounced the toll-duty levied by the King of Denmark at the passage of the Sound lawful and just, as being a fund for supporting the light-houses and other objects for the preservation of vessels navigating in the seas. But he did not succeed remarkably well in distinguishing why Denmark should levy this duty rather than Sweden; and he told me after the lecture that he could give no satisfactory reason for it. At this lecture I met also Mr. Borel, Count Romanzoff's private secretary, who spoke to me respecting the work he is preparing upon the history of the armed neutrality, and upon which he requested my observations.

17th. I was engaged part of the morning in learning Russian. Walked to the Summer Gardens before dinner. They are now open—since the first of May, old style—but are not yet pleasant for walks. In the evening I attended Mr. Boucher's lecture. He noticed the question I had put to him, why Denmark should levy a duty upon the passage of vessels through the Sound, and not Sweden, to which he gave what he thought a sufficient answer—that is, that the channel is on the Danish side. He said he had taken great pains to trace the origin of this duty, but had not succeeded in ascertaining it. His lecture this evening was upon shores, alluvion, and attérrissement, which he said should not be confounded together. The first was gradual, the last the effect of some sudden and extraordinary change. He mentioned a very singular and celebrated lawsuit which had been decided not long since in the kingdom of Naples, arising from an event of this kind. An earthquake had transported one man's house upon the territory of another, and the question

was to whom the house then belonged. The first tribunal decided in favor of the first proprietor, but upon the appeal the superior court reversed this decision, and gave the house to the owner of the land where it had fallen. "Very justly," said Mr. Boucher, "because it is an invariable maxim that the accessory follows the principal. Now, the house was the accessory to the land, and not the land to the house"—as if earthquakes respected the maxims of law, or as if maxims of law were made to meet the contingencies of earthquakes. The natural justice of particular cases is very often at variance with the general maxims of law; and this, with submission to Mr. Boucher, appears to be one of them. At the lecture I met the Chevalier de Berks, secretary to Count St. Julien.

19th. Walking on the Admiralty Mall, I met the Emperor, who stopped and made some observations about the weather. He said I should have a bad opinion of the climate here, and that eight months was too long for the winter to last. I dined with Monsieur de Laval. The ladies were invited, but Mrs. Adams was not well enough to go. General Bétancourt and his family were there; Count Severin Potoçki, Count de Maistre, and Baron Rocheberg, Mr. Harris and Mr. J. S. Smith. Mr. de Laval, who was formerly Duke de Laval-Montmorenci, first came here as Cavalier d'Ambassade to M. de Segur. But, his family being proscribed and his property confiscated during the revolution, he remained here, and married a Princess Kazitsky, of one of the wealthiest families in Russia. He is a man of taste and literature. He showed me some of his pictures—a small knife-grinder of Teniers, for which he gave this day four hundred ducats; his Belle Ferronnière; La Giocondo of Leonardo da Vinci cost him ten thousand roubles. He has a Youth and Courtesan, said to be of Giorgione—doubtful, but excellent; a Roman Charity of Guercino—not a pleasing picture. Indeed, this subject, though a favorite one of the painters, has always something disgusting to me. A starving old man sucking at the breast of a young woman has something so unnatural to the sense, as well as to the fancy, that it requires a knowledge of the story to reconcile it to the mind. There is great moral beauty in the fact, but nothing cheering in its

representation to the eye. M. de Laval has also a small antique bronze bust, with the name of Plato on the back. But Count de Maistre insisted upon it that it was not Plato, and remarked that the P of the name was in the Latin character, while the other letters were Greek. I saw also the Slavonian, Greek, and Latin Dictionary, and took down the title-page. At dinner I sat next to Count Severin Potoçki, and had much conversation with him. In the evening I went to the German play, where I found the ladies, and saw an opera in German called the Cure for Wives, said to be taken from the Italian Poche ma Buone. I saw it at Dresden under the title of Le Donne cambiate. In English it is called The Devil to Pay. The music is charming, but we had not half of it.

21st. Visit this morning from Mr. Six. Political, literary, and speculative conversation with him. He has not so much learning as General Pardo; but he is very familiar with Horace and Virgil. He is a good-tempered man, and has more of moral sense than almost any man I have met in Europe. I paid visits to Count Stedingk and Count St. Julien. Stedingk told me he did not know now when he should go home; but he hoped not to go through Finland, for he could not bear the thought of that country. (He signed the Treaty which ceded it to Russia.) St. Julien asked me many questions about America; and told me how much the new French Empress was admired in France for her beauty—most especially for her foot, which I suppose is like the foot of Queen Genevra. The Count also talked of the war in Turkey, a subject which he appears to understand very well. He is more of a soldier than a courtier; but he has a taste for jewelry, and skill in the learning of precious stones.

In the evening I attended Mr. Boucher's lecture, which was upon islands, wrecks of the sea, and treasure trove. Some others, as well as myself, had hesitated to join in his approbation of the Neapolitan tribunal for giving the house of one man to another because an earthquake had transported it upon his land. He defended his doctrine by the usual argument, that courts of justice must decide questions upon general principles, and not upon particular contingencies. The latter

kind of sentences he said were called Rustic Judgments (Jugemens Rustiques), and they were condemned by all enlightened jurists. He had got a long story about my question to him, and its answer, in his procès-verbal.

23d. There is a custom of visiting annually the Fortress of St. Petersburg this day, the occasion of which I have not heard. I thought I had not the time to spare, and did not go. Mr. Harris called upon me this afternoon, and told me he was informed that General Armstrong had left Paris. The French Ambassador gave this evening a splendid ball, on occasion of the marriage of the Emperor Napoleon. It was attended by the Emperor and imperial family. The hôtel was elegantly illuminated, as were those of General Pardo, Count Bussche, Mr. Six, the Chevalier de Bray, and Mr. Brancia, the Chargé d'Affaires of Naples. As the imperial family were at the ball, it was necessary to go early. We went at nine o'clock, but it was daylight as at noon, so that the illumination made scarcely any show at all. It was past two in the morning when the Court retired, after which we immediately came home. It was then again broad daylight, and, by the time I got to bed, almost sunrise. At midnight it scarcely could be called dark. The Emperor was gracious to everybody, even beyond his usual custom, which is remarkable for affability. He asked Mr. Harris to show him where Mrs. Adams sat, and danced a polonaise with her; and afterwards one with Catherine Johnson, a circumstance the more noticed, as she has not been presented at Court. He enquired of me whether I had taken a walk this day, and on my answering that I had, he observed that he had not met me. He said that the difference of my looks in the street, without a wig, from that in which he had usually seen me, had been the cause that the first time he had met me he did not recognize me.[1] He told me the occasion upon which he had commenced the practice of walking daily. It was recommended to him to strengthen his foot, which had received a hurt last summer by the oversetting of his drossky; and although he preferred riding on horseback, he believed walking was the healthiest of all exercise.

[1] Mr. Adams, who was bald, construed this as excusing him from appearing at Court in a wig, and never wore one afterwards.

The Prince of Würtemberg, the brother of the Empress-mother, entered also into conversation with me, though I had never been presented to him. The rooms were excessively warm, and a very small part of the company took real pleasure in the fête. I heard the Ambassador himself say to some one that he gave this ball because he was obliged to do it—it gave him no pleasure.

I spoke to Count Bussche about his illumination. "Ay," said he, "I promise you I am well paid for *my* illumination." I asked General Pardo if, as a good Catholic, he did not expect to have some atonement to make hereafter for the vain and excessive enjoyments of this night. "Nay," said he; "but I hope what I experience this night will expiate some of my sins."

24th. I went with Mr. Everett and attended Mr. Boucher's lecture, which was upon wrecks of the sea, and strays. But it was very short. The time was principally occupied in the reading and commenting upon the procès-verbal of the last lecture, and in some reflections upon the question which Monsieur le Conseiller d'État had received in an anonymous lêtter from a very learned, polite, and modest person, of which he should take more notice hereafter. There was more agitation of the question regarding the Neapolitan judgment upon the transported house. A gentleman had enquired how it would be if the whole city should be thus transported—a very perplexing question to Monsieur le Professeur, who could only suggest that the principle of *lésion d'outre-moitié*, by which, according to the civil law, a man may redeem on equitable terms whatever he has sold for less than half its worth, might rescue the city from the possession of its new proprietor. The lecture closed about half-past eight.

27th. I dined with Count Stedingk, and, arriving late, found his company at dinner when I arrived. Had a game of chess with him after dinner. He had a courier from Stockholm this morning, and expects the frigate which is to carry him home in a fortnight at Cronstadt; orders having been already expedited to Carlscrona for her to sail. His successor, he told me, was not yet appointed. It would probably be General Skiöldebrand; but whether he would accept the appointment was uncertain.

He had written to him (Count Stedingk) to enquire what he ought to insist upon as a salary, if he should come—to which the answer would be, the advice not to come at a salary under twenty thousand rix-dollars banco—at two rix-dollars to a ducat. Upon this, at the present favorable course of exchange, he could live decently, and not upon less. But whether the Government would give so much was questionable; and on other terms the General would probably not come. I asked him what his own salary as Ambassador had been. He said it was thirty thousand rix-dollars, besides a pension of three thousand which he received in his military capacity. He still received the same salary. This is large; but Mr. Rumigny, the Secretary of the French Ambassador, told Mr. Harris, about two months ago, that he had just closed the accounts of the Ambassador's expenses for the year 1809, and that they exceeded one million and fifty thousand roubles. The preceding year (1808) they had also amounted to more than a million.

June 9th. At seven in the evening I attended the public exhibition of Mr. Boucher's disputants, on the question, whether "a country, being a peninsula, blockaded by sea, and at the point of connection with the continent having to contend against powerful armies—being without money, without credit, without connections, but having in abundance the most diversified productions, the means necessary for repelling force by force, and for subsistence—whether such a country, in such a state, can carry on a great commerce, pay its troops punctually, and supply them with provisions?" The assembly was held at the house belonging to St. Peter's school. The hearers were numerous, and among them were a few ladies. The dissertations read were by Mr. Rachette, Count Alexander Khvostoff, Mr. Mayeur, his Governor, Mr. Filetskoy, and Mr. Freygang. They were apparently written on both sides of the question; but the writers in the negative took care not to be too much in the right. The question itself, without stating precisely the present political situation of Russia, bore too many of its essential features to make a public discussion of its merits altogether impartial, under such a Government as this. Mr. Boucher had announced that he should sum up the arguments of the several memorialists,

and conclude with his own opinion. But he did little more than declare himself for the affirmative; and assigned little else in support of his opinion but that the commerce might be carried on, and the troops paid, by means of a bank of deposit. The allusions to this country, in the application of the question, were frequent in all the memorials, and the compliments to the Emperor and his Ministers numerous.

Mr. Boucher, who called upon me on Thursday, with a dozen printed invitations to this meeting, told me that he had received last evening an anonymous memoir, perfectly well written in the negative, which he believed was by Mr. Montréal. But it could not be read at the exhibition, first, because it was anonymous; and secondly, because it came too late. Mr. Raimbert, who also paid me a visit yesterday, told me that Maximin (Consolat), his grandson, had written that memoir.

Among the auditors this evening I met both the Counts Soltykoff, brothers, the Grand Master of Ceremonies Narishkin, the Turkish Capitan Bashaw, who bombarded the Seraglio, and a Monsieur Rudolphe, a Frenchman, who told me that he had been with me at Mr. Le Cœur's school at Passy, in 1778, and enquired of our other American schoolmates of that date—Cochran, Franklin, Bache, and Deane. I have no doubt that this gentleman's memory has been more retentive than mine; for I have no recollection of him, nor indeed of any one name among Mr. Le Cœur's French scholars, though I well remember all the Americans.

When we came home this evening, I found a notification from the Grand Master of Ceremonies of a great Court mourning for the new Crown Prince of Sweden, Charles Augustus, who died very suddenly upon the parade, in reviewing some troops.

10th. Wrote to the Secretary of State, and read Massillon's sermon upon the Assumption day of the Virgin Mary. This, though by no means the best, is one of the most remarkable of this author's discourses. It was preached in a convent of nuns at Chaillot, the church of which I recollect, and where, at the time when the sermon was delivered, the widow of James the Second, the *cashiered* King of England, then resided. One of the peculiarities of the discourse is a violent censure upon the

character of William the Third, whom the right reverend preacher styles a usurper, and of whom he undertakes to foretell what *history* will say of him. This is a dangerous undertaking for a sermon-writer, and history has not at all corresponded in this case with the bishop's prophecies. The character of William the Third hitherto has been treated much too kindly by history, and English faction has indeed been constantly interested to extol him for a hero; and they have too successfully dictated the voice of history. William was a bad man, with great qualities, and unhappily such personages almost always impose upon the understanding of posterity, as much or more than upon that of their own age. His conduct to John De Witt was more base still than to James the Second. In both cases political motives trampled upon the most sacred sentiments of the human heart; upon gratitude to a benefactor, and the strongest ties of kindred. Massillon dwells sufficiently upon this last reproach, without noticing the other. But as William was the champion of the British patriots, his crimes have been extinguished in a blaze of glory; and history has had none of those delicacies for James the Second and his family, which the Bishop of Clermont thought proper to show, when preaching in the presence of James's widow.

11th. I attended Mr. Boucher's lecture, which was upon letters of marque, and the etymology of the word *marque;* and upon blockades. His learning upon the first point was curious, but, as usual, undigested and confused; his remarks upon blockades, shallow and incorrect. He announced an extraordinary meeting for next Saturday evening, to discuss the anonymous memoir on the question of last Saturday, the author of which, he said, had made himself known to him. He propounded also a new question for discussion at a second public exhibition, to be held in the month of September—"Whether women are qualified to perform the office of arbitrators." To show that this was no new question, he read a passage from the Code of Justinian, declaring women incapable of acting as arbitrators, and annulling all decisions of women as such. There was no procès-verbal this evening—the public exhibition not having left time to prepare it. But it will not be lost,

for Mr. Boucher observed that, although objections had been made to this mode of lecturing, he should persist in it, being persuaded of its utility from an experience of five-and-twenty years.

22d. I went, accompanied by Mr. Smith and Mr. Gray, to the palace soon after eleven o'clock; and, after waiting about an hour, we were introduced with the other members of the Corps Diplomatique into the Imperial Chapel. The Emperor and Empress, Empress-mother, Grand Duke Constantine and Grand Duchess Ann, with the Court, came in immediately afterwards. The Metropolitan, the Archbishop, and the other officiating priests advanced to meet the Emperor and Empress. The Metropolitan successively presented to them the crucifix to kiss, and then the Emperor and the Metropolitan at the same instant reciprocally kissed each other's hand; the ceremony with the Empresses was the same, and also with the Archbishop. The priests then returned within the railing and began to sing the service. But the Emperor waved his hand to them to stop, and the Minister of War, Barclay de Tolly, went within the railing and read the report of the victories received from General Kamensky. The War Minister is not a good reader, and frequently found the manuscript almost illegible. When he had finished the reading of it, the Te Deum commenced again, and was about half an hour long. The ceremonies of kissing the crucifix and the hands was then repeated, and the imperial family retired. There was no *cercle* for the foreign Ministers.

24th. Mr. Harris called upon me this forenoon, and mentioned that Count Romanzoff had last evening received dispatches from Mr. Daschkoff with the account of some very unpleasant occurrences at his house, at a fête which he gave on the anniversary of the Emperor's coronation day. Mr. Harris is also of opinion that Count Romanzoff's influence is upon the decline, and that the cordiality between this country and France is not so great as it was some months ago.

25th. Mr. Harris sent me this morning the dispatches from Mr. Daschkoff to Count Romanzoff, containing the account of the outrage upon his house on the 26th of March, and his correspondence afterwards with the Secretary of State, and with Mr.

Dallas, the District Attorney, respecting it.[1] Mr. Harris afterwards called himself, and gave me a report of the American commerce with Russia during the year 1809. I received also visits from Mr. Montréal and Mr. Dorsey. Mr. Montréal offered me any money for which I might have occasion, to be drawn for at my own convenience. Mr. Harris made me the same obliging offer immediately after my first arrival here. Under the circumstances in which I find myself here, it is difficult to resist the opportunities thus presented for anticipating upon my regular income; but I am determined to do it. The whole experience of my life has been one continual proof of the difficulty with which a man can adhere to the principle of living within his income—the first and most important principle of private economy. From the month of July, 1790, when I commenced my career as a man, until the close of 1793, I was enabled to accomplish this purpose only by the assistance of small supplies from my father. I had then acquired the means of maintaining myself. In 1794 I was sent to Europe, and until my marriage, in 1797, kept more easily within my bounds than at any preceding or subsequent period. Since I have had a family, I have kept steady to my principle, but at the price of

[1] Trifling events sometimes produce grave misunderstandings between nations, and particularly when there is any predisposition to quarrel. Luckily there was nothing but good will between the Russian Government and Mr. Adams at this moment, which removed all danger of misconception of the nature of the transaction alluded to. The following report of it was given in the newspapers at the time from Philadelphia, where it occurred:

"28 March. Monday being the birthday of the Emperor of Russia, the Russian Envoy gave a party, and had the front of his dwelling illuminated by a transparency representing the cities of Saint Petersburg and Archangel, and an American vessel in full sail, the whole surmounted by a crown and the letters A I.

"Some citizens stopping to look at the transparency, took up a notion that the putting of the crown over the American ship and colors was improper. This notion ripened into an opinion that it was intended as an insult, and the ferment became general. About this point of time a young man, an officer in the United States service, came up, and, imbibing all the indignation of those around him, he discharged two pistol-balls through the transparency.

"He was apprehended this morning, and brought before Alderman Keppele, who, on motion of the District Attorney, bound the officer over, himself in three thousand dollars, and two securities in fifteen hundred dollars each. In the course of the examination the officer, with characteristic boldness and strong feeling, declared that he thought it his duty as an American officer to bring down all crowns."

uncommon sacrifices of consideration and a reputation which, in the spirit of this age, economy cannot escape. In this country beyond all others, and in my situation more than any other, the temptations to excess in expense amount almost to compulsion. I have withstood them hitherto, and hope for firmness of character to withstand them in future. I declined with thanks Mr. Montréal's kind offer, as I had that of Mr. Harris.

30th. In the evening I walked in the Summer Gardens, and over the long bridge. The width of the river there is by my customary admeasurement eight hundred and five of my paces, or two thousand two hundred and thirteen feet; at the lower bridge it is only three hundred and sixty-four paces, or one thousand feet. I wrote something this day, but still gave an undue proportion of the time to my enquiries concerning weights, measures, and coins. My precise object is to ascertain those of Russia, with their relative proportions to those used in America. But I find it extremely difficult, and indeed, as yet, have not succeeded in fixing accurately my ideas on the subject. I procured some time since a Russian nest of brass weights, from one pound to a quarter of a zolotnik, and a pair of scales. I have compared them with an apothecary's scale and weights which we brought with the medicine-chest from America. By this comparison I found that the Russian pound was equal to 6312¾ grains. But all the smaller Russian weights were incorrect, some weighing more, and some less, than the proportion. The scales, too, are so coarsely made that they scarcely indicate any variation of less than a quarter zolotnik, which is the smallest of the weights they use among the silversmiths. My apothecary's balance was much more accurate, and much more sensible to small weights. There are, however, differences of full half a grain in several of them. Maudru, in his Russian Grammar, says that the Russian pound is equal to four hundred and nine grammes of the new French standard, and Webster, in his Dictionary, gives 15.444 grains troy weight for the gramme. Supposing both these correct, the Russian pound will be equal to 6316.596 grains troy—about three and three-quarters of a grain more than I found it by the comparison of the weights and scales. But I had no English weight of more than two drachms,

or 120 grains, and all my apothecary's weights together amount only to 301¾ grains. I was therefore obliged, by means of these, to make other heavier weights, to compare with the larger portions of the Russian pound, and, having no smaller weight than one-quarter of a grain, I could come within that only by conjecture. These circumstances, together with the slight difference in my smallest weights, accounting for the difference of three and three-quarter grains between my experiment and the numbers given by Maudru and Webster, I have considered them as correct, and accordingly take the Russian pound to be = to 6316.596 grains English troy weight. Maudru is, however, not exact in his comparisons of the Russian weights and measures with those of France, and Webster differs from others, and even from himself, for in one page he makes the old Paris pound as twenty-seven to twenty-five English avoirdupois, and in the next he gives a table in which one hundred and nine pounds avoirdupois is exhibited as equal to one hundred Paris pounds. Storch and George, whom I have also consulted, are not more accurate. So that I may still find occasion to correct my present estimate. In round numbers, the usual maxim is that thirty-six avoirdupois pounds are equal to a Russian pood of forty pounds. And Mr. Montréal has given me a memoir of the trade of St. Petersburg, in which he makes the one hundred pounds avoirdupois equal to eleven and four-sixteenths Russian pounds, in which case, if, as Webster says, the English avoirdupois pound is equal to seven thousand grains troy, the Russian pound would then be only 6292.098 grains troy. I find also, upon examination, as much uncertainty and discrepancy in the account of measures as in that of weights. I collect, however, some information, and put my researches in a train which may terminate in some useful knowledge.[1]

July 4th. I went again to the fortress, and saw the director of the Mint, who told me that there were no weights to be sold there, but directed me to a Mr. Hynam, an Englishman, as a person who might give me the information that I wanted. He

[1] This labor was not wasted. It proved of use to the writer when called upon, several years later, as Secretary of State, to prepare an elaborate report to Congress on weights and measures.

also ordered that the works at the Mint should be shown me by an Englishman, under whose direction they are. There are two steam-engines, one of the power of fifty horses and the other of twenty-five, by the means of which the works are principally performed. The silver comes from the Russian mines. The smelting process is usually done in the night and early in the morning. It had ceased for this day, so that I could not see it. From those furnaces the silver is received in short, narrow bars, which, by passing between rolling-mills, is expanded to a length of about eight feet and a width and thickness adequate for the various pieces of coin to be cut from it. From these bars are cut out the blanks which are to serve as coins; which are first annealed in a hot oven, then passed between two cheeks, which round the edge and stamp the impression upon it, and finally *coined* by a machine which strikes off from sixty to seventy in a minute. The weight of the rouble is four zolotniks and eighty-two ninety-sixths. A range of four ninety-sixths of a zolotnik in excess or in deficiency is allowed for each piece. If the blank is found heavier than this, it is filed down to the weight; if lighter, it must be melted over again. The remnants of the long bars out of which the blanks are cut, must be melted over again. It appears to me that several of the processes would be susceptible of much improvement. There is so much waste of filings, and other small particles which get scattered on the floors, that there are brushes at all the doors, at which on going out every person must scrape the soles of his boots or shoes, to take off the adhering particles; and the Mint men assured me that the amount annually collected from this operation was very considerable. There is little or no gold now coined, and few silver pieces other than roubles; nor, if I judge of the average from this day's appearance, many of them. One coining machine only was at work, and that tended by a boy.

There are separate rooms for striking medals, where the coining machine is worked by hand and not by the steam-engine. They were at work on a medal for the city of Riga—to commemorate the centennial day since its subjugation to the Russian Empire. Its date is 4 July 1710 and 1810. On one

side are the profiles of Peter the Great and the present Emperor facing each other. On the reverse, a view of the city of Riga. The heads are extremely well executed, particularly that of Peter. The medalist is a German named Leberecht. I enquired if any of them could be procured when they should be finished, and my companion promised to procure one for me.

15th. Having gone through the volume of Massillon's sermons upon the mysteries, I began this day to read that of his funeral eulogies. The first of these which he pronounced was in honor of Henry de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphiny. It commenced his reputation as a preacher, and decided his superiors to fix him in that career; which it seems he entered with reluctance. It is a brilliant piece of composition, but bears strong marks of youth and immature judgment, overloaded with ornament, especially with those figurative scriptural allusions which constitute a peculiar character of the author's manner. The Eulogium includes scarcely any biography. The qualities for which the Archbishop is praised are generally laudable; but among them is his extraordinary zeal for the persecution of Protestants. Some instances of what now would be deemed the most illiberal bigotry are alleged as his most transcendent proofs of merit. His boldness and inflexibility in defending the rights of the church are also commended, though with some obscurity of expression. There is indeed throughout the discourse a mystical turn of phrase needing study to be intelligible. It is in three divisions, considering the prelate as—1. An upright man. 2. A faithful bishop. 3. A charitable and compassionate father. The style is highly oratorical. It concludes with an intimation of doubt whether the Archbishop's soul was in purgatory, but calling on the priests to sing the mass for it. There is also an imitation of the celebrated invocation to Agricola at the conclusion of his life in Tacitus. This Henry de Villars was an uncle of the famous Marshal Villars, who saved France, or at least Louis the Fourteenth, by winning the battle of Denain against Prince Eugene.

16th. I dined at Monsieur de Laval's, at his country-seat, with a company of about twenty persons. He has a similar company every Monday at dinner during the summer, to which

both he and Madame de Laval, according to the custom of the country, gave me a general invitation. Mrs. Adams did not go with me; being confined to her bed, and this evening very unwell. Of the company at M. de Laval's were the Chevalier de Italinski, a connoisseur in paintings, lately returned from Italy, Counts St. Julien and Schenk, the Grand Veneur, Demitri Narishkin, two Barons Bühler, Princess Kazitsky, Madame de Laval's mother, and one other lady. After dinner came some additional company; among whom Princess Woldemar Galitzin, venerable by the length and thickness of her beard. This is no uncommon thing among the ladies of this Slavonian breed. There is at the Academy of Sciences the portrait of a woman now dead, but with beard equal to that of Plato. But of living subjects, the Princess Woldemar Galitzin is in this respect, of all the females that I have seen, the one who most resembles a Grecian philosopher. After dinner, part of the company walked in the gardens; went into the hut which M. de Laval calls his hermitage; sat down upon the couches round the room, and had some agreeable conversation; in which Madame de Laval and Count St. Julien principally figured. This lady appears to me the most amiable, intelligent, and respectable Russian woman that I have seen. Count St. Julien is an old soldier, who has fought many a campaign in the wars; but who has been an Austrian courtier all his life. His character is frank, sociable, good-humored, with a remnant of libertinism, in which he takes a pride, like all the noble rakes of the last century. Licentiousness with regard to women was peculiarly the fashion of high life in that age. Perhaps it is inseparably the vice of high life in all ages.

26th. Dined with the French Ambassador, at his house at Kammenoi-ostrow. The company were about sixteen. The Ambassador is a man of the most polished and at the same time most unaffected manners that I ever knew. He lives at the annual expense of a million of roubles; has a family of sixty-five persons, and keeps fifty-six horses in his stables. He maintains the state and splendor of an Ambassador with sufficient dignity, but in his manners is modest and unassuming. There is a becoming gravity, too, and something in his countenance and eye which

indicates hardness as well as polish. The company as usual was diplomatic. Mr. Six renewed to me in conversation the assurance that the King of Saxony is not a descendant of John Sobieski, and said that he had been reading Coxe's account of the family this morning. Coxe's book was the very place where I had found it; and, on returning home, I looked at Coxe's genealogical tables of the Sobieskis, and found that I had not been mistaken. The Ambassador read to us some private letters from his friends at Paris, containing accounts of the disaster at Prince Schwarzenberg the Austrian Ambassador's fête given to the Emperor and Empress of France on occasion of the marriage. The dancing-hall caught fire, and several persons were dangerously burnt. The Ambassador's brother's wife perished in the flames; the Russian Consul's wife, Madame Labenski, died the next day; Prince Kurakin, the Russian Ambassador, barely escaped with his life; and many others were severely burnt.

27th. I continued employed in writing observations upon the manuscript relative to the armed neutrality. This work is composed, under the direction of Count Romanzoff, by Mr. Borel and Mr. Gervais. It has been submitted, by the Count's orders, to my perusal, with the request that I would make such observations upon it as might occur to me. It is to be published in the course of the present year at Paris. In the evening I allowed a couple of hours again to the research concerning weights, measures, and coins.

August 3d. Dined at Baron de Blome's at Kammenoi-ostrow, with a company of about thirty-five persons. All the Corps Diplomatique, of the French alliance, were there. Madame de Vlodek and her sister Constance were the only ladies. Colonel Donnat, the aid-de-camp of the late King of Holland, who is here as a traveller, and came lately from Sweden by the way of Tornea, told me that he had seen Regnard's inscription in a church near the Lake of Tornea[1]—but that Regnard and his

[1] The inscription, made in 1681, is in these words:

Gallia nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Hausimus, Europamque oculis lustravimus omnem;
Casibus et variis acti terraque marique
Sistimus hic tandem, nobis ubi defuit orbis.

companion were mistaken in supposing themselves at the world's end. They had mistaken the Lake of Tornea for the sea. He himself had been two degrees farther north than Regnard, and General Skiöldebrand had been to the North Cape, which was five degrees farther north.

I asked Count St. Julien about the new Life of Prince Eugene, said to have been written by himself. He says he does not believe it genuine; but that it was written by a French emigrant, with some passages which might have been from the hand of the Prince.

After dinner I took a walk with Mr. Smith in Count Strogonoff's garden on the island, where we saw the tomb of Homer, and several other remarkable works of art. I particularly noticed a statue of granite, of very imperfect workmanship, which I took to be of Egyptian and very early sculpture; and a marble statue of the art in its highest perfection,—a man on one knee, sharpening a knife on a stone. There are also before the house two colossal marble statues, copies from antiques; one of Hercules, and the other a goddess with an oaken crown, perhaps Minerva. Count Strogonoff is the greatest friend and patron of the arts in this country. From the Petersburg Island I walked, by the way of Wasily-ostrof, home. The sky and temperature of the atmosphere have already the appearance of autumn.

8th. I was engaged unavoidably until the instant when by appointment I was to call upon Count Romanzoff. I was even delayed so much as a quarter of an hour later than the time he had fixed. On arriving at his house I found he was gone out, or otherwise engaged, and was desired to call again in an hour. I returned at the expiration of the hour to Count Romanzoff, whom I now found, and who apologized to me for his absence when I had first called. I immediately began by making to the Count my representation in behalf of the Americans who had written from Archangel to obtain my interposition in their favor. The admission of all vessels direct from the ports of Portugal in Europe was prohibited here by an ordinance of 22d May last. These vessels sailed from Lisbon at a time when this ordinance could not have been known there. They

have cargoes which would sell at very high prices if admitted, and which must in part perish if sent away. I urged as forcibly to the Count as I could that these circumstances ought equitably to be considered as operating to take these vessels out of the purview of the Imperial ordinance.

The Count, however, as I expected, was inflexible; and gave the obvious answers to my arguments, that the measure was general, and arose from the state of the war; that particular exceptions upon the grounds I had stated could not be admitted; that individual hardships must accrue from every such measure of extensive operation, and that there was no way to prevent them.

I then stated the particular circumstances of the "Three Sisters," one of the two vessels, which sprung a leak, and must be repaired before she can go away—suggesting the motives of humanity for granting a permission to sell at least enough of her cargo to pay for the necessary expenses of these repairs.

The Count requested me to write to him upon this particular case, which should be taken into consideration. I spoke to him further respecting the affair of Captain Symonds, with which he was already acquainted. He said that as there had been a difference of opinion between the Commission at Archangel and the Procureur, who was an officer appointed immediately under the Minister of Justice, two persons had been specially appointed by order of the Emperor to go to Archangel and to decide upon the business. He took, however, the attestation from the Commission, which I had received from Captain Symonds and carried with me, which he promised to examine with due attention.

The Count as soon as possible made the conversation general, and, with the preliminary caution which he always takes in inviting me to free conversation, that he wished me to consider him as laying aside altogether the Chancellor of the Empire, and conversing merely as an individual, he asked me to give him my advice; what was to be done to restore freedom and security to commerce in the world.

I told him, with the same reservation, that setting aside all official character and responsibility, and speaking merely as an

individual speculating upon public affairs, the advice I should give to his Excellency was, as soon as possible to convince the French Government that the Continental system, as they called it, and as they managed it, was promoting to the utmost extent the views of England; was, instead of impairing her commerce, securing to her that of the whole world; and was pouring into her lap the means of continuing the war, just as long as her Ministers should think it expedient. But I said that I could hardly conceive that the Emperor Napoleon was so blind as not to have made this discovery already. Three years' experience, with the effects of it becoming every day more flagrant, had made the inference too clear and unquestionable. The Emperor Napoleon, with all his power, could neither control the elements nor the passions of mankind. He had found that his own brother could not, and would not, carry his system into execution, and finally had cast at his feet the crown he had given him, rather than continue to be his instrument there any longer. That country was now united to France; but the trade with England would be carried on as before, and the only difference would be an increase of contribution to pay some more French custom-house officers.

The Count partly questioned the accuracy of my statement respecting the commercial prosperity of England, but admitted it in the general. He said, too, that as long as a system was agreed to be pursued, he thought exceptions from it ought not to be allowed.

I asked him how that was possible in the present case, when the Emperor Napoleon himself was the first to make such exceptions, and to give licenses for a trade with England.

He said he thought all such licenses wrong; and he believed there were not so many of them as was pretended. There was indeed one case here, of a vessel coming both with an English license and a license from the Emperor Napoleon. He was of opinion that she ought to be confiscated for having the English license. But the French commercial and diplomatic agents were very desirous that she might go free, on account of her French license, and perhaps the Emperor, in consideration of his ally, might so determine. He complained bitterly that all

the ancient established principles both of commercial and political rectitude had in a manner vanished from the world; and observed that, with all her iniquities, England had yet this advantage over her neighbors, of having hitherto most successfully resisted all the innovations upon ancient principles and establishments. For his part, since he had been at the head of affairs here, he could sincerely protest that one wish had been at the bottom of all his policy, and the aim of all his labors, and that was universal peace. The peace with Sweden had been made; that of Austria had succeeded; but it seemed by some fatality, the instant one peace was made, the dearest aim of some people, and their indefatigable labor, was to make another war. He asked me what I thought would be the effect in England of this reunion of Holland with France. Some people, he said, were of opinion that it would produce a great sensation.

I said I did not expect so. I believed the British Ministry, and the thinking men of the nation, would be pretty much of the Duke de Cadore's opinion,—that since the union of Belgium with France, the system of Holland must necessarily be that of her mighty neighbor,—and would feel quite indifferent whether that member of the French Empire was under the administration of King Louis Napoleon or under that of the Arch-Treasurer Duke of Plaisance. From various other hints, I inferred, however, that this new arrangement was by no means pleasing to the Count, and of course, I presume, not to the Emperor.

The Count observed also that the King of Prussia had been compelled to shut his ports against American vessels, which he supposed was a momentary impulse of the Emperor Napoleon, to prevent his brother Louis from going to America.

I told him I believed it was a measure to which he had been instigated by an English influence operating upon his custom-house officers. It was well known that English vessels, and English cargoes, were admitted with the utmost freedom and facility on payment of a sufficient per centum to the French officers. As long as American vessels were openly admitted they could not be laid under this contribution. The English traders were thus subject to a disadvantage in the competi-

tion of the market. By their instigation the French officers represented to their Government that the prohibited English trade was carried on under American colors, and so the King of Prussia is forced to issue an order excluding American vessels from his ports. Notwithstanding which, I was informed that private letters from merchants gave assurances that they might come as heretofore, and would be admitted on payment of the tax. I added that I hoped that we had nothing of the same kind to apprehend here.

The Count said that, far from it, they should be glad to give every possible facility to the *direct* commerce between the United States and this country, and that he would cheerfully agree to any proper measure to promote its future extension; but as to the trade with their enemies, that being forbidden, measures of restriction to prevent it must necessarily sometimes occasion inconvenience to real neutrals, and they were obliged to extend the same restrictions to their own subjects.

I said that with regard to the Imperial ordinances prohibiting trade with England, this was a subject with which I could have no authority to interfere, and in respect to which I could claim no indulgence. It was the direct trade alone for which I was solicitous—a trade, I flattered myself, as useful and advantageous to Russia as to the United States. I had heard that the Danes, irritated perhaps at the loss of their Sound duties occasioned by the blockade of Elsineur, were endeavoring to obtain the exclusion of our vessels here, and perhaps some representations had been made by their diplomatic agents here to that effect.

He said he had not heard of any; that if our vessels could escape the pursuit of the Danish privateers, Prussia was under no obligation whatsoever to guarantee the payment of Sound duties to the King of Denmark. The right to those duties arose solely from circumstances of locality, and the reception of the duties must be accomplished by Denmark's own means of execution.

Mr. Gray, after dinner, sent for his newspapers, and the copy of my lectures that he had received. He had learnt from the papers an account of the arrival of Count Pahlen at Philadelphia, which I immediately after dinner communicated in a note

to Count Romanzoff. I was from dinner-time until past two in the morning absorbed in the perusal of my own lectures, without a conception of the lapse of time, until at the close of the first volume upon looking at my watch I saw with astonishment the hour. What a portion of my life would I give if they could occasion the same accident to one other human being! But they are now upon their trial in the world. And I pray that I may be duly prepared for resignation to their fate, whether of total neglect, of malicious persecution, or of deserved condemnation. The first I do not expect. The second is so certain that my principal difficulty will be in discerning between it and the third, which, if it should come, will mortify my vanity, but even then may have a useful influence upon my heart, by teaching me the lesson of *humility*—a lesson which I sorely want, and which I pray God to give me the grace to learn. These lectures are the measure of my powers, moral and intellectual. In the composition of them I spared no labor, and omitted no exertion of which I was capable. I shall never, unless by some special favor of Heaven, accomplish any work of higher elevation or more extensive compass.[1]

9th. The interruption of my systematic occupations still continues. Letters and packages from America always engross the first hours, and not unfrequently days, after their arrival. From the moment of my rising from bed this morning until nearly the hour of dinner I was incessantly engaged with Mr. Gray's newspapers, which, coming down to the 13th of June, contain much news, particularly respecting the new elections in the State of Massachusetts. I wrote, however, an official note to Count Romanzoff concerning the two American vessels at Archangel. I could not walk until the evening. On my return home, I found Mr. Harris had spent a couple of hours with us. He has had much conversation with Count Severin Potoçki, who is immediately going away. The Count says he does not know what will eventually be done here. The new ordinance respecting the copper coinage gives much dissatisfaction. Count Romanzoff transacts business personally with the

[1] The edition of this work was sold, and is now out of print. It is believed to be the only elaborate work on the subject yet produced in America.

Emperor, of which the Council know nothing. The French Ambassador transacts business personally with the Emperor, of which neither the Council nor Count Romanzoff himself are informed. The opinion of all the Council is, at all events, to remain upon good terms with France. The French Ambassador and Mr. Rayneval have in the most solemn manner declared to Mr. Raimbert that France has used no influence whatever in regard to the late confiscation of vessels pretended to have come here from Teneriffe. But Mr. Lesseps, the Consul, has hinted in a conversation at Mr. Severin's that France had interfered in the case. Mr. Six, who is deeply affected by the recent events in his country, but who bears up under the misfortune as well as he can, expresses himself much pleased with the measures since adopted by the Emperor, as indicating moderation and prudence. He says that his brother Louis is not reconciled with him, and that he must acknowledge Louis was badly advised, and had fallen into the hands of worthless intriguers. He says also that Jerome and Louis were upon very bad terms with each other.

17th. Count Rzewuski and Mr. Six are on the point of departure, the former for Vienna, the latter for Paris. Mr. Six told me that his instructions had been to return to the empire; but that he had hesitated whether to go directly to Paris until the Ambassador of his own accord advised him to go. He had then observed that the Emperor Napoleon might perhaps be displeased at his going there; upon which the Ambassador told him he would give him a letter to the Duke de Cadore, from which Mr. Six concludes that the Ambassador has instructions to send him to Paris. He told me also that he had talked with the Ambassador concerning our affairs; that he could now say with certainty what he had before hinted to me, that probably much of the difficulty of our situation with France arose from the dislike, which our Minister there had incurred, of the French Government; that the Ambassador himself would freely converse with me upon the subject, if I wished it; that he was persuaded if *I* was there, the difference between the two countries would soon be arranged to our satisfaction. He entered into some detail to convince me that I was the

only person who could accomplish this, and seemed to expect that I should write all this in substance to the Government of the United States.

I told him that I was much obliged to the Ambassador for his good opinion of me, and that as to himself, as he was going to Paris, if he should find any occasion upon which he could serve our cause, I should be grateful to him on my own account as well as on that of my country; that however well I might think of my own qualifications to succeed in making an arrangement between the United States and France, there was too little prospect of the possibility of such success not to make me very reluctant at the idea of being employed to undertake it, as there was certainly no person in the United States to whom a failure of such a negotiation would be personally so injurious as to me; that I had reason besides to suppose that the American Government would prefer keeping me here some time longer, and sending some other Minister in case General Armstrong should go home; that in the relative situation I stood with General Armstrong, I could not in delicacy transmit to the American Government any general intimation that he was obnoxious to that of France; and that although he had heretofore hinted to me that this was the case, I did not even know what General Armstrong's offence had been.

He said they did not impeach his integrity; but that he was morose, and captious, and petulant.

Now, I am afraid that under the circumstances in which the General has been there, the last three years, they would have had quite as much reason to be dissatisfied on such ground with me as they can have with him. And I am sure I should think it very ill treatment from him if, upon such vague and loose pretences, he should transmit to the Government a complaint that I was thought morose, captious, or petulant, with suggestions that he himself was the fittest man to take my place. I do not suspect Mr. Six of any ill design in this affair, for I believe him sincerely and cordially my friend and that of America. Neither do I incline to suspect the Ambassador. I suppose him to be indifferent on the subject, and rather to have fallen in with Mr. Six's opinions than to have spoken from any

particular instructions to himself. My own course upon this occasion is plain—to be silent.

22d. There was a Te Deum at Court this day at noon—for a splendid victory, though it is said a very dear one, gained over the Turks, in the presence of the Grand Vizir, before Shumla. The ceremony was precisely the same as at the last, for the taking of Silistria. The Emperor, the Empress-mother, the Czarowitz Constantine, and the Grand Duchess Ann were there. I went later than usual, and waited very little.

The French Ambassador spoke to me, and said he hoped the differences between his country and mine would be settled. He assured me, and requested me to write to my Government, that it was the desire of the Emperor of France and of his Ministers to come to the best terms with the United States; that they knew our interests were the same; that he was perfectly persuaded if any other person than General Armstrong was there our business might be settled entirely to our satisfaction.

I told him that as I was very desirous that we should come to a good understanding, I regretted very much that anything personal to General Armstrong should be considered by his Government as offensive. I was sure the Government of the United States would regret it also, and would wish, in learning it, to be informed what were the occasions of displeasure which he had given. "C'est d'abord un très-galant homme," said the Ambassador; "but he never shows himself; and upon every little occasion, when by a verbal explanation with the Minister he might obtain anything, he presents peevish notes."

This is much the same thing as what Mr. Six told me, and appears to me an intriguing manœuvre, of which I might easily be made the dupe. Just as we were at this stage, however, of the conversation, we were summoned in to the Te Deum.

28th. At eight o'clock in the evening I went to Count Romanzoff, according to his appointment. I first mentioned to him the dispatches which I had received on the subject of Mr. Daschkoff's application to the Government of the United States in relation to a trade between the United States and a Russian settlement on the northwest coast of America. But I

told him I was referred to documents forwarded by another opportunity, and which I had not yet received.

He said he had also received dispatches from Mr. Daschkoff, stating that his application had been favorably received by the Government of the United States. That they had a growing settlement on the northwest coast of America, and that from it a profitable trade could be carried on to China; that they had sent two vessels there under the command of Captain Krusenstern, which had gone from there to Canton. Canton was a port open to all the nations of Europe; but the Russians, who are specially favored by the Chinese Government, had an exclusive trade with them, carried on at a place called *Kiakta*. But the Chinese had refused to admit Captain Krusenstern's ships at Canton, upon the *pretext* that as the Russian trade with them had long been carried on with exclusive privileges at Kiakta, they supposed that if the Russians meant to change the channel of trade they would have given them notice of it. And as they had heard nothing about such vessels coming to Canton, they could not tell whether they were really Russians or not. There had been, the Count said, some *sheets* passed between the two Governments since on the subject, but the convulsed state of Europe, and objects of so much greater magnitude, had so absorbed his attention, that they had not yet come to any arrangement with them for the admission of Russian vessels at Canton. He had therefore wished that the trade from the Russian settlement on the northwest coast of America to China might be carried on by the Americans. And as the settlement itself is in the neighborhood of Indians, who were sometimes troublesome and dangerous neighbors to it, he had thought an arrangement might be concerted with the United States, under which the Americans might have the trade of the settlement, under a restriction not to furnish warlike weapons and instruments to the neighboring Indians.

I told him I collected from the papers which I had received that Mr. Daschkoff was not specifically instructed as to the limits within which it was wished that the restriction should be extended, and asked whether he could point them out to me. He said that it would require some consideration, but that their

maps included the whole of Nootka Sound, and down to the mouth of Columbia River, as part of the Russian possessions.

By way of digression the Count explained to me the *mode* of their negotiations with China, which is by sending *sheets*, as they call it—the correspondence, in the name of the *Senate*—addressed to an assembly of a like nature in China; and their sheets are also addressed to the Senate here; who, however, never see them, and never have anything to do with the negotiations. At one period of the reign of Catherine the Second, the Chinese sent her a sheet to tell her that a Governor of one of the Russian provinces bordering upon them was a *bad man*. In consequence of this she ordered an enquiry to be made into his conduct, and found that their complaints were well grounded. The officer was therefore immediately removed, and the Chinese were informed that the Empress had thus proceeded with just attention to their complaints. This compliance, however, only made them insolent. They sent another sheet, to say that the removal of the offending Governor was not sufficient; but that he must be impaled, and his skin sent to them by way of atonement. The Empress was so shocked at this barbarous and insulting message that she immediately issued an edict prohibiting all her subjects from having any intercourse with the Chinese whatsoever; and this prohibition continued eight or nine years in force. As the trade was a very advantageous one to the Chinese, they became soon very anxious for its restoration, which they solicited during the whole of that time, until the Empress, like a person who finally becomes weary of resentment, consented to the restoration of the trade. Since then, and even now, the Chinese practised a sort of coquetting affectation of indulgence to the Russians. Very lately, as I might have seen by the newspapers, some of their highest characters, and even a Governor of one of their provinces, had come to a Russian town on the frontiers, and had attended at the celebration of the mass. It had even given rise to a laughable circumstance. The Chinese Governor, who had heard the whole ceremony performed standing, was so much delighted with the singing that he had asked for an instructor to teach his son to sing one of those songs; and they had accordingly furnished him a singing-master, who had taught

the young man, not the mass, but some Russian songs, which he had learned to sing very well.

I now recurred to the cases of the American vessels which have arrived at Archangel and at Cronstadt, to whose admission so many difficulties and delays have been opposed. I urged the necessity of a very speedy decision concerning them, stating the certainty that they would be detained for the winter unless that decision should take place in the course of a very few days—that in every case it would be extremely injurious to the adventurers to be thus detained, and in many cases equivalent to a total loss of the voyage. I urged in particular that the navigation from Archangel would probably be closed within a month or six weeks; that the length of the voyages, both in coming and returning, of American vessels, made a longer time necessary for them to remain in port than for others, and pleaded equitably for a peculiar attention of despatch in their behalf; that after their admission they must yet have time to dispose of the cargoes they had brought, and to purchase cargoes for their return, none of which business could be transacted while they were left in suspense whether they should be finally admitted at all; that possibly Baron Campenhausen, with whom I had not the honor of being personally acquainted, and with whom, if I did know him, it might perhaps be improper for me to have any conversation upon these subjects, might entertain suspicions in relation to many American vessels, owing to the extraordinary numbers of them which had arrived during the present season. But the fact was that a number far beyond that of any preceding year had really arrived, both here and at Archangel, coming directly from the United States, and destined to return directly thither; that I had anticipated this event, and, as he knew, had announced it to him as infallible, so long ago as last winter; that the causes of it were the obstructions to our commerce, which it experienced in almost every other quarter; the suspension of it by our own laws in the preceding years; and, above all, the encouragement which our merchants had derived from the peculiar favor which his Imperial Majesty had been pleased to manifest towards the United States. From my private advices, and from the complexion of the newspapers which I had received

down to the middle of June, I knew that the exclusions which we were now subject to, in Prussia, Mecklenburg, and, as I expected to learn by to-morrow's post, in all the ports of Holstein, were all expected in America; but many of our merchants in all the sea-ports had said, Happen to us what will elsewhere, at least we are sure of being well received in Russia; that I hoped Baron Campenhausen would be made sensible of these circumstances, and of the essential importance to so many of my countrymen, that they should be immediately admitted. I added that this would be still more urgent for all those who might yet arrive before the close of the season; that I had received numerous letters, and from a variety of persons, all meeting with the same difficulties, and every one thinking that there were particular circumstances in his case which would entitle him to special indulgences and exemptions. I was unwilling to trouble him with each of these cases separately, as I wished them all to participate in the same advantage, and was desirous of sparing him the tediousness of particular details; that I had already had the honor of addressing to him a note, respecting the vessels which had arrived from Lisbon; that the supercargo of a vessel arrived at Archangel, from New York, had written to me to ask whether a special order for his admission could not be obtained, on account of his having brought dispatches for me, and also to this Government from Mr. Daschkoff.

The Count said this was undoubtedly evidence that the vessel came from the United States; and he had in other instances alleged it as such himself. But it could not be evidence, either of the nature of the cargo, or that the vessel was not last from some port of Great Britain; that it would not be therefore a sufficient foundation for a special order.

I then observed that in dwelling so earnestly upon the wish that I had expressed, I flattered myself I was promoting the interests of his Majesty's empire as much as those of my own country; that the number of American vessels which had come here, and the quantity of the Russian productions which they would take in return, were highly favorable to the agriculture and the manufactures of this country; that they gave encouragement to its industry, and contributed more than any-

thing to support the course of its exchange. Such were the obvious effects of the vessels which had arrived; but I thought it unnecessary to press this argument much, as I was persuaded his Excellency knew better than I did how strongly it was supported by the fact.

The Count said he well knew that it was exactly so; that he had been hitherto the Minister of Commerce, but that a new arrangement had been made, by which all business of this nature was transferred to Baron Campenhausen; that he must do him the justice to say he was an officer of great activity, and dispatched business as fast as he could. But he was extremely apt to entertain suspicions; and possibly some delays might arise from this circumstance. He, the Count, was fully sensible of the weight and justice of the observations I had made to him. He would immediately make a minute of it in writing (which he did), and write to-morrow morning to Baron Campenhausen, pressing the subject in a special manner upon his attention.

I observed that my countrymen felt an extraordinary anxiety at these unusual detentions, from remarking their coincidence with the ordinances of Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Denmark excluding us from their ports, and from an apprehension that the same influence under which it was known that those orders had been issued might be exerted even here.

He assured me in the most solemn manner that I might rely upon it there was no foundation for these apprehensions; that the Emperor's sentiments and intentions with regard to the United States remained unaltered. But he asked me whether a favorable change had not taken place in the state of our relations with France.

I said that France had partially opened her ports to the United States.

He said he believed there was something still more recent, and that a sort of agreement had been entered into, between France and England, for the allowance of commerce in certain articles, by means of neutral vessels.

I had not heard of this; but observed that in the midst of all these violent ill offices which France was doing to us, her Gov-

ernment was making the most solemn asseverations of the best possible dispositions and the most friendly sentiments towards us; that I had within this week or fortnight received such assurances from the French Ambassador here, while at the same time the Mecklenburg and Danish orders for excluding our vessels from all their ports were coming out. The French Government too had issued a declaration that the French Consuls in the United States no longer delivered any certificates of origin, and therefore that all papers purporting to be of that description, produced by the masters of American vessels in the Baltic, must be forgeries. But nothing could be more false than this assertion. All the vessels coming from the United States brought certificates of origin given by the French Consuls, and I had myself delivered to Mr. Lesseps a letter from the French Consul in Boston, informing him that he had given such a certificate to the master of the vessel which sailed the latest of any which have yet arrived. In the order to exclude American vessels, which they had made the Duke of Mecklenburg sign, that Prince had committed himself to an assertion equally wide from the truth. He affirms that for a long time no colonial articles have been exported from the United States. This was sporting with the common sense of mankind in a manner almost unparalleled.

The Count replied that it was indeed extraordinary—and with regard to the certificates of origin, he had remarked that the declaration asserted the French Consuls had not delivered any "depuis quelque temps"—an expression so vague that it might be a week or a year, and could warrant no inference to falsify any such papers yet produced. With regard to this system of restriction, the Count seemed to me more than ever convinced of its inefficacy, and prepared, at least in his own mind, to give it up. He asked me whether I had heard the news from Sweden. I told him I had heard it rumored that the Prince of Ponte Corvo, General Bernadotte, was elected Crown Prince.

He said it was true; that there was a courier coming to him with the account of this event, who had not yet arrived; but another courier had. It was a most unaccountable thing in itself, and in the manner of its accomplishment. The Em-

peror Alexander had determined that he would in no wise interfere in this election, or manifest his sentiments in an affair so interesting to his neighbors, until after the conclusion. The Prince of Augustenburg, brother of the late Crown Prince, had in the first instance been unanimously elected; or at most there had been in the secret committee but one single vote for the Prince of Ponte Corvo. As the King of Denmark had proposed himself as one of the candidates, and had written to the King of Sweden requesting that he would nominate him, the Duke of Augustenburg, unwilling to offend his brother-in-law and benefactor, the King of Denmark, had not absolutely accepted; but neither had he positively refused. After his answer, the King of Sweden had proposed and the Diet had resolved to renew the offer and urge the Duke's acceptance of it. A courier had been sent to him with this second proposal; but before his answer could be received they had proceeded again to an election, and chose the Prince of Ponte Corvo. It was strange enough to see kingdoms given away by third parties; but to see a nation thus give itself away was inconceivable. He asked me what I thought would be the sentiment about it in England.

I said I believed it would give great displeasure in England; but that it appeared to me the King of Denmark had most reason to be displeased with the issue. I enquired finally of the Count whether he had any late accounts from the army in Turkey. He said, none since the Te Deum. I complimented him upon the successes of the campaign hitherto.

He said that General Kamensky had certainly distinguished himself, and given great proofs of military talents.

I observed that we Americans were neutrals in this war, and that he knew the fundamental principle of our policy was to take no part in the great political affairs of Europe; that by the means of commerce, however, we had important relations with them, and that as in discussion with him in my official character I could speak of nothing but in its relation to commerce, I must naturally seem to him to attach an importance to subjects of that nature greater than in his relative estimate they could deserve. But as he sometimes did me the honor to say that he

would lay the Chancellor of the Empire aside and freely express his sentiments, as from one private gentleman to another, I would ask the same indulgence of him, in saying, that for the commercial interest of my country, it would be much better that Constantinople should belong to the Emperor of Russia than to the Grand Signior.

He appeared to be much pleased with this remark, and said, with a smile, that after this war he hoped the Americans would have free access to trade with the Russian possessions upon the Black Sea.

This conference lasted more than an hour, when the Danish Minister, the Baron de Blome, being announced, I took leave of the Count and returned home.

September 3d. The General of the Jesuits, Brzozowski, paid me a visit this morning, and gave me a letter for the Abbé Kohlmann, at New York, which he desired me to forward with my letters. He said it was in answer to a request that he would send some fathers there; but the difficulties and the dangers of their passage at this time were so great that he could not comply with the request. I made some enquiries of him concerning the state of the Society here. He says they have a seminary for the education of fathers there, between six and seven hundred wersts from St. Petersburg; that they keep here a day school where they have about two hundred boys, and a pensionary establishment where there are upwards of thirty. Among the latter is a son of the Grand Marshal, Count Tolstoy, and they expect soon to have another. They take no boys under seven or over twelve years of age. They teach Latin, French, and Russian, with the usual classical studies, rhetoric and philosophy included, and the accomplishments of polite education,—dancing, drawing, and music. Their pension is at one thousand roubles a year. Their church is the first Catholic establishment in St. Petersburg. It consists principally of Poles, of whom there are about twelve thousand in this city. They have preaching every Sunday and holiday, in four languages alternately—French, German, Polish, and Italian. He asked me some questions about Bishop Carroll, who, he said, had lately been promoted to the rank of an Archbishop; but he did

not know how many suffragan bishops he would have under him.

10th. I spoke to Mr. Gourieff, the Minister of Finance, to whose department a great portion of the affairs of commerce has been transferred. I asked him if he had spent any time this summer in the country.

He said no; that he was so much engaged in business that he had found it impossible to leave the city. I said that the affairs of his department must naturally engross all his time, particularly as I learnt there had been a great addition to them in the commercial business. He said that so far as commercial affairs related to the finances, they were, by the new arrangement, placed under his direction; but the general management of commercial matters was entrusted to the Treasurer General of the Empire, Baron Campenhausen.

I observed that as the Commercial Department was that upon which all the important concerns of my countrymen depended, and as it was now under his superintendence, I begged leave to recommend them to his protection and attention; that they were of great importance to my country, and, of course, to me, and that I considered them of considerable consequence to the interests of this empire, and especially to its finances.

He said he so considered them himself, and that as far as depended personally upon him, I might rely upon everything that he could do to give facilities to our commerce.

I said that for some time past great obstructions and difficulties had arisen to the admission of American vessels here, especially at the port of Archangel; that I had presented a note some time since to Count Romanzoff, relative to some of the cases, and had made verbal representations upon some of them. Mr. Harris had also made various applications; that it gave me infinite pleasure that the Emperor, in every one of the cases, had decided in our favor, and I was obliged to Baron Campenhausen for immediately communicating to me these decisions. But unhappily I found new complaints were still arising as the old ones were done away; that I had just seen several letters from Americans at Archangel, from which it would seem that their property had all been put under seals, and that they were in the

greatest alarm and consternation, apprehending nothing less than a general confiscation.

He smiled, and said that during the interval, or, as it might be called, interregnum, while the business was transferring from one department to the other, some strange things had indeed occurred. But he hoped that now things would go on in better order. "And besides," said he, "the Emperor Napoleon has given us a very good example, by his late transactions with regard to the United States, which I think we ought to follow."

This was the key—and just then dinner was announced, and terminated our conversation. I sat at table between Baron Schladen, the Prussian Minister, and the French Consul, Mr. Lesseps, with both of whom I had much conversation. I told Baron Schladen how sincerely I had been affected by the Queen of Prussia's death. He expressed himself gratified at this notice of her, and said that it was a consolation to find that she was not only generally lamented, but regretted even by those who had been her enemies while she lived.

He afterwards asked me some questions about these new measures in France relating to America. I told him that they were opening their own doors just at the same moment that they were shutting those of his country against us.

He said he hoped I considered that measure in its true light, as one which was assuredly not a result of the inclinations of his Government.

I made him easy on that score, by the fullest assurance that I was satisfied whence it came, and harbored no resentment for it against his sovereign.

He then told me that in consequence of the conversation I had with him, some months ago, he had written to his Court and mentioned that interview with me, adding a recommendation of the object which I had appeared to wish; that he had received in regular time an answer to his dispatch on that occasion, instructing him to come to a confidential explanation with me on the subject; that he was ordered to assure me that, as far as the personal disposition of the King and his Government went, I might place the most perfect reliance upon it, and that every facility would be granted which lay within their power.

But then at the same time, he said, he saw from the tenor of the remaining part of the dispatch what sort of a turn affairs must take, and he had preferred to omit even the execution of his instructions, rather than say things to me which might have led me to form, and perhaps to communicate to my own Government, expectations which would be disappointed.

The Baron's intentions, I believe, were good; but I think I should not have been misled by his executing his instructions. Probably, however, he was not at liberty to explain the influence which was then pressing for our exclusion; and he could perhaps not have attempted to conceal it without a degree of dissimulation which a few days would expose, and at which he was reluctant.

11th. It is the anniversary festival of St. Alexander Newsky, a Prince of Novogorod, who reigned about the year 1250; and is also what they call the name-day of the Emperor. At eleven o'clock I went with Mr. W. Smith to the monastery, where the crowd was great, and the concourse of the people, from the Perspective to the church, on both sides of the street, was excessive. When we got to the church, we found it difficult to ascertain a proper place to stand in. None of the other foreign Ministers were there excepting Count Schenk, who came in some time after me, and who was as much embarrassed as myself. He took a place among the officers in attendance on the imperial family, which he found was not the proper one, and returned to where I had taken mine. Count Romanzoff, at length seeing me, came to me and stood next to me during the whole ceremony, and explained to me many parts of the performances. The silver shrine of the saint is at the right hand of the chancel, as you go up the broad aisle to the altar. Before this shrine was spread a large carpet, on which the Emperor took his stand, with the Empress at his left hand; next to her the Empress-mother; then the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and the Grand Duchess Ann behind her mother. The Crown officers and attendants were ranged in a line beyond the Emperor, up to the steps to the shrine of the saint. Prince George of Oldenburg, husband of the Grand Duchess Catherine, the Prince of Würtemberg, brother of the Empress-mother, and a number of officers and strangers,

stood before the chancel, on the right side of the aisle, and a number of ladies, and crowd of women at the left.

The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop and the other priests who usually perform at the Imperial Chapel, with the same choir of singers. But it was not a Te Deum, and differed in many respects from an ordinary mass. Count Romanzoff told me that the two candlesticks which the Archbishop occasionally takes in his hands, one with three lighted candles and the other with two, and which he waves downward crosswise, were symbolical of the Trinity, and of the double nature of Christ. Coxe, I think, mentions this. At a particular part of the ceremony a sort of embroidered cloth was waved, or rather shaken, over the altar. The Count said it was during the *Credo*, and to express the uncertainty of the time when the mystery of the descent of the Holy Ghost commences—the Greek Church not having thought the precise moment ascertainable.

After the mass was finished, the Emperor went up to the shrine of the saint, knelt, and kissed the silver coffin three times —twice at the side, and once on the top. The Empress, Grand Dukes, and Grand Duchess all followed in turn, and repeated the same adoration of the saint. The Grand Duchess Ann, a beautiful princess of about seventeen years of age, performed her part at once with the most complete prostration, the most grace, and the most dignity. As the Empress-mother descended the steps, the Emperor lent her his arm to assist her. There were then three small pictures, in frames, given to the Emperor and two Empresses, and small round loaves of bread to each of the members of the imperial family.

On going out of the church, the crowd was so great that the passage out to my carriage by the way at which we had entered was totally barred. I followed the crowd of the Imperial officers through the only passage-way that was open, supposing it led to another issue, until I found myself unexpectedly in the Archbishop's apartments, where the Emperor and his suite had been invited to breakfast. One of the messengers of the Grand Master of the Ceremonies gave me notice that the attendance of strangers there was not usual, and I at length found the way

out to my carriage. The crowd of people in the streets continued as great on our return as when we went. It was about three o'clock when we got home.

12th. Mr. Montréal told me many circumstances respecting the capture of the Duke d'Enghien, which was done by a French corps of troops under the command of M. de Caulaincourt. He was then Aid-de-camp General of the First Consul Bonaparte. He was of a noble family of Picardy, and his father had owed his fortune to the protection and patronage of the Prince de Condé. He received an order to go to Strasburg, there to assemble the commander of troops stationed at that place, the mayor of the city, and two or three other officers, and in their presence to open the second sealed order which was delivered to him. On the performance of this duty, he found it contained an order to take a column of troops which were placed at his disposal, to cross the Rhine, and enter upon the territory of the Grand Duke of Baden; to seize the person of the Duke d'Enghien, who resided there in the country at a house of his own, and transport him to the prison of Vincennes, near Paris. He was very much distressed at having such a commission intrusted to him, but he executed it; and it was for that service that he was rewarded with his Duchy, his embassy here, and other rewards and honors. The Duke d'Enghien was residing at that place with the knowledge and consent of Bonaparte. He used even occasionally to go to Strasburg to the play, with the consent of Bonaparte, who had been asked whether he had any objection to it, and had made none. The Duke had notice of the approach of the French troops, and was advised to make his escape, as it was supposed they could have no other object than to take him; but he had refused, on the idea that it was impossible there could be any design to seize him. He was carried to the prison of Vincennes, and, without any formality of process, shot at two o'clock the next morning. The examination and interrogations which were published the next morning in the Moniteur were sheer fabrications—no trial and no interrogatory was had; and the persons whose names were signed to these seeming judicial documents never saw them until they found them in the newspapers. The Duke was

shot at two o'clock in the morning, and buried in a ditch which surrounds the prison.

There was another mysterious transaction, of which the remembrance had been just renewed at Paris. About three years ago, a Monsieur de Segur, son of him who is now Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and who was Sub-Prefect of Soissons, suddenly disappeared, and nobody knew what had become of him. A few days before he had said, in a company where M. de Caulaincourt was speaking of his having been present at the passage of several rivers, "But, sir, you say nothing about *the passage of the Rhine*." It was rumored that as a quarrel had ensued and violent words passed upon this speech, Segur had been challenged, and assassinated in the Bois de Boulogne. But now, all of a sudden, immediately after the disgrace of Fouché, the Minister of Police, young Segur has appeared again, safe and unhurt. The conjecture is that Fouché had him seized and confined in some prison, and that by the change of parties at Paris he has obtained his liberation.

Mr. Montréal promised me a copy of the official notes between the French and Russian Governments on this affair of the Duke d'Enghien, and observed what a refinement of assumption it was to send Caulaincourt as Ambassador after what had taken place.[1]

[1] So strong was the feeling among the Russian nobility against Caulaincourt on account of the first of these stories, that he found himself under a necessity to submit to the Emperor's examination his version of the facts, together with the proofs to sustain it. This step proved so effective that Alexander was prompted to write with his own hand a letter strongly exonerating him from blame, to the publication of which he afterwards consented. From that date Caulaincourt was established as a favorite in St. Petersburg society, until a change in the views of Napoleon rendered it expedient to have a less friendly representative at that Court. There can be no doubt that had his counsels prevailed, the madness of the Russian war would not have followed.

After the fall of Napoleon the charges of participation in the affair of the Duke d'Enghien were revived, and they cast a shadow over him, deepening to his very last day. He persisted in denying their justice, even to the date of the execution of his will, in which he inserted a solemn adjuration of his innocence. Napoleon, the real author of the crime, when far removed from all motive to misrepresent, is recorded as having generally testified to his honor and his integrity, but not in any connection with that action. On the other hand, it appears clearly proved that orders were given to him both verbally and in writing by Napoleon himself to take not the first, but a secondary, part in the arrest. He was charged with the

As Montréal went out, Mr. Harris came in, and was, a few minutes after, followed by the French Ambassador, with whom I wished to have some conversation, and could but partly accomplish my object.

I dined with a company of about sixty persons at Count Romanzoff's—principally the same company and on the same occasion as the dinner of the tenth at the French Ambassador's —that is, the Emperor's name-day. The Chevalier Navarro introduced me to Baron Campenhausen, the Treasurer General of the Empire, whom I had not known before. I spoke to him of the vessels and cargoes of Americans in difficulty at Archangel. He professed to be very much concerned at these occurrences, and reprobated in the severest terms the conduct of the Commission for Neutral Navigation there; which he told me he would entirely organize over anew. But these new organizations produce many more difficulties than they remove.

I also spoke to him respecting the vessels which have arrived at Riga, about which he desired me to write to him, so that he might state the case for the consideration of the Emperor. I spoke upon all these subjects also to Monsieur de Gourieff, next to whom I sat at table; and I asked the French Ambassador to have some further conversation with him, owing to the interruption which prevented me from having it so freely as I had wished this morning. He asked me to come and dine with him on the Peterhof Road to-morrow. I also told Baron Blome, the Danish Minister, that I wished to converse with him concerning the captures of the American vessels lately carried into

duty of sending troops to masque the town of Offemburg, as well as notifying the Grand Duke of Baden of the act committed within his territories, immediately after it should have been executed by General Ordener. The fact of his presence at Strasburg when the Duke was brought there a prisoner is likewise admitted by himself. Had he objected to the service, it is not likely that a man like Napoleon would have overlooked such a breach of discipline, or would have advanced him afterwards, as he did, to higher posts of responsibility. Hence it seems fair to infer that he did whatever was required of him. M. Thiers in his history represents him as deeply grieved by even the secondary part allotted to him in this extraordinary drama, at the same time that he entertained not the slightest suspicion of any intention of Napoleon to terminate it with so horrible a catastrophe. This is perhaps the most reasonable solution of the mystery attending his agency in the nefarious transaction.

Norway. He told me he would call upon me to-morrow or on Saturday.

13th. About four o'clock I went out to the French Ambassador's country-house, on the Peterhof Road, and dined with him. There were only his own family, Mr. Lesseps, and three or four Russian officers there. Before dinner I expressed to him my surprise at the measures of France towards the United States. The repeal of the decrees of Berlin and Milan removed the most important causes of our complaints, excepting the late seizures and sequestrations, which I understood were reserved for further negotiation. But at the same time, here were orders to exclude us from the ports of Prussia, of Holstein and Mecklenburg, and other indications which seemed altogether incompatible with the spirit of conciliation manifested by the other measure.

He said the only way he could account for them was that they had been of prior date. But, he said, these were subjects upon which his Government said nothing to him. The only time they had spoken to him of our affairs was on what he had mentioned to me relative to General Armstrong, and on which he had requested me to write to my Government.

I told him that I should certainly write to my Government whatever I could think would have a tendency to reconcile the interests and policy of our two countries; that he would be sensible that my situation in relation to General Armstrong rendered me the last person who in delicacy or propriety ought to be the medium of indefinite complaints against him to his own Government; but that if, owing to any inconveniences of communication arising from the state of things there, his Government thought proper to make any informal and inofficial observations which they were desirous of transmitting to the United States, and would commit them to him, and he to me, I should take great pleasure in giving every aid in my power to every purpose calculated to restore harmony and good understanding between the parties—a circumstance which might perhaps occur if General Armstrong should leave France, as I heard was still his intention.

I told him the French Government appeared to me still too much addicted to that repulsive policy which the Prince of

Benevento had justly assigned as the cause which, under the former monarchy, had occasioned the loss of almost all the influence in the United States that France had acquired during the war of the American Revolution; that the influence of France might be great if she pleased, but that as England by her conduct seemed determined to reconcile us with France, so France by hers was rendering the same service to England.

He told me he would write the substance of my observations to his Government; that as to the complaint against General Amstrong, he did not understand it to be a thing which would injure his credit at home; but it was only said that he scarcely ever saw the Minister; that he never went to Court, and that whenever anything was to be done, he was presenting testy notes, which made written answers of the same sort indispensable, and which widened matters, when by verbal explanations they might be conciliated.

So I now see the whole front of Armstrong's offence is omitting to go to Court, and presenting notes too full of truth and energy for the taste of the Emperor Napoleon. I had already mentioned to the Ambassador yesterday, and repeated to him this day, the articles in the French official gazettes containing misrepresentations in matters of fact, which produced injurious effects even here, to our commerce; instancing particularly that the French Consuls in America had ceased to deliver certificates of origin.

14th. I went according to appointment at eleven o'clock to Count Romanzoff's, and had some further conversation with him. I told him that, although the decision of the Emperor upon all the cases concerning which Mr. Harris or myself had made representations was favorable, I was continually receiving new and more heavy complaints; that since the arrival of the revisor, who had been sent to adjust all the difficulties, they had been multiplied fourfold; and that in some instances there were now complaints of personal ill treatment.

The Count said he hoped that henceforth there would be no more occasion for any complaints, and read me a letter which he had this morning received from Baron Campenhausen, in answer to what he had written to him immediately after my last

conference with him. This letter contained in substance the same thing which Baron Campenhausen had assured me of in his verbal message to me: that he had given the most precise and positive orders to the Commission of Neutral Navigation at Archangel to expedite as soon as possible the business of the American vessels; that he regretted exceedingly the delays which had been occasioned by the neglect or misconduct of the Commission, and that he had thought it his duty severely to reprimand them for it.

I then mentioned to the Count the case of the vessels which have arrived at Riga, after finding themselves excluded from the ports of Prussia and of Holstein, and which, not having been originally destined to Russian ports, did not possess certificates from the Russian Consuls, as in ordinary cases was required.

He desired me to write him a note on this subject, which he would immediately recommend to the Minister of Commerce. He asked me whether I had heard a report that the British fleet intended an attack upon Carlscrona, to take away the Swedish fleet that is there. I had; but I did not believe it. He said the King of England had never acknowledged the present King of Sweden, and now that a French general was called as the successor to the throne, they would probably be still more exasperated in England against Sweden.

I told him that I understood that Carlscrona was too strongly fortified to be exposed to such an attack. The Danes, he said, were also apprehensive of an attack on Christiansand, and had lost some gun-boats at Bergen, in Norway. I said it was impossible to feel much for them; they were inflicting all the injury they could upon our trade, and were obstructing particularly the trade with this country; that of the forty-seven vessels they had lately taken into Christiansand, seventeen or eighteen were Americans, eight of them had sailed loaded from Cronstadt, and I knew them to be perfectly neutral property.

The Count said that they treated them exactly in the same manner, and the only way in which he could account for it was to attribute it to want. They were so poor, and had now so scanty means of subsistence, that they could not subsist with-

out plunder. He asked me what I thought would be the result of the late measures in France. I answered that as they were *conditional*, to depend upon corresponding measures on the part of England, it was yet very doubtful to me what the result would be. Although England had repeatedly promised to revoke her Orders in Council if France would repeal these decrees, yet as the whole advantage of the system on both sides had accrued to her, I was apprehensive she would not keep her word. She would cling as long as possible to the continuance of the system.

He asked me whether General Armstrong was still at Paris. I said he was. He observed that while he himself was at Paris General Armstrong once appeared at Court, which was much remarked, as it was said he was not in the habit of attending there at all. That the Emperor then spoke to him. This was the Court of which the General gave an account in his dispatch which I remember to have read while I was in the Senate of the United States.

21st. I went this morning with the ladies and Mr. Harris to the Academy of Arts, which is now open, and where there is an exhibition of pictures. There is a very great collection of copies in plaster, from the famous antique statues—but most of them indifferently executed. The equestrian statue of Balbus, and those of Marius in the curule chair, and Agrippina, also seated in a chair, appeared to me the best. The knife-whetter is far inferior to that in Count Strogonoff's garden. The pictures in the collection are of various merit; as are those in the exhibition. The portraits of Prince Bagration, of Count de Maistre, and of Count John Potoçki, are very good. Some landscapes, sea-pieces, and historical subjects are good—many very indifferent. There is a model of St. Peter's Church at Rome, which takes one large room. The model of the machinery by which the rock of Peter's statue was brought to the city is also kept here. The portraits of all the Directors of the Academy are bad pictures, and no likenesses. We saw drawings in black pencil dated 29th June, 1796, by Alexander, then Grand Duke, and now Emperor; and by his sisters Mary and Helen. They were heads copied from the common studies

of scholars. There was one also done by the Emperor Paul. There was a great collection of prints, generally very bad; and many models of buildings and ancient ruins, in cork-wood. Among the rest was the model of the new Church of Our Lady of Kazan, in this city, one of the most magnificent churches in the world. And the model showed the manner in which the arch between the body of the church and the colonnade is supported,—by a stone hewn in conical form inverted. Mr. Thomond, a Frenchman, employed as a sub-director, accompanied us a part of the time, and Mr. de Torcy, also a Frenchman in the service, during the remainder. The building itself is the most remarkable curiosity. It forms a hollow square, each side of which is feet. The internal court is a small rotunda. The architecture is magnificent, and the front, one of the finest I ever saw. But the sides being unplastered, give it altogether an incongruous appearance. It is said to have cost three hundred and fifty thousand roubles, and is yet unfinished. I went afterwards with Mr. Harris to see the new Exchange, which is likewise unfinished. Mr. Thomond is the architect of this building, which is remarkable principally for its simplicity.

24th. With the ladies I went to see the palace and gardens at Peterhof, twenty-six wersts from the city, and twenty-nine from our house in the city. We went in a coach, with our own four horses, and two others. Mr. J. S. Smith and Mr. Jones met us there. They went in a chariot-and-four. We were precisely two hours in going from our own house to the gate of the palace at Peterhof. The distance is between nineteen and twenty miles, which we went without stopping once, either to rest or water the horses. Such is the common practice here; and their small, mean-looking horses appear not to suffer from it at all. We were upward of three hours in going over the palace, its various outhouses, which are seven or eight, and the gardens. The palace is an image of magnificence in a late, almost the last, stage of decay. Faded hangings of rich damask, once-gilded wainscoting and doors, carved work of great cost but extinguished fashions, Chinese lackering and pictures perished upon the canvas, from the damps of uninhabited apartments, constitute the whole furniture of the buildings. One of

the out-buildings is appropriated for baths; and there are all the conveniences for common water-baths, shower-baths, and Russian steam-baths. We were told they were sometimes used by Maria Fedorowna—that is, by the Empress-mother. Another is the Empress Elizabeth's kitchen; for this sovereign of the empire prided herself upon her skill in cookery, and was used to prepare dinners for select parties in this building. The kitchen is much upon the Rumford plan. Catherine the Second, who had other tastes besides those of cookery, had in these buildings also a hermitage, where a table for twelve persons descends and ascends by machinery, so that it may be served without the presence of any servants in the apartment with the company.

From this chamber there is a balcony in front, just before a large fish-pond full of carp. They come upon the summons of a bell rung by one of the servants, and feed upon the crumbs of brown bread thrown to them upon the water. And there is a balcony in the rear, facing the Gulf of Finland, from which there is a full view of Cronstadt. But the principal curiosities of the place are the water-works; all of which were set to playing for us to see. There are a great variety of pipes and fountains; some in the form of gilded statues, others of animals and fish; some of urns, some of rolling sheets, and some even of plants and trees. The waters are carried to the tops of some of the buildings, made to spout from the summit of their domes, and roll down, streaming from their roofs. The meanest of all the contrivances is a fountain with three leaden ducks pursued by a dog, which are movable, and made to imitate the barking of a dog and the quack of the ducks. The imitation, besides its being ridiculous, is very bad. We had taken a cold collation with us, and they lent us a room in one of the external buildings connected with the palace, where we took it.

Once a year, in the summer season, the Emperor usually gives a great ball at this palace, to which the public in general are admitted. The gardens are all illuminated, and the water-works all played by the light of the illuminations. On these occasions the foreign Ministers are all accommodated with lodgings at these buildings. But this year the usual entertainment, from

motives of economy, has been omitted. We quitted Peterhof at half-past five o'clock in the afternoon, and reached home precisely a quarter before eight. We stopped about ten minutes at the garden of the Grand Chamberlain Narishkin, to look at a white marble statue representing the Rape of Proserpine, for which he is said to have given ten thousand roubles, and which is very well executed. There are on the road to Peterhof a great number of country-seats, inhabited during summer by the nobility and the principal merchants. Strelna, the summer residence of Czarowitz Constantine, is of the number, and at the fifteenth werst there is a monastery founded by one of the Counts Zuboff.

26th. I have made it a practice for several years to read the Bible through in the course of every year. I usually devote to this reading the first hour after I rise every morning. As, including the Apocrypha, it contains about fourteen hundred chapters, and as I meet with occasional interruptions, when this reading is for single days, and sometimes for weeks, or even months, suspended, my rule is to read five chapters each morning, which leaves an allowance for about one-fourth of the time for such interruptions. Extraordinary pressure of business seldom interrupts more than one day's reading at a time. Sickness has frequently occasioned longer suspensions, and travelling still more and longer. During the present year, having lost very few days, I have finished the perusal earlier than usual. I closed the book yesterday. As I do not wish to suspend the habit of allowing regularly this time to this purpose, I have this morning commenced it anew, and for the sake of endeavoring to understand the book better, as well as giving some variety to the study, I have begun this time with Ostervald's French translation, which has the advantage of a few short reflections upon each chapter. I ought perhaps to be ashamed at having read this book through so many times, and at possessing its contents so little as I do. The regular and methodical manner of reading is not without defects. This division, by a certain number of chapters, is arbitrary and artificial. The appropriation of a certain hour inevitably devotes times when occasionally the attention is absorbed by objects, passions, interests,

feelings, which the affairs of life bring up as it runs, and when the mind cannot command its application. The Bible is in many of its parts, as St. Peter says of his brother Paul's Epistles, hard to be understood. It presents difficulties of various kinds. The help of commentators I have scarcely ever had at hand, and if I had, could not use without devoting several hours of every day, instead of one, to this object. It has long been one of the numerous resolutions which I take and do not fulfil, to undertake this at some indefinite time; but I am always making to myself excuses for postponing it to some future day. Imperfect as my method is, I regret none of the time thus bestowed. At every perusal I do add something to my knowledge of the Scriptures, something to my veneration for them, and, I would hope, something to the improvement which ought to result from this occupation, and which is the great motive to it.

27th. At noon I attended, with Mr. W. S. Smith, at the palace, conformably to the official notice. I had been desired to attend earlier than usual, as the notice was both for a Court and a Te Deum. We went, therefore, precisely at twelve, the hour appointed, but found there was no Court to be held, and the Te Deum did not commence until near two. There was a mass performed immediately before the Te Deum, at which the Corps Diplomatique did not attend. We were introduced just as the Te Deum commenced. The imperial family were there as usual, excepting the Grand Duchess Ann. Mr. Rosenzweig, the Chargé des Affaires from Saxony, told me that General Watzdorf, the new Minister from his Court, arrived last evening. I had some conversation with the French Ambassador, from which I understood that he has received new instructions relative to the commerce in what are called colonial articles. I thanked him for the loan of the Moniteurs, and for the return of the English papers which he had lent me. I mentioned to him that I had observed with pleasure the attendance of General Armstrong at Court on the Emperor Napoleon's birthday, considering it as an indication that our relations were becoming again more favorable in their aspect there. He said he had again received assurances that the dispositions of his Government were entirely friendly towards the United States. I said then that they should

make a clear and a strong distinction between the English and the Americans. That, he said, in relation to commerce, was very difficult. I assured him that the only difficulty was in the inclination; that if this existed nothing was more easy, as was completely proved in this country, where either the Consul or myself could and did easily discriminate between those who pretended to be Americans and the English, who on false pretences gave themselves out as such. I mentioned to him the vessels which had been detected as coming with false papers by Mr. Harris, and consequently seized and confiscated by this Government, and also the persons whom I had detected myself. I told him that only two days ago the Minister of Police had sent me two sailors who pretended to be Americans, but whom upon five minutes' conversation I found not to be such, and whom therefore I sent back to him. I enumerated the particulars by which we were enabled to make this discrimination —the different pronunciation of the language—the personal acquaintance we have with many of the merchants who trade here—and the secret marks of the papers. If France was making war against the English, there was no real difficulty in distinguishing between them and the Americans; but if she was making war against certain articles of merchandise, to be sure discrimination would be of no avail.

He told me that, to be candid, there was a pretty strong sentiment against the colonial trade at Paris, because they considered it as all English. For, says he, you, for instance, raise no sugar. I told him that he was much mistaken; that a great deal of sugar was raised in the United States, and particularly in the country ceded to us by France—Louisiana. But cotton—indigo—we were perhaps the greatest raisers of these articles in the world—they were among our most valuable staple articles. Besides, there were the Spanish Islands—South America. These were not English, and the Emperor Napoleon could not consider them as such; for he had more than once officially declared his friendship to them, and his willingness for their independence.

With regard to that, he said, he could not give an opinion. But as to the certificates of origin said to be given by French

Consuls in America, he was assured that they must be false, as the Consuls no longer gave any such certificates.

I assured him in the most earnest terms that this was a mistake; that, to my certain knowledge, vessels which had sailed from the United States as late as the month of June had brought genuine certificates of origin from the French Consuls. I then added that if these were the sentiments prevailing still with the French Government, I could not but lament it; that as long as they prevailed, however strong the friendly dispositions towards the United States might be said to be, the course of policy pursued must be injurious to them in the highest degree. "You will do us," said I, "immense injury; you will oppress the Continent of Europe and yourselves with it; but take my word for it, and I pray you three years hence to remember what I say, you will do England more good than harm; you will not cut off her communication with the Continent, you will not essentially distress her commerce, but you will lay the world under the most grievous contributions for her benefit and advantage."

"But," said he, "there is a prodigious accumulation of colonial articles and of her manufactures on her hands, which she cannot dispose of; her bank paper money is depreciating; her merchants and great manufacturers are becoming bankrupts; the course of exchange is draining her of metallic specie; and therefore perseverance in this system must eventually compel her to come to terms of peace."

"Why, then," said I, "did she not snatch at the offer which you have just made her, of giving up the whole system? I see nothing like her giving up even her Orders in Council. No; she wishes you to adhere to your system, because she knows and feels that it turns to her advantage. You speak of the accumulation of colonial articles in her warehouses; and what is the accumulation of your wines and brandies, and what was the accumulation of grain upon your hands? It has induced you to grant licenses for vessels to go from anywhere to England, and to bring back what they please; only upon the condition that they export an equal quantity or value of your productions from France."

He said he was informed that the importations were restricted

to certain specific articles, and did not include colonial articles generally.

I told him that my information was very different, and it was a notorious fact, that immediately on the understanding being had that this trade by licenses was to be allowed, the price of colonial articles in London had risen ten or twelve per cent.

The Chevalier Brancia told me that he found upon enquiry my information respecting the proposition made in the Imperial Council for securing the election of Prince George of Oldenburg as the successor to the throne of Sweden by the restoration of Finland was correct; and he also told me that the late King of Sweden had come to the frontiers of this country, and written to the Emperor, requesting permission to embark from his dominions and go to England; that the Emperor had sent his aid-de-camp, Count Ozerowsky, to him, but with what answer is not known.

October 8th. On rising this morning, I found the ground and the roofs of the houses covered with snow, which had fallen in the course of the night. This may be considered as the signal for the approach of winter. We have had, since the first of this month, our double windows put in. The external windows consist of two parts. There are six panes to each window. The panes are twenty-five inches long and nineteen inches wide. The two uppermost are in a sash and fastened to the walls of the house; the other four are in two corresponding door-sashes suspended on both sides of the wall, and closing together with bolts both upwards and downwards. The double windows are of six panes in one sash, of corresponding size with the external windows. In most of the chambers one of the windows has one of the lower parts in the form of a door, corresponding in the external and internal window, and which serves as a ventilator when occasion requires. Between the two windows a trough about an inch deep of sand closes the crack at the bottom of the external window. The cracks all round the internal window, between it and the wall, are stuffed with oakum, and a paper border is pasted over it. Thus the windows are hermetically sealed; and this is the occasion of the equable warmth which they so commonly have in this country.

9th. I was occupied this morning in translating an Imperial manifesto, concerning the organization of the Ministries, from the German, when just at ten o'clock I received a note from Count Romanzoff requesting me to call upon him at eleven. I had not time to order breakfast to be immediately prepared before Mr. Harris came in, with Captain Bainbridge, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Lewis. Captain Bainbridge has just arrived from America, after a detention of six weeks at Copenhagen. He brought me a packet of letters from America. They were from my mother and brother, dated in May—two months earlier than those we have received from our friends by Mr. Jones. I had not time to read them before I was obliged to call, according to the appointment, upon Count Romanzoff.

I told him that I had now received the dispatches from my Government respecting the proposition which had been made by Mr. Daschkoff in relation to the trade with the Indians on the northwest coast of America; that I was directed, in the first instance, to declare the sincere and earnest desire of the President of the United States to concur in any measure which might be useful to the Russian dominions and agreeable to his Imperial Majesty; that some difficulties had occurred to them with regard to the nature of the stipulation which had been suggested as desirable by Mr. Daschkoff. The people of the United States were so extensively engaged in commercial navigation to all parts of the world, that the traffic with the Indians on the northwest coast could not be prevented but by special prohibitions of law—prohibitions which it would seem almost, if not altogether, impracticable to carry fully into execution. The Russians were a nation not so much addicted to navigation as my countrymen; and yet the Count was well aware how ineffectual the prohibitions to send vessels to particular foreign countries were to prevent them from going there. If such was the experience of this Government, the difficulties must obviously be much greater in preventing a trade so distant, with wandering savages scattered along a coast over several degrees of latitude, having no ports, no custom-houses, not even permanent dwelling-places, from which it would be possible to collect evidence of any transgression of the law; that even were a

convention concluded to prohibit this traffic, the Indians would probably still get their supplies—if not from our vessels, yet from the English—either by water or by land, from the British settlements north of us. And although nothing could be easier than to draw an article of a convention to prohibit the trade, it would indicate a want of frankness and candor in the United States to contract engagements and then find them not executed. For though it should arise from a state of things not within their control, it would be manifest that such a state of things ought to have been considered before the contract was formed. I was, however, instructed to enquire, what would be the boundary line within which it was the wish of this Government to extend the prohibition?—a question which I had already intimated in the former conference.

The Count answered me, that he would render to the Emperor an exact report of the observations I had made to him; that it was an object concerning which they had no great solicitude. Their first idea had been that this trade with the Indians, especially as to the article of fire-arms, might be as detrimental to the United States themselves as to the Russian settlement, and more so; that in that point of view the United States might find it expedient to issue the prohibition, provided it were compatible with our Constitutions. He did not think it possible for these supplies of arms to be furnished to those Indians from the British settlements by land. But with regard to a mutual stipulation, he candidly confessed there was no basis. To engage that the Russians should not thus traffic would be nugatory, as no Russian vessels traded there; and there was no privilege which could be granted for trade with the Russian settlement but what now existed de facto. The trade of all nations there was perfectly free. As to the fixing a boundary, it would be most advisable to defer that to some future time, for the sake of avoiding all possible collision, and even every pretext for jealousy or uneasiness. In the present state of the world, the first and strongest wish of his heart was to bring all the civilized nations to pacific dispositions, and most carefully to avoid everything which could strike a new spark of discord out among them. At any rate, I might be assured of

the continuance of the Emperor's amicable dispositions towards the United States. They were as strong and fixed as they ever had been; and, he might say, stronger. "Our attachment to the United States," said he, "*is obstinate—more obstinate than you are aware of.*"

I replied that I understood the force of the term which he had used; that if there were particulars of which I was uninformed, I knew full well, in a general point of view, the attachment to which he alluded, and that most certainly it should not remain unknown to the Government of the United States; that indeed a comparison between the measures not only of France, but of all the neighbors of Russia, in the North of Europe, Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, with regard to the commerce of the United States, with those of Russia, during the present year, would of itself be a strong indication to the Government and to the people of the United States of a disposition in Russia very different from that which they have experienced elsewhere, and it was impossible they could be insensible to it. I had learnt, however, from some of my countrymen lately arrived here after detention at Copenhagen, that there had been some measures of restriction upon the privateers, and some others favorable to the Americans, lately adopted by the Danish Government. There had obviously been a change also lately in the policy of France. The project of cutting off all commerce between the British Islands and the Continent could no longer be pursued, since licenses were openly offered for sale by authority of the French Government at Hamburg.

"But," said the Count, "there is an Embargo. The Government there do not allow the vessels to sail."

I said that I had private advices that every vessel with a French license was understood to be exempted from the operation of the Embargo, and might go when and where it pleased.

"But," said he, "there is a new edict of the Emperor Napoleon, forbidding all such vessels from taking any passengers; and in my own opinion there is no real change in the policy of France. The Ministers and people about the Emperor prevail upon him sometimes to sign edicts and ordinances which they

think and represent as changes of his policy, but they find themselves mistaken. His intentions remain the same. He thinks the only means by which he can influence England is by distressing the English commerce; and that is, after all, his real object, now as much as ever."

I said that I believed this opinion correct; but certainly the means to the end were continually changing; and the experiment upon which he now seemed to rely was to levy upon importations the most excessive duties—which, if really levied, must ultimately fall upon his own people, the consumers. I then mentioned the case of the Havanna sugars arrived in American vessels at Archangel, and which the revisor at that port and Baron Campenhausen had taken for refined sugars broken up and powdered; on which they had suspected and accused the importers of having endeavored to introduce them by fraud, and having brought them from England.

I immediately saw by the manner in which the Count talked upon this subject, what I have all along suspected, that there is a purpose behind the curtain in this affair. He first asked me whether I did not think they might possibly be refined sugars powdered, and that there had been an attempt to introduce them as raw, to evade the payment of the heavier duties.

I said I believed it impossible. These vessels came from the United States, with all the regular documents, including certificates from the Russian Consuls. I knew some of the merchants who had expedited them, and did not believe they would lend themselves to such an attempt to defraud the Russian Government. I knew the nature of the Havanna white sugar, and the ease with which it might be mistaken for refined loaf sugar powdered. But the expense of powdering whole cargoes of loaf sugar would be far greater than the saving in the difference of the duties. The first cost of loaf sugar to break down would be double what these sugars are offered for, and actually sold for, in the market here. There was no possibility of profit, but the utmost certainty of a heavy loss, in the attempt which was suspected. There was, besides, the easiest of all possible means to ascertain the fact, by boiling down an equal quantity

of refined sugar and of that in question. The result would immediately show the difference between them.

"But," said he, "if there is this similarity between them that they are so liable to be mistaken for each other, I should recommend to the Emperor to prohibit their importation (this is the true secret), for at least it opens a door to fraud, and may deprive the revenues of the duties on refined sugars. And, indeed, before I quitted the Department of Commerce I had similar informations reported to me of the importation here at St. Petersburg of *refined sugars* under the name of *powdered raw*."

I said that if the Emperor should consider the interests of his empire as requiring a prohibition that the white Havanna sugars should in future be imported into this country, it would undoubtedly be a misfortune for us, but the Emperor must certainly decide as he thought fit. I could not, however, myself conceive a motive for excluding a raw sugar, superior in quality more than in price to the others, fit as any others for refinement by the manufacturers of the country, and which could be mistaken for refined sugar only because until recently it had been very little known and imported here; that the quantities in which it now came arose, I presumed, from the free admission of our vessels, and the great increase of our trade with the island of Cuba, under the new government which it had assumed. And I had observed that among the articles which the new Government of Caraccas had permitted to be imported from the United States, Russian manufactures were included. I supposed that the Government at the Havanna had done the same. I said I was glad of this opportunity of conversing with him upon these events, which seemed to me to be of transcendent importance, not only to us, but to the general politics of Europe.

I knew this was touching upon a string to which the Count's feelings would respond. They did so instantaneously. He said that it would have been impossible for himself to express more exactly his opinion than I had just done. He asked me whether we had, before the late revolutions in the Spanish colonies, any commerce with the Havanna, and whether our vessels had been admitted there; whether I knew what sort

of government they now had there; whether they had sent any Ministers or Agents to the United States; and whether I thought they would be able, and would adhere to the intention, to maintain themselves in a state of independence.

I told him that our vessels had always been admitted at the Havanna; that, like many other of the West India Islands, they depended in some measure upon the continent of North America for subsistence; that we had therefore always enjoyed a trade with them arising from their necessities; and it had always been very valuable, but undoubtedly the late revolutions had very much increased it; that I was not accurately informed what the nature of their government was, nor whether they had Agents or Ministers in the United States. I had nothing upon the subject from the Government; and only saw by the newspapers that they had sent Agents to Washington—who had not, however, been recognized. As to their maintaining their independence, that would probably depend upon events and arrangements in Europe. If the war should terminate in the establishment of a sovereign of the Bonaparte family, or his appointment, in Spain, undoubtedly the colonies of that nation would no longer continue in that relation. The sentiment of the people, both upon the American continent and in the Spanish Islands, was so unanimous and so strongly pronounced on this point that they could never again be made dependencies upon Spain, under that Government, unless by conquest, which Spain would not be very able, nor, I believed, France very willing, to undertake. The Emperor Napoleon, nearly a year since, had declared himself ready and willing to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish colonies, if the people of the countries themselves desired it. That they would desire it, in preference to dependence on *his* Spanish monarchy, was beyond all question; and it seemed to me a thing altogether conformable to the *interest* of all the European Continental powers. The only obstacle of serious import that I could foresee to this result would come from England. She could not help perceiving that it must give the death-blow to the old colonial system of Europe, which was founded upon the contracted and despicable basis of monopoly between the colony and its European master. If once the

Spanish and Portuguese colonies on the American continent, and all the considerable islands in their neighborhood, acquire independence, and, of course, the enjoyment of a free trade with all the world, England will make but a sorry figure with her exclusion of all trade but her own with her petty islands of Barbadoes and Jamaica. There was, it seemed to me, some evidence of the jealousy with which England had witnessed the late manifestations of independence in the Spanish colonies. I observed that the Junta at Cadiz had issued a proclamation against them, with a declaration that they had ordered a naval force to be stationed so as to blockade them. Now, as to a blockade by the naval forces of the Junta at Cadiz, it would be only matter of ridicule if it referred for execution only to their own. But I concluded that in publishing this paper they were assured of the co-operation of British naval forces for their blockades, and I strongly suspect that it was under British instigation that they issued the manifesto. If such be the case, it most clearly demonstrates in what light the English Government considers these events. But whatever Britain might think, or wish, this course of events is too mighty for her control. Can she recover Spain for Ferdinand the Seventh, and Portugal for the Prince of Brazil?

"As to Ferdinand the Seventh," said the Count, "I consider the use of his name, in the present stage of affairs, as absurd, and becoming ridiculous. A prince in a foreign country—a prisoner in the possession of another sovereign—without a prospect of ever being restored—it is impossible that the American colonies should remain even nominally under his government."

"Then," said I, without hesitation, "I do give it as my opinion that the Spanish colonies will be either independent, or at least have an existence totally different from that which they have had from the discovery of Columbus to these times. If France and the European Continental powers choose, it will be independence. As to Brazil, its independence is already declared. The removal of the royal family of Portugal was, in the result, nothing more nor less than a declaration of independence for the Portuguese colonies in America. Accordingly, England has just been making a treaty of commerce with the Prince

Regent; and I doubt not he will find it for his interest to make another treaty with the United States, and with any other European power, as well as with England."

The Count enquired whether we had a Minister there.

I told him of Mr. Sumter's appointment, and that the newspapers mentioned his arrival at Rio Janeiro; of which, however, I had no official advice.

By this time Mr. Navarro was announced as being in the antechamber waiting; and I rose to take my leave. The Count, with much earnestness, expressed his regret at being interrupted in this conversation, and again assured me, with great apparent satisfaction, of his most entire and perfect coincidence of opinion with me on this subject.

Before leaving him, I mentioned to him Mr. Jones's desire to be presented at Court to the Emperor. I told him Mr. Jones had been a fellow-traveller with Mr. Poinsett, who had given him such a favorable idea of Russia that he had come, as a traveller, to visit the country. The Count enquired what was Mr. Jones's condition in life, adding, however, an apology for the question, and intimating that he did not wish me to be very particular in the answer. I told him that Mr. Jones was a young gentleman, of a respectable family, who had no particular profession; his father was wealthy, and he was now travelling for his own pleasure and improvement. He asked me what was his father's occupation, and I told him he was a merchant. The Count asked me to give him the gentleman's name, which I did; and he said he would take the Emperor's orders concerning it. The Emperor returns this day to the Winter Palace from his summer residence at Kammenoi-ostrow.

10th. I was employed almost the whole of this day in writing down the account of my interview with Count Romanzoff. My custom of thus recording, as nearly as my recollection will serve, everything that is said in these conferences, I believe to be a very good one; but in a very active negotiation it would be impracticable. It would be prodigiously facilitated if I were master of short-hand writing. I lament that I did not learn this effectually in my youth. It is now too late.

11th. As I was walking on the Mall in front of the Admiralty,

I met the Emperor, who stopped and spoke to me. He said the autumn had been finer than the summer. "But as to summer," said he, "we have had none. You must have a terrible opinion of our climate."

I said that as long as one enjoyed good health all climates might be rendered agreeable.

"You have a countryman arrived, I hear," said his Majesty. "Yes, Sire." "Mr. Jones," said he; "an acquaintance, I am told, of Mr. Poinsett's." "Yes, Sire; Mr. Poinsett carried home with him such agreeable ideas of his visit to Russia, that he inspired Mr. Jones with the desire of visiting the same country." "And where did Mr. Jones see Mr. Poinsett?" "They returned in company together from Europe to America." "What! has Mr. Jones been in Europe before?" "Yes, Sire; he has travelled in France, Italy, and England." "What! and returned to Europe again? Perhaps upon his private business?" "Sire, he is a young man of fortune, who travels for his pleasure and to acquire instruction. After having been once in Europe, and returned home, the taste for travelling was not satiated, and he has come a second time." "He must then have a strong taste for it indeed; for such a voyage as that is not like crossing the Neva." "My countrymen, Sire, are so familiarized with the ocean that they think not much more of crossing it than of going over a river." I enquired how his Majesty had enjoyed his health. "Perfectly well," said he, and added, with a significant smile, "Ce ne sera pas le physique qui me tuera—ce sera le moral."[1] Upon which we parted. I collected from his last words that there were subjects under his consideration which gave him some concern.

12th. About ten o'clock this morning, as I was preparing a letter to send by Mr. Donovan, came the messenger from the Grand-maître des Cérémonies to inform me that two ships would be launched at the Admiralty. The hour fixed for this was half-past twelve at noon, but it would probably be about one; and the members of the Corps Diplomatique were invited to attend if they pleased. Feeling uncertain where to go and

[1] This turned out a prophecy. He died in the Crimea, at the early age of forty-eight, from depression of spirits aggravating the malady which there overtook him.

how to proceed, in order to be in the rule of etiquette, I called upon Mr. Navarro, who had been at similar ceremonies before. He told me that, being not very well, he did not intend to go; but that in proceeding to the Admiralty I should find there some of the officers of the Department of Ceremonies, who would show me where the Corps Diplomatique were stationed. Navarro then told me what his errand was the other day when I met him at Count Romanzoff's. It was to announce the appointment of a Minister from the Prince Regent of Brazil to this Court, a Monsieur de Bezzarra; and he showed me the answer which he had just received from Count Romanzoff to this communication. It expressed the Emperor's great satisfaction at receiving this information, and his determination to appoint a Minister to the Prince Regent in return. This led us into some conversation, and I expressed to Mr. Navarro very sincerely my regret that this event would hasten his departure. I was first acquainted with him as the Secretary of the Viscount d'Amadia, at Berlin. I have seen much more of him here, and found in him a worthy and honorable man. Having been here near six or seven years, he is well acquainted with the country; and I have often obtained from him just information of current events.

I was obliged to leave him and dress for the launching. Went with Mr. W. S. Smith, just at one o'clock. We were within one minute of being too late. The Emperor and his Court were already there. We had barely got inside of the Admiralty yard when the posts under the first ship, the Three Saints, were knocked away, and she descended majestically upon the bosom of the flood. I found neither messenger from the Department of the Ceremonies nor Corps Diplomatique. But I came to the platform where the Emperor and Empress were standing, and saw the second ship, St. Eustaphie, rush down upon the river as advantageously as it could be seen anywhere. They were both seventy-four-gun ships, and very finely built. The whole ceremony was over within a quarter of an hour after I arrived. The concourse of people was very great. As I was coming out, I met the Grand Master of Ceremonies, Narishkin, who apologized for the lateness of his notice, and

said he knew nothing of it himself until last night at midnight. I came home, undressed, and walked on the quay below the bridge, to see the two ships as they anchored in the river. The bridge had been taken away to let them pass.

26th. The Empress-mother's birthday. I had yesterday received notice that there would be this day, at twelve o'clock, a Court at the Winter Palace, and at the same time three tickets for the play at the Hermitage in the evening—one for myself, one for Mrs. Adams, and one for Catherine Johnson. At noon I went with Mr. Jones to the palace. While we were waiting in the Salle des Ambassadeurs until the mass should be finished, I was enquiring of M. de Maisonneuve respecting the presentation of Mr. Jones to the Grand Dukes and Grand Duchess Ann after the cercle, when I found that the Grand Duchess Catherine would also receive presentations. I therefore requested to be presented to her myself; and the same favor for all the gentlemen of the Legation. The cercle was held between one and two o'clock, and all the imperial family, excepting the Grand Duchess Catherine, were present. Mr. Jones was presented, as was a Count Fagnani, a Chamberlain of the Emperor Napoleon as King of Italy. After the cercle we waited about three-quarters of an hour, until the gentlemen, together with General Watzdorf, the Saxon Minister, and Count Lüxbourg, as Bavarian Chargé des Affaires, had been presented to the young Grand Dukes and the Grand Duchess Ann; after which they returned, and we were all presented to the Grand Duchess Catherine and her husband, Prince George of Holstein-Oldenburg, at their apartments. General Watzdorf and I were presented separately, and the rest of the gentlemen all together. The Grand Duchess spoke of Mr. Smith and Mr. Poinsett, and asked some questions about America—whether I had lately heard from there, and how long it took for vessels to come. The Duke also, who stood by her side, made some observation, which I scarcely remember. She is about the middle size, with a beautiful countenance, expressive eyes, and a fascinating smile.

It was nearly four o'clock when we returned from the palace; and at half-past six, immediately after dinner, we went there

again. About seven we went into the theatre at the Hermitage. The Emperor and imperial family came about eight. They sat in a row of chairs immediately behind the orchestra. The French Ambassador sat in the same line, the last person at the right hand of the Emperor, and next to the Grand Duke Michael. The great Crown officers, with Count Stedingk and Count St. Julien, sat in chairs, and on the lowest range of benches forming the amphitheatre for the spectators; for there are no boxes. The Ministers of the Corps Diplomatique sat on the right-hand second row, and all the others were filled with the nobility of the country—the men on the left side and the women on the right. The French opera of Cendrillon was performed, for the first time—the music, partly of Nicolo, the original composer, and partly of Steybelt, set here. The play is splendid, the music agreeable, and the ballets as usual. Duport danced very well. Two of the songs were encored, by a signal from the Grand Chancellor, by the Emperor's order. About eleven at night the opera was over, and we travelled over the palace to view from the Emperor's apartments the fireworks. Those upon the water did not well succeed, owing probably to the high wind that blew. There was a blue palace of lamps beyond the river, very well executed; and the bouquet or wheat-sheaf of rockets, with which it concluded, was handsome. About half-past twelve at night it was all finished, and we returned home. M. de Maisonneuve again repeated to me that the Emperor himself had written the name of Miss Johnson as one of the persons to whom tickets for the Hermitage should be sent, and that it was a very extraordinary mark of distinction. M. de Maisonneuve was very attentive in accompanying the ladies, after the play, until we left the palace to come home.

November 13th. At one o'clock I went again with the ladies to the palace of Annitschkoff, where we found the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, Count Bussche, and General Watzdorf. I went all over the palace the second time, from the chapel to the steam- and water-baths under the ground floor, which is appropriated for the infant Prince and his nurses and attendants. The steam- and water-baths here, as elsewhere, are in different apartments. The bathing-tub is of tin, and fitted

into the floor in the middle of the room. Over it is a vessel with holes like a cullender, from which the shower-bath is poured when they choose it. The chapel is not yet consecrated; for which reason the ladies were permitted to go into the sanctuary. I remarked nothing on this visit but what I had seen before. The music-room is circular, and not large. The Prince's cabinet is elegant, but without magnificence. There are no carpets on the floors; but a very beautiful parquet. In the library there is a looking-glass of one plate seven arsheens (sixteen feet four inches) high and three arsheens (seven feet) wide—a very magnificent thing, but out of its place. The bed-chamber is hung round with loose hangings of dark-green velvet; the bed in the centre of the room, between the two doors; the curtains sloping from the head to the foot of the bed. Among the time-pieces, of which there is one in almost every room, that which pleased me most was a bronze figure of a Venus with a little Cupid bursting from an egg-shell which she holds in her hands. There is on the sofas and chairs too much gilding for my taste. The porcelain is not very beautiful, and there is not much of it. The Siberian vase of agate is very large, and was very much admired. After going over the palace I walked to the foundry, and in returning upon the quay of the Neva met the Emperor, first on horseback, and the second time walking. He then stopped and spoke to me about the weather and the appearance of the river. He asked me what was my habitual walk. I told him commonly to the foundry. He asked where I lived. I told him in the new street, in a corner house, partly fronting on the Moika—the apartments where the Count Einsiedel had lived. He knew it by this description, and said the situation of the house was not good; on account of walking. I said its situation was not remarkably advantageous, but that the walks in every part of the city were so convenient that it rendered the situation of a house almost immaterial. And pointing to the quay on which we stood, I said it was one of the finest works ever made by men's hands. He said they had a great advantage in possessing so much of the material, the granite rock, of which in Finland there were immense masses; that the rock on which the statue of Peter

the First was placed was one of the smallest of those rocks which could have been found; that it formed blocks of whole mountains, and that there were places where it was to be seen at once in both the stages of its first formation and of its last decay. I told him that I was acquainted with this rock, and that my own country produced it in great plenty; that it was considered as hardening and becoming more solid by being exposed to the air. He said it did for a certain period of time, after which it decayed and crumbled into dust. But he added that it would last a long time, and then, looking at the wall bordering the quay, observed, with a smile, "There is no danger for this yet."

30th. At nine o'clock I went to Count Romanzoff's house on the quay, and met him there. His aunt, Madame Narishkin, an old lady of eighty years of age, lives there, and, being infirm in health, the Count passes much of his time with her. I told him I had requested to see him on account of a number of American vessels which had arrived at Reval, at Baltic Port, at Riga, and at Liebau, since the navigation at Cronstadt, to which they were bound, had been closed. Several of them were in the first instance admitted without difficulty; but afterwards an order had been issued to suspend the admission of the rest, and to prevent the unloading of those which had been admitted, until further orders. The persons interested in these vessels and cargoes were alarmed and uneasy under these difficulties, and some of them had applied to me for my interposition in their favor.

The Count said that some suspicion might have arisen from the supposition that these vessels belonged to the great convoy of six hundred sail which had been so long signalized by the Emperor Napoleon, and which it was said had entered the Baltic, coming from Gottenburg.

I told him that they had actually come from Gottenburg, and probably belonged to that convoy. But I trusted he would not suspect me of attempting to shelter under the American name any traffic or property prohibited by the laws of this country.

He said he could hardly express to my face what he thought

upon this subject; but it was certainly nothing distrustful of me.

I then said that I had a list of these vessels, which I was perfectly assured were bona fide American; that I had received letters by several of them from my friends in America of the most recent dates which had come to hand; that the captain of one of them, the supercargoes of several, and the owners of almost all were personally known to me as citizens of the United States; and that with regard to them all I had received such information as left me no doubt that they were really Americans, and that all proper confidence might be given to their papers.

He desired me to write him unofficially a short letter on this subject, stating all these circumstances, and intimated that the difficulties that had been raised would easily be removed; promising to lay the matter as soon as possible before the Emperor. He then entered into a general conversation, and asked me to give him my candid opinion upon the Emperor Napoleon's tariff of the fifth of August last, and upon his decree for burning all merchandise of English manufacture.

I did accordingly give him my opinion fully and freely in respect to both. The Count did not explicitly say that he agreed with me in opinion; but I am convinced he can hardly entertain a different one. He told me that he had received a courier from Sweden, with accounts of the determination there to declare war against England, for which the French Minister had allowed only five days. We had also much conversation upon the news—the armies in Portugal, the King of England's illness, and other common topics not of sufficient interest to be written down. I was with him about two hours.

Day. The sun rises now about nine in the morning. It is scarcely daylight at eight, and I seldom rise from bed before ten. Read five chapters in the French Bible, with Ostervald's reflections. Breakfast. Noon has arrived. A visitor or two brings it easily to three o'clock—or I write a letter, long or short, or a day's record in this book, and the day is gone. It darkens soon after two o'clock, even in the few days when the sun is seen, which is, upon the average, about once a week. The

six others there is a gloomy half-darkness through the day. So that from ten until two I can just see to write. From three to five I walk. Dine at five, and sit usually until seven. Spend two or three hours after dinner in my cabinet, reading Levesque,[1] or writing short-hand on anything that must not be postponed. From nine or ten at night until one or two in the morning I pass in company abroad, or at home, or at cards with the ladies. The difficulty of writing anything, and the disgust at the occupation, grows upon me in a distressing manner, and I feel more and more every day the importunity of miscellaneous company.

December 17th. Mr. Delapré, the keeper of the house at the Ville de Bordeaux, was here. I engaged him to furnish us our dinners at a stated price—twenty roubles a day—and I shall dismiss my cook. When a family becomes large, there is no possibility of observing economy in it without the closest attention to minute details. Since we entered this house my monthly expense books amount to double what they were the first month. We have a maître-d'hôtel, or steward; a cook, who has under him two scullions—mujiks; a Swiss, or porter; two footmen; a mujik to make the fires; a coachman and postilion; and Thomas, the black man, to be my valet-de-chambre; Martha Godfrey, the maid we brought with us from America; a femme-de-chambre of Mrs. Adams, who is the wife of the steward; a house-maid, and a laundry-maid. The Swiss, the cook, and one of the footmen are married, and their wives all live in the house. The steward has two children, and the washerwoman a daughter, all of whom are kept in the house. I have baker's, milkman's, butcher's, greenman's, poulterer's, fishmonger's, and grocer's bills to pay monthly, besides purchases of tea, coffee, sugar, wax and tallow candles. The firewood is, luckily, included as part of my rent. On all these articles of consumption the cook and steward first make their profits on the purchase, and next make free pillage of the articles themselves. The steward takes the same liberty with my wines. In dismissing my cook I shall attempt to escape from a part of these depredations. To avoid a great part of them is impossible. It is, I

[1] History of Russia.

believe, the law of nature between master and servant that the servant shall spoil or plunder the master. In this country at least it is universal usage. It requires the most constant and minute attention to keep his pilfering within tolerable bounds; and among the losses occasioned by it the most valuable is the loss of time swallowed up in the business of such drudgery.

20th. I called this morning before breakfast, at about eleven o'clock, upon Baron Campenhausen, and had a conversation of two hours with him on the subject of the American vessels which are waiting for admission at the ports of Reval, Baltic Port, Riga, and Liebau. He received me with politeness, but complained that he had been for a fortnight very unwell with rheumatism, and unable to go out of his house. I mentioned to him the subject of my visit; told him of the letter which I had written more than a fortnight since to Count Romanzoff on this subject; that I was now about to dispatch a courier to Gottenburg, to embark there for the United States, and that I was desirous of informing the Government what the ultimate decision concerning these vessels and their cargoes would be; that Mr. Rodde[1] had called upon me yesterday, after having been with him, and mentioned to me that there were some circumstances which had occasioned suspicions in his (Baron Campenhausen's) mind, which perhaps it might be in my power to explain to his satisfaction.

He said that with regard to the vessels there was no question or difficulty; but that with respect to the cargoes, the Emperor had ordered a special examination and determination to be made upon the sixty-seven vessels which had arrived at the out-ports since the close of the navigation here; that they belonged to a convoy *about which a great deal had been said*, and after several of them had been admitted it was found that one of them had two sets of papers, by one of which she had entered as coming only from Gottenburg, and by the other she appeared to have come from Pernambuco—the Emperor had therefore directed that a special examination and comparison of the papers of all these vessels should be made; that of the American vessels, some had all the papers in order, and with regard to them there

[1] The American Consul at Riga.

would be no difficulty; some wanted papers for part of their cargoes, and some for the whole; some had certificates that their goods came from Calcutta, and one from Marie Galante; that the laws of the country were express and positive as to the papers required; and if any were admitted which were not provided with those papers, it must be by special indulgence.

I observed that I supposed the only paper required by law, of which these vessels would be destitute, would be the certificates of origin from the *Russian* Consuls, and the cause of their wanting them was, that they had been originally destined for other ports than those of Russia—for the ports of Denmark or Prussia—and they came here only in consequence of finding themselves excluded from them; that two vessels under the same circumstances had been admitted more than two months since, on a representation which I had made to him and to Count Romanzoff, and that I had considered that as a precedent which would apply in all other cases of the same description.

That, he said, could not be concluded; for in those cases the decision was by the special order of the Emperor himself. They were solitary cases of exception from the rigor of the law; but now it had become necessary to decide upon the general principle, which the Emperor had thought proper to refer to the Council; and my letter to Count Romanzoff had also been referred to the same body, together with the other papers. But he said that it was very hard upon Russia to have such an immense mass of foreign merchandise thus thrown upon her in a manner, after the navigation season was closed, especially in the unfavorable state of her exchange.

I told him I was very glad he had given me this intimation, because it would give me an opportunity of suggesting to him several considerations which appeared to me both equitable and important in favor of my own countrymen. I should not contest the correctness of his principle, that the export trade should be encouraged more than that of imports. It was natural and reasonable that every country should wish to have the general balance of trade in her favor, and should frame her commercial laws at home upon that foundation. It was my duty to speak only of the portion of trade carried on between Russia and my

own countrymen; that of the trade carried on by the Americans here the balance was in favor of Russia, and I could not suppose that it would be insisted that we should bring nothing but money in payment of the articles of Russian produce and manufacture which we come to take.

He said he could not conceive how the balance should be in favor of Russia, when the ships came almost all laden with colonial articles, one cargo of which would more than pay for more than three return cargoes of any Russian articles.

I told him I must, with submission, question the correctness of his estimate. I owned that, generally speaking, the Russian exports were more bulky than the colonial articles for corresponding values, and perhaps, if he supposed hemp to be the only article exported, it might take three cargoes of that to pay for a rich cargo of colonial wares; but if he would take the manufactured articles as the standard, the proportion would be far more equal, and an import cargo would certainly not pay for two return cargoes of the same burden.

He instanced indigo. But I told him that could in the nature of things form but a small part of the imported articles. No vessel would be laden with it entirely. Of very few cargoes indeed would it form a large proportion. Besides which, I added that many American vessels came here in ballast and went home laden to the amount of three or four hundred thousand roubles. Many American merchants who had balances left after the sale of the cargoes which they sent here, and the loading of their vessels in return, left the balance in the hands of their correspondents, to be vested in the funds of the country, or in goods to be exported the ensuing season, which contributed to support the prices of the articles at times when otherwise there would scarcely be any sales for them at all. From the very nature of the trade between the United States and this country, it must be the interest of the Americans who carried it on to load their vessels with the richest cargoes of Russian manufactures that they could carry, that they might make a profit on the homeward as well as on the outward voyage; that certainly there was no gold or silver carried from this country to America.

But, he said, it was the same thing if the money was paid by remitting bills.

There was no profit, I replied, in making remittances; for, whatever the rate of exchange was, by taking a bill on London or Amsterdam a man would never get more than the worth of his money in the market; while by exporting a cargo of goods he could always calculate upon a suitable commercial profit to be made upon them. The distance of the United States, the necessary length and expense of the voyage, made this profit a more essential object to the merchant. The opening of the trade to South America and the Spanish West India Islands had naturally much increased the trade between the United States and Russia. Those countries consumed great quantities of the Russian manufactures; more even than North America. We took from them their productions and carried them those of Russia in return.

The Baron said that, au reste, these were political considerations, which ought not to operate in the case of the vessels in question; for if they had come in conformably to the laws of the country, they could not, at any rate, be subjected to the rejection of their cargoes on mere views of policy. He asked me if I had seen an article in the gazettes—a letter from Elsineur—in which it was denied in the strongest terms that there were any American vessels in this convoy at Gottenburg. It seemed, he said, as if the American Government itself ought to take notice of such charges as those.

I did not at first understand to what article he alluded; but when he explained it, I told him yes, I had seen that article, which was dated at Elsineur, but which I presumed he knew was fabricated at Paris; that in pretending there were no Americans among that fleet at Gottenburg it had certainly made a false statement; that perhaps there might be in the fleet some vessels which had assumed the American flag without being entitled to it; but as the fleet consisted of about seven hundred sail, and I did not know of more than twenty-five or thirty Americans among them, the proportion of real Americans to the whole number was certainly very small.

He asked me what was the reason that American vessels had been excluded from the Prussian and Danish ports.

I told him because the Governments of those countries had been required to pass ordinances to that effect by an authority which they could not resist; that I need not tell him it was an act involuntary and reluctant on their part. But the Kings of Prussia and of Denmark were to be pitied rather than blamed for the rigors extorted from them, and which it could not be supposed would have been exercised by them if they retained the sentiment or the pretension to independence.

He asked me what could be the motive of France for this rigor. I told him that France had undertaken to levy a duty of fifty per cent. upon most of the articles brought by American vessels. If the same articles could have been freely imported into Denmark and Prussia upon the payment of moderate duties, the French Government could not, with all its power, have prevented the introduction of them by contraband into France, and therefore could not have raised that enormous and oppressive duty. France, too, entertains the opinion that she cannot injure commerce of any kind without injuring England; and, provided she can strike England, cares not through whose side the thrust is made.

But was there not a great abuse, he asked, of the American flag made by the English? Did not they counterfeit papers? Mr. Harris himself had written him last summer that he could not vouch for the authenticity of any papers relating to cargoes; and there had been, for instance, a vessel arrived at Archangel, entered as from Gottenburg, and which, for some time, appeared to have papers perfectly in order, but afterwards another set of papers had been found. She had been dispatched from Dublin. And even the instructions to the captain were found: in what cases he was to produce one set of papers, and when the other.

I said there were undoubtedly cases of that kind; and there were Americans, as there were individuals of all other nations, who would practise any imposition which could bring them profit. They were, however, few in number, and easily detected—less frequent, indeed, than those instances of English forgeries presenting themselves in the semblance of American

ship papers, which had been exposed and denounced by the American Consul himself, and for the exposure of which I had not escaped the obloquy of the English public journals.

He asked what could have become of all the vessels of that convoy from Gottenburg, if there were really seven hundred of them.

I said he would find, if he consulted the gazettes which he had mentioned to me, that a great number had been captured and would be confiscated by the Danes; that some had come to the Russian ports; and that all the rest had perished in tempests—but that if he chose to send a messenger round to all the harbors of the Baltic as far as Gottenburg and on both its shores, I imagined he would find there had been very abundant salvages from all these wrecks. I would of course not be understood as now speaking of the Russian ports. But, setting them aside, it was a very generally received opinion among the merchants, that, notwithstanding all the manifestations of rigor against everything English which were resounding throughout Europe, it was not an impossible thing, by a suitable sacrifice of an adequate sum of money, and a judicious application of it, for English property and English vessels, under whatever disguise, even now to obtain admission into many ports of the North. I said this was what had been mentioned to me by some of my countrymen as the most extraordinary circumstance in its appearance to them, and that even in the difficulties which they had met with at Archangel, they had seen other vessels far less entitled to admission than theirs, according to the intention of the laws, obtain that admission with apparent facility.

He smiled, and said he supposed there might be some such cases, but that they must have escaped detection by the apparent regularity of all their papers.

That, I replied, was probable; and indeed it was obvious that those who were deliberately practising fraud and imposition would be most punctiliously correct in every formality.

He said that the certificates produced for some of the goods in these cargoes stated them as coming from Calcutta, and others from Marie Galante; that Calcutta was altogether an English possession, and that the certificates might as well have been

from London; that Marie Galante having been formerly a possession of France, it might be a question whether the goods had been exported from the island before or since it had been taken by the English, and it seemed incumbent on the importers here to furnish proof that it was before.

I asked him whether he was certain that the papers of the former kind certified the goods as from Calcutta, or in general terms as from *India*.

That, he said, was another and distinct question. There were some from India, but those he had referred to expressly mentioned Calcutta. I told him I had heard of both the cases, and had reflected upon them, as certainly they presented, under the existing laws of the empire, questions deserving of very mature reflection; that the commerce of the United States with India, even with Bengal, was so far from being justly considered as English, that it was a rival trade to that of the English, and carried on with the people of the country; that our vessels had been admitted into the ports of the British settlements there by virtue of an article in our Treaty with England of 1794, and that we had not since been excluded from them, but that on a late negotiation for the renewal of this Treaty the English Government had refused to renew that article, on the urgent representations of the East India Company, who have the monopoly of the trade with India in England, and who complained that our competition there was ruinous to them. As to the articles from Marie Galante, the fair presumption was that their exportation must have been previous to the occupation of the island by the British, because it might be taken as a general rule that the moment a West India island became a British possession, our vessels, and those indeed of all other nations but themselves, were excluded from them.

"But," said he, "did you not just tell me that you were admitted to their colonies in India? Do they make a distinction between the East and the West?"

I said they did; that in the same Treaty of 1794 that I had just mentioned, there had originally been inserted an article by which our vessels were to be partially and conditionally admitted to their West India Islands; but the condition had appeared

so burdensome to our own Government that the Treaty had been ratified with the exception of that article; and therefore our vessels are never admitted to their islands in the West Indies, except when, to save the inhabitants of the islands themselves from famine, their governors allow us to come for three or six months at a time by special proclamations.

Returning then to the goods from Calcutta, he said he thought the importers should at least have produced proof that they were not of English produce or manufacture. I told him that if he would permit me, between him and me in perfect confidence, and with the assurance that it should operate no disadvantage to the persons interested, I could tell him that they did possess the proof which he thought should be required of them.

"Why, then, did they not produce it?"

"Because it was contained in a document perfectly authentic, but which the French Government had thought proper to declare to be false."

"Oh," said he, "I understand you. It is the certificate of the French Consuls. Well, they are right not to exhibit that." Finally he assured me that the business should be decided in a very few days—certainly by the beginning of the next week; that everything on his part was ready, and the Council would have decided upon it some days since, but that other business of importance had taken up all their time. He urged me strongly to detain the courier two or three days longer, which at this season he thought could not be of much consequence for so long a journey and voyage. This too, he said, had been one occasion of the delays in the decision; because at any rate the vessels could not get away for some months, and that a delay of some days could be no material injury to them.

I observed to him that all delays might seriously affect them in the disposal of their cargoes, and in their negotiations for a return cargo. They could do nothing while the question about their admission was in suspense; besides which, there was a circumstance which it might require some delicacy for me properly to mention. But my countrymen, upon arriving here, applied to merchants to assist them in transacting their business. The

moment a difficulty in relation to their papers occurred, it was suggested to them that the way must be smoothed by a payment of money; which I believe was sometimes charged when it was not paid.

He said he thought persons who were capable of such a thing ought to be exposed; that in the ordinary cases at the custom-house, or before the Neutral Commission, there might be some use of money—there might be some bad men (mauvais sujets) there, whom it was impossible to detect; but in this case he could assure me there was no occasion for money, and there could be nothing obtained by it—the Commission or custom-house had nothing to do with it. The Emperor had ordered it for a special decision of the Council, and money was out of the question. He again repeated the request that I would detain the courier two or three days longer; and said, as to the greater part of the cargoes, they would certainly be admitted; "and as to the rest," said he, "we will try and find some expedient to let them in too."

I finally consented to detain the courier until Tuesday or Wednesday, though I told him I should have to apologize to Count Romanzoff, from whom I had already received the passports and his own dispatches for the Minister of his Majesty in the United States.

I left the Baron after a conversation of about two hours.

24th. It being the Emperor's birthday, between twelve and one o'clock at noon I went to the Winter Palace and attended the Court there. Mr. J. S. Smith was presented to the Emperor and Empresses to take leave. The cercle was such as it always is. The Emperor told me that I should lose my walk to-day. The Empress-mother told me she hoped she should see Mrs. Adams in the evening at the ball. I told her I was afraid the state of her health would deprive her of that honor—which her Majesty said she should much regret. But Monsieur de Maisonneuve had told me before that her Majesty had been informed that neither Mrs. Adams nor Catherine would be at the ball, and of the reasons why; with which she was perfectly satisfied. The Empress said to me, "Votre pays nous a fait un fâcheux cadeau." I did not understand her. "On dit,"

said she, "que la fièvre jaune vient de paraître en Italie." "Ah! madame," said I, "ce cadeau là ne vient pas de chez nous. C'est une calomnie qu'on nous fait. Il vient d'Afrique." "But," said she, "you have the yellow fever in your country every year, have you not?" I told her I had not heard of it for four or five years, until the last summer.

When the Empress passed on, Baron Schladen, who stood next me, said, "L'Impératrice prend la peste pour la fièvre jaune —mais vous vous êtes vaillamment defendu." The Court was over by two o'clock, and about eight in the morning I went alone to the ball. It was, as all these balls are, excessively tedious; though the Empress-mother was very gracious, and extremely attentive to do the honors of her house. She twice expressed to me her regret at Mrs. Adams's not being of the party, and also that Mademoiselle sa Sœur was not there. "Mais pour cette jeune personne, je suis sûre que ce n'est rien que la timidité qui l'a empêché de venir." I stood the whole time until supper, which was served just about twelve at night. The Emperor made some remark to me upon the warmth of the rooms, which were indeed excessively warm. I had conversation with Count Soltykoff, Count de Maistre, Count Stedingk, Dr. Rogerson, and the French Ambassador. Great part of the time I stood gazing, and doing nothing. It had been a great object of curiosity and anxiety with the other Ministers to see whether the Empress and Grand Duchess Ann would dance polonaises with Count St. Julien. They did not. They dance only with the French Ambassador, and he only sits at the Imperial table at supper. Count St. Julien has been here about a year, without any regular diplomatic character, and, having no rule of etiquette to operate concerning him, has been invited to dine with the Emperor, and to the Hermitage parties. He has lately received and presented his credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, a Minister of the second order. The Emperor has ordered that he should still be invited to the Hermitage parties, at which several of the other Ministers of the same rank, none of whom receive such invitations, have taken great offence, and have written about it to their Courts. St. Julien, by his exultation at these distinctions,

has aggravated the mortification of the others, and has countenanced a report which has been in circulation, that he was in all respects to be treated with the same honors as an Ambassador, and even that there was a convention between the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, by which this was reciprocally agreed. He was, however, this evening treated in no respect differently from the other Ministers of the second order.

At our table, and next to me, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Mohileff took his seat. It was not indeed his place, but the attendants suffered him to remain; and sitting next to him, I had some conversation with him. When the Empress-mother, going round the tables, and speaking to every guest, in turn came to him, she said to him, with a smile, "Vous êtes ici sans doute pour la bénédiction." "Pour la souhaiter, madame," said he, "puisque vôtre Majesté Impériale veut bien me le permettre." Upon my observing to him that the Greek Church was tolerant, he intimated to me that I was mistaken. "The Government indeed," said he, "is tolerant, and protects us. If they did not, we should certainly be persecuted." He appeared to have some little knowledge of America, and told me that until Bishop Carroll had been made an Archbishop, his diocese and his own were, he believed, the two largest for extent of territory in the world. After the supper, there was only a polonaise danced, and the imperial family retired about half-past one o'clock in the morning. I was at home before two.

26th. According to appointment, I called this morning upon Baron Campenhausen, whom I found still unwell. I had about half an hour's conversation with him, in which we went again over the subject of that which we had last week. He said that all the vessels had been arranged in different classes, according to the regularity of their documents, or of the circumstances which might affect their right to admission. Those of the most unexceptionable classes had now been selected, and would be admitted and allowed to dispose of their cargoes. He said he would furnish me a list of them in the course of the day. Almost all the Americans were included in it.

I walked home, and, coming round by the quay, met the Emperor. He stopped and asked me if I was not fatigued with

the ball. I told him no. He said he found it very long. I observed that the dancing-hall had been very warm. "Mais, mon Dieu," said he, "que c'étoit long! J'aurois voulu le couper court de trois heures au moins." I did not reply, for it might have been too uncourtly, and even uncourteous, to say how much I should have been willing to abridge it.

I dined at Count Romanzoff's, and was within a few minutes of being too late. It was a great dinner of about sixty persons, in honor of the Emperor's birthday, though two days after the anniversary day. I saw there Admiral Mordwinoff, and told him what Baron Campenhausen had said to me of the vessels. But the Admiral said the business would still require the signature of the Emperor. I asked him whether that would be obtained to-morrow. He said probably, but with a hesitation in his manner which left a strong doubt upon my mind.

30th. I walked this day earlier than usual, to observe the setting of the sun, and the extent of its southern declination as apparent at the horizon. This was the day nearest to the solstice that I have been able to observe it, being the first day for nearly five weeks that it has been visible at the time of setting. And even now I could observe it only very imperfectly. It sets at the solstice at forty-six minutes past two. It rises so little above the horizon that in the city there is scarcely a street where it can shine; and for a month before and after the winter solstice, the weather being always cloudy, it is not much more light at noon than at the summer solstice at midnight. I read this day Massillon's sermon upon the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, a festival kept in the Catholic countries the 8th of December. The divisions of this discourse are unusually artificial, but the discourse itself is excellent. The subject is miraculous purity—the instruction is the duty of purity. The following sentiment is strikingly just: "Il n'y a pas loin entre la vertu qui se repose et la vertu qui s'égare; et quand on ne fuit qu'à demi le vice, on est bien près de le retrouver encore sur ses pas."

The year 1810 is past; and to all past time we are already dead. It has been to me rich with the blessings of Providence, for which I would be duly grateful to the Giver of all good. Having

been employed in the service of my country, I am not conscious of its having witnessed any neglect in the performance of my official duties, nor can I charge myself with any intentional wrong in the private affairs of life. But I have indulged too much indolence and inactivity of mind, and have not turned my leisure time to good account. I have pursued no object steadily, and the year has left no advantageous trace of itself in the annals of my life. I have formed my domestic establishment here in a very exact proportion to my means, but upon such an establishment a public Minister here can enjoy very little consideration, and must be subject to great animadversion. It is with great difficulty that I have hitherto adhered to my principles, and having now a full year's experience, I think I shall be able to carry it through. I begin already to be sensible of the approaches of age. I cannot hope for any intellectual improvement upon my faculties from the present time. I pray for the power and the will to make a better improvement of them; and for the blessing of Heaven continually upon my parents and children, my wife, my brother, sister, and all connected with them; upon my native country, and, according to the will of the eternal Disposer of events, upon the world of my fellow-creature, man.

January 3d, 1811. Count Romanzoff had appointed me to call upon him this morning at eleven o'clock, which I accordingly did. I found an officer with him, who immediately retired. The Count told me that he had been at their settlement on the northwest coast of America, and gave him an indifferent account of it. He was afraid they would never be able to make much of it. He then enquired upon what business I had desired to see him. I told him it was on the same subject concerning which I had seen him and written to him already—the American vessels, for the admission of whose cargoes the permission had not yet been obtained; that Baron Campenhausen, after requesting me to detain my courier several days, had written me, yesterday was a week, that the business might be considered as settled with regard to a list which included almost all the American vessels; but that last evening the Commission for Neutral Navigation had received no orders

for their admission; that I had understood that nothing was now wanting but the signature of the Emperor, and that the papers had been sent to the Secretary General, Speransky, to lay them before his Majesty; that my countrymen here interested in this affair were anxious and uneasy, and naturally resorted to me to give them all the assistance in my power; that I must, of course, resort in the same manner to him, and came to ask him whether the business could not be expedited.

He said that the circumstances being as I had mentioned to him, there was no reason for the persons interested to be alarmed (de s'effaroucher); that according to the course of business here, it was much easier to obtain a *decision* than *signature*, as he had often found by his own experience, and that the delay necessarily arose from the multiplicity of business and the great multitude of signatures which were to be given; that, however, he would pay immediate attention to the subject, and speak to the Emperor about it *dès demain*—even to-morrow. He then generalized the conversation, and after having, according to his custom, desired me to take what he should say as from a private individual, and to answer him equally divested of all official character, he assured me that when he was Minister of Commerce he had been extremely desirous of giving every encouragement and facility to the commerce of the United States with this country; that, since he was no longer in that situation, he still retained the same ardent desire, and it led him to reflect upon the expedients by which, in the present embarrassed state of commercial affairs in Europe, it might be benefited. The idea had occurred to him to enquire whether by the encouragement of some premium, or some preference of admission, American vessels might not be employed to bring money for the cargoes which they should take in return. For that, said he, is what Mr. Campenhausen wants.

I told him that he knew the United States produced no gold or silver of their own; and all the money that our merchants could export must, therefore, previously be drawn from other countries, which were South America, the West Indies, or Spain and Portugal; that the nature of our commerce, the length of the voyages, and the expenses of all commercial undertakings

between America and Russia, made it an essential object to the merchant to make a profit upon both parts of the voyage, outward and homeward; that he could not afford to send vessels out in ballast and depend only upon the profit of a cargo in return; but that if the Government should think proper to give a benefit or premium upon the importation of silver adequate to a reasonable profit upon a cargo of merchandise, I had no doubt but that our merchants would send money here, as they were accustomed to do to China and to India.

He said I had taken up the subject in a more extensive view than he had intended. It was true, that by making it the interest of the merchant to send money, money would no doubt be sent. But his idea was, whether it might not be confined to American vessels, to secure for them peculiar facilities of admission.

I told him that hitherto they had found no difficulty in obtaining admission. The Government had given all sorts of facility for the mere admission of all vessels. Their papers were now not even subject to examination by the Neutral Commission, provided they came in ballast. I could not perceive what favor could be extended to them for bringing a cargo of silver, unless it was in the nature of a premium or profit upon the value of the money.

He asked whether I could say what premium would be sufficient to operate as an inducement.

I said I could not tell, but could easily ascertain, if it was an object with him to know.

He said it was only one of those things which had passed in his mind as a possible means of assisting the American commerce in the state of obstruction which the circumstances of the times occasioned. He did not believe, however, notwithstanding everything that was taking place, commerce would be arrested. It was founded upon such necessities that no regulations could entirely control them.

I said I was fully convinced of this, and had often taken the liberty of expressing my opinions upon the subject to him. But according to all present appearances, the experiment was to have its full trial. The Emperor Napoleon seemed to think

that he was going to blow up the island of Great Britain, because his measures had produced a number of bankruptcies among the merchants. Undoubtedly there was some commercial distress in England. But how was it on the Continent? Since I had seen him last, the first, or at least the second house in Amsterdam, the house that had done all the business of the Government for years, had stopped payment. At Hamburg, Gottenburg, Paris, Königsberg, and even Riga, houses of the first importance had done the same thing. There was one universal cry of commercial distress all over the Continent. I had observed to him when I last saw him that there was a sympathy among merchants in their affairs paramount to all political hostility, and it seemed to me that this fact alone was conclusive against the policy of attempting to operate upon the national councils of England by mere commercial distress.

The Count has never contested these ideas, and appeared now, as he always has, to assent to them. He said that the house of De Smets, at Amsterdam, had recommenced their payments, and would probably get through their difficulties. So, I told him, would the house of Goldsmid, in London. They would make their payments for some time, and perhaps eventually pay all their debts. But when once such houses had stopped their payments, it was, comparatively speaking, of little consequence whether they ever paid their debts or not. A commercial house of this class was a sort of little kingdom, and when it once stopped payment the establishment was demolished beyond all recovery—the machine was destroyed, the credit by which everything important could alone be accomplished was irretrievably gone, and whether the house finally paid its debts or not was only a question of concern to a few individuals.

The Count said that these observations were just, and they confirmed him in a principle which he had very often asserted, and in which he had seldom found others to concur; which was, that the commercial year was not composed of twelve months, or, in other words, that the scale upon which objects relating to commerce were to be considered was too extensive and complicated to be judged of from any short or given period

of time. In this country, for instance, the laws of nature themselves had crowded into five or six months all the possible business of the year; and in like manner political considerations might occasionally require similar pauses and suspensions from business. In the long run, it would come to the same thing. The English had often threatened this country with the loss of its commerce, but the productions of this country were unfortunately possessed of a peculiar advantage: they were of indispensable necessity to those who took them, and were not worth the trouble and cost of raising them elsewhere. He spoke of it, therefore, as an unfortunate advantage. The proportion of manufactured goods which could be exported from this country was comparatively very small, and surely it was no subject for exultation to a great empire that the choicest of its productions for exportation were hemp and tallow, and bees-wax and iron. Such as they were, however, their purchasers could not do without them, and, whatever events might occur, he had no doubt but that the exportations from this country would always prove ultimately the same.

I said that however correct this reasoning might be, as taking into account the result of a series of years, it was certainly an object of material interest to the Russian commerce of the present moment that the vessels of which I was speaking should leave the cargoes which they had brought; since if compelled to reload them and carry them away, they could not carry away Russian goods.

He said that was very true, but he considered this matter as scarcely amounting to a quarter of an hour, according to his estimate of commercial time. He then enquired whether I had heard any news, and, on my answering in the negative, he said there was a report in circulation, which he understood to be mentioned in some commercial letters, that the Emperor Napoleon had determined to annex the Hanseatic Cities to the French Empire, and that he had sent them notice of this determination.

I smiled, and said the Emperor Napoleon was remarkably fond of annexations, for here within six months was Holland, the Valais, and now the Hanseatic Cities. But I thought they lay more conveniently to the kingdom of Westphalia.

The Count said the Emperor Napoleon was a man of great qualities, but he certainly had very erroneous ideas on the subject of commerce. He asked if I had heard anything from England. "Only what was brought by the newspapers last evening." He said it appeared probable they would be obliged to have recourse to a regency. I thought so; but, I said, there was not much to be expected from a regency. The Regent would live under the continual prospect of seeing the King from one day to another recover his health and resume the reins of government. He would not dare to strike out any new line of policy. But if the King should die, and the Prince of Wales come to the throne, I believed he would form a Ministry whose first step would be to commence a negotiation for peace. Otherwise the prospect of peace appeared rather receding than approaching; I had never expected it until the contest in Spain and Portugal should be determined, which did not appear now to be at hand, since it was unquestionable that General Massena and his army had retreated.

The Count took little notice of the observation concerning Massena's retreat, but he said that all regencies were in their nature feeble governments, because their heads were always liable to be called to account, and that an English regency under the present circumstances would doubtless be peculiarly feeble, from the chance of the King's recovery. He therefore, with me, thought it doubtful whether a regency in England would produce a change of policy. The Count then said he had presented Dr. Rush's book to the Emperor, who had accepted it very graciously; and he (the Count) would write me about it. I then took my leave, and called on the Minister of the Police, Balascheff; but he was not at home.

12th. Mr. Raimbert and Mr. Montréal called upon me this morning, for a visit, to serve as at the close of one year and for the beginning of the other—to-morrow, the Russian New Year's day, being so much occupied that they supposed they should not find me at home. The ladies passed the evening at Madame Colombi's. I went myself at about ten o'clock. We supped there, and came home a little before two in the morning. The Misses Bétancourt danced the Spanish fandango in the

Spanish dresses. After supper the young ladies had their fortunes told in various ways—by cards; lots under nine tea-cups; melted lead; and by the feeding of a cock, which I presume must be a remnant of Roman superstition. General Sabloukoff and his lady, Mr. Navarro, and some other company, were there. Just after we came home, we were alarmed by a fire. It was the large stone theatre, which burnt down. It broke up entirely the New Year's party at the Grand Chambellan Narishkin's.

13th. At twelve o'clock I attended with Mr. Smith at the palace. Between one and two the mass was finished, and the Emperor and Empresses came to the Diplomatic circle. The fire of the last night occasioned the principal fund for conversation. The Empresses spoke to me, as usual, of my wife and children. The Emperor said to me, "J'apprends que vous nous quittez." I said, "J'espère, Sire, que je n'aurai pas encore ce malheur." He replied, "J'espère que cela ne sera pas de sitôt."[1] Monsieur de Maisonneuve gave me the tickets of invitation to the supper at the Hermitage, for myself, Mrs. Adams, and Catherine Johnson. The Grand Marshal of the Court, Count Tolstoy, asked me if the ladies would come, and on my telling him that they so intended, he desired me to recommend to them the entrance at the Hermitage, where he would give orders that they should be admitted. This is considered as a very extraordinary distinction, which M. de Maisonneuve specially noticed. The Court, as usual, was soon over, and I came home, after going and writing my name at the Grand Duke Constantine's, and paying visits in person at Count Romanzoff's and at the French Ambassador's —neither of whom was at home.

I read Massillon's sermon for the fourth Sunday of Advent,

[1] This refers to a letter from the Department of State, to the effect that the President, having learned in some unofficial way that the expenses of the mission at St. Petersburg were felt by Mr. Adams as much exceeding his salary and means, was moved by these considerations to place within his control a power of relieving himself from the burden at any moment he might choose to resort to it. To that end the necessary papers had been sent, which reached St. Petersburg on the 4th of the month. As no use had been made of them down to the date of this entry, it would seem that the Emperor must have heard the news through some other channel. Mr. Adams ultimately decided not to make use of them. The Emperor is found referring to the matter again on the 25th.

upon the dispositions for the communion, and Robinson's character of Manasseh.[1] The dissipation of the day, and some occupations also which intervened, diverted too much of my attention from these books. I endeavored in the evening, by writing a devotional exercise, to recall and fix my mind upon suitable sentiments. It is in the midst of splendors and magnificence that the heart most needs to be reminded of its vanities, and that the aid of Heaven is most earnestly to be invoked. Between eight and nine in the evening we went to the palace, and were admitted at the entrance of the Hermitage: we passed through that palace into the Hall of St. George, where there was yet nobody but some of the ladies of honor, the French Ambassador, and Count St. Julien. The Ambassador very soon after went away, being seized with a swimming in the head, so that he could not stay. The Emperor and Empresses came in about nine, from the White Hall, and immediately afterwards the Hall of St. George was crowded with people. The polonaise immediately began, and the Empress-mother sat down to her card-table. I found it impossible to make my way to it, and, having secured chairs for the ladies, I elbowed with the crowd until about eleven o'clock. We then went into the Hermitage, and about a quarter of an hour afterwards the imperial family came in to supper. The tables were laid in the Hall of the Theatre, which was illuminated with great magnificence.

The Emperor went round the Diplomatic table, and spoke to every guest seated at it, with one or two exceptions. He asked me whether I was in the habit of supping. I told him I was not. He asked whether it was a common practice in America. I said that it was, but that we dined at an earlier hour. He said he thought five o'clock was too late, but four was a very good hour. In England, however, he had heard that they dined yet later. Count Maistre, who sat next to me, said that a Frenchman had remarked upon these late dining hours, that people would, before they had done, get to dining to-morrow; upon which his Majesty had a hearty laugh. The supper lasted about an hour. On returning to the Hall of St. George, we found the crowd

[1] From a work in four volumes, by Thomas Robinson, entitled Scripture Characters, first published in England in 1789–90.

greater than ever. M. de Maisonneuve made his way with the ladies up to the front of the circle before the Empresses' table. The Empresses after half an hour went away; but the Emperor continued to walk the polonaise. When we came away it was about two in the morning. M. de Maisonneuve told me in the morning that the Empress considered Miss Johnson as having been presented at the same time with Mrs. Adams, and therefore she might in future attend at all the Court parties to which she would be invited, without scruple. He paid this evening every possible attention to the ladies, by the express order of the Emperor.

18th. At eleven o'clock this morning I went with Mr. Smith to the Winter Palace, at the entrance of the Hermitage. Mr. Everett and Mr. Gray came some time afterwards. We were immediately conducted to the hall in front of the Palace Square, where the troops were all paraded. The Emperor was on horseback in the square. The French Ambassador and Count St. Julien were there with him. The other foreign Ministers were in the hall, together with a number of Russian generals, among whom were Prince Bagration, the late commander-in-chief of the Moldavian army, and Count Kamenski, the elder brother of the present commander-in-chief of the same army. Prince Dolgorouki, the late Russian Minister in Holland, introduced to me Count Pahlen, the brother of the Minister now in America. The Emperor was full half an hour in conversation with the Ambassador, which delayed the marching of the procession. I had asked the Ambassador, at the New Year's day Court, leave to send, by the first courier that he should dispatch, a small packet to Mr. Russell, our Chargé des Affaires at Paris. He said he should send a courier in a few days, but would let me know the precise time a day beforehand, that I might have time to make up my packet. Yesterday morning he sent me his valet-de-chambre to say that his courier would go off in the night, and that I could have until seven o'clock in the evening to send my packet. I had it, however, all ready, and gave it to the valet-de-chambre. I asked Mr. Genest whether the courier was gone, and he said not yet. He doubted even whether he would go this day; for, as the Emperor was in earnest conversa-

tion with the Ambassador, he supposed this would make some alterations, or at least some additions, necessary to the dispatch.

About half-past twelve the procession marched. The consecration was performed at the temple below the Admiralty. The procession returned in about three-quarters of an hour. The Empresses came up into the White Hall, and we went upon the balcony to see the troops file off. The Ambassador and Count St. Julien came up at the same time; but the Emperor did not appear in the palace. The Empresses were a full hour upon the balcony. The number of troops that passed was about twenty-eight thousand. The Ambassador told me that he supposed his courier, by the time when he was speaking to me, was gone. But I think Mr. Genest's information was the most correct. The Ambassador also told me that there was fresh and important news from England—where the regency was established, under restrictions against which the Princes of the royal family had protested. He also said he had some Moniteurs containing orders from the Grand Juge to raise the sequester upon the American vessels in France, in consequence of the proclamation of the President of the United States of 2d November last. The ceremony this day was precisely the same as that of the last year. Each of the Empresses spoke a few words to all the foreign Ministers. There was a light collation of cakes, wine, and cordials, and about three o'clock the Empresses retired. We returned, as we had entered, by the way of the Hermitage.

19th. I called this morning upon Baron Campenhausen, with the two certificates of the Danish Consul at Boston, respecting the cargo of Mr. Gray's brig Palafox, which were sent me a day or two since by Mr. Gramman. The Baron took the papers, and intimated to me that the Palafox, and the other vessels included in the list which I sent to Count Romanzoff, and which had not been included in his list of the first class, would nevertheless be admitted with them. I then asked him how it happened that the Commission for the Neutral Navigation had not yet received their orders for the admission of those upon his first list. He said it was altogether unaccountable to him; that so far as it belonged to his province the business had been finished three weeks ago; that Mr. Speransky nearly as long

since had laid the papers before the Emperor, and they were upon his table; that Count Romanzoff a fortnight since had told him I had spoken to him on the subject; and the Emperor had asked for the papers, even before their turn, to sign them, which Count Romanzoff had hinted was not necessary. The Baron said he could not suppose that this delay was intentional on the part of Count Romanzoff; but he could not explain it on any other supposition. Perhaps he might have motives of a political nature for postponing a determination. He mentioned to me the letter of the Grand Juge to the President of the Council of Prizes, respecting American vessels, written in consequence of the proclamation of the President of the United States of 2d November. From the Baron's I went to Monsieur de Laval's; but he was gone to Gatschina, where the Grand Duchess Ann's birthday is celebrated.

20th. Our footman Paul had a daughter born on the Russian New Year's day, of which, according to the custom of the country, he immediately gave me notice. Paul himself is a Finlander, and a Lutheran; but, his wife being a Russian of the Greek Church, the child, which is a daughter, was to be christened after the fashion of the Greek Church. Paul asked Mrs. Adams and Martha to stand as godmother, and Mr. Gray as godfather, and the child was baptized in our parlor, this day, at eight o'clock P.M. There was a priest and an inferior attendant not in clerical habits, who chanted the Slavonian service, the priest from a mass-book. A plated vessel of the size of a small bathing-tub contained the water, which the priest consecrated at the commencement of the ceremony. Three tapers were at first fixed at the end most distant from the priest and at the two sides of the baptismal vase. The child was brought in and held by the nurse, until the priest took it naked and plunged it three times into the water. With a pencil-brush, before and after plunging, he marked a cross on its forehead and breast, and finally on its forehead, shoulders, and feet—repeating the same thing afterwards with a wet sponge. A shirt and cap, provided by the godmother, were then put upon the child, and a gold baptismal cross, furnished by the godfather. Tapers lighted were put into their hands, two of them from the

sides of the vase, round which they marched three times, preceded by the priest. He then with a pair of scissors cut off three locks of the child's hair, which, with wax, he rolled up into a little ball, and threw into the water in which the child was baptized; and finally, after a little more chanting from the book, the ceremony was concluded. During the first part of the ceremony the priest turned his back to the vessel of water, and the sponsors, with the nurse and child, to the priest. Another singularity was that at one part of the ceremony they were all required to spit on the floor. The priest received five roubles from the godfather, and the nurse the same from the godmother. The priest took away with him the napkin that he had used, and would have taken the table-cloth which covered the table. Paul himself carried round the wine, and received the five or ten rouble presents on the waiter.

23d. At eleven o'clock this morning I called upon Count Romanzoff, and found with him a General Doctoroff, who immediately retired. I told the Count I was sorry to be importunate with him, but I came to him again on the subject of the vessels and cargoes of my countrymen who had been so long waiting here. He said that he had been afraid that this was the subject on which I had asked the conference, because he was informed that the papers were before the Emperor and depended upon his personal pleasure. I said, this being the case, it was unnecessary to urge the matter to him. He said, although it was a more difficult matter to him to press his master for a decision than his Ministers, yet he would see what he could do in the case. He then spoke of the state of our affairs with France and England, and made several enquiries concerning it; of South America, which always appears to interest him much. I said I hardly thought it possible that this war should finish without demolishing the ancient colonial systems of Europe, which would indeed be at present only a loss to England—France having already lost her colonies, and Spain having now lost hers. "But then," said the Count, "what will Spain herself be?" I answered, what she must at all events be, a dependence upon France. This she would be if England should succeed in the present war, and could restore

Ferdinand the Seventh in Spain, and the House of Braganza in Portugal. In the present state of Europe it is inevitable.

I mentioned to the Count that the President of the United States, in consideration of circumstances relating to my private affairs, had given me permission to return to the United States, and that I had received a letter to take leave of the Emperor, with a discretionary power to deliver it when I should be ready for my departure. I presumed it would be proper for me to keep it until that time. He said certainly; or even to suppress it altogether, if I was not under the necessity of going. And he could assure me, when I should go, I should be much regretted here; that they had a very great and sincere esteem for me, and would be happy that my stay should be prolonged. I assured him that I was strongly sensible of the kindness and friendly reception that I had experienced here, and should be desirous of remaining as long as I could. At any rate, I could not take my leave until the approach of summer; and perhaps I might stay until the appointment of a successor.

25th. Between twelve and one o'clock I attended with Mr. Smith at the Winter Palace. Mr. Everett likewise attended. It was nearly two when the imperial family came in to the circle. The Emperor told me that from what the Chancellor had told him he found it was verified, as he had mentioned to me before, that I expected to go away, and he was sorry for it.

I told him that at least I hoped it would not yet be for some time, probably for some months.

He said, "Je regretterai beaucoup votre départ, et j'espère que votre séjour ici se prolongera encore." The Empresses spoke about my wife, as usual, and the Empress-mother asked me whether I had seen the ceremony of the 6th instant, and what I thought of it. She knew very well that I had seen it, having spoken to me after her return from the procession, and while upon the balcony; but in the necessity of making conversation, and the desire to appear affable, this is one of her common practices—to ask questions about what she very well knows, and when she is sure that the person to whom she speaks knows that she needs no answer. She reminds me of the personage in Molière, who, upon being asked whether he understands

Latin, answers, "Oui, mais faites comme si je ne le savois pas." General Pardo, a Spaniard, and Count Maistre, a Savoyard, are the only two persons of the Corps Diplomatique who have any interesting literary conversation, and they are always amusing. The General had seen a new opera, *Helena*, which he said was very indifferent—the music wretched, without force or *color*. I asked him what he understood by the color of music. He said he did not see why color should not be applied to music as well as harmony to painting. I told him I thought it was something like the blind man who said he knew very well what colors were: that scarlet, for instance, was like the sound of a cannon. He said there was a man named Castel who constructed a harpsichord of colors, each note of which was to correspond with every shade of the rainbow. Pardo was musing, I suppose, upon his Greek translation of Horace's odes, for he suddenly broke out, as we entered the Salle du Trône, where the circle was to be held—

"Et la palme d'Horace
Croît et fleurit toujours au sommet du Parnasse."

The General spoke it with enthusiasm, and in uttering the second line flourished his hand upwards higher than his head. The lines are from Piron's Métromanie, which he said nothing but prejudice could prevent him from placing on a par with Molière. After some commonplace observations of comparison between the two poets, Count Maistre repeated two other lines from the Métromanie, about which he told us an anecdote. The lines are spoken by the old man who suddenly found himself a poet at fifty years of age—

"Un beau jour ce talent en moi se trouva,
Et j'avois cinquante ans quand cela m'arriva."

He said the Empress-mother was one day in conversation with Prince Kurakin, now the Russian Ambassador at Paris, and a young officer, and upon some occasion repeated the first of these lines, and then seemed to be trying to recollect the second. The young officer looked as if he was going to assist her memory, and Prince Kurakin trod two or three times on his toes. When the Empress left them, the officer asked Prince Kurakin why he

trod upon his toes. "I was afraid," said the Prince, "that you were going to help the Empress to the second line of her quotation, and only meant to give you a hint qu'il ne faut jamais parler de cinquante ans à la Cour." "So!" said the officer. "Voilà ce que c'est que d'être courtisan. It was lucky for me that I did not know what the second line was, for I should certainly have repeated it, without thinking at all of its application." The Count asked me if we had any theatres or dramatic poets in America; and we talked about Shakspeare, and Milton, and Virgil, and l'Abbé Delille. It was about two o'clock when the Court was over. There was no ball in the evening.

28th. I took with me the volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which I had received by Mr. Jones, and carried it to Mr. Schubert, one of the Professors of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, requesting him to present it to the Academy. I introduced myself to this gentleman, and took the volume to him, chiefly because it contains Mr. Bowditch's observations upon the comet of 1807, and I found in the last volume of the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy that Mr. Schubert had made observations upon the same comet. He told me that he was much gratified at finding these observations of Mr. Bowditch, as he should make an extract from them to send to some of his friends in Germany, who had taken, and were taking, great pains to determine the orbit of the comet. He noticed also Mr. Bowditch's observations upon the total eclipse of 16th June, 1806; and I gave some details of the observations which I took of it myself, together with Judge Davis and some other gentlemen, in Mr. Bussy's garden, at Boston. Mr. Schubert had never seen a total eclipse of the sun, and appeared surprised at some of the circumstances which I mentioned to him relating to it. He promised to come and see me.

February 1st. Mrs. Adams and I yesterday received separate printed cards from Princess Beloselsky, announcing the betrothing of her daughter, the Princess Zeneïde, a maid of honor to their Imperial Majesties, to Colonel Prince Volkonsky, an aid-de-camp of the Emperor. The card is bordered round with amorous and hymeneal emblems—garlands of roses, conjunctions of oak- and myrtle-trees, a Cupid shooting an arrow which

pierces two burning hearts, a burning altar and a torch, a connubial ring linked into a laurel-wreath, with a pair of billing doves hovering over a bed of flowers. Such is the fashion of the country; and we are told that this civility requires a formal full-dress visit in return.

3d. The French Ambassador sent this morning to enquire whether I was at home, and afterwards paid me a visit. His object was to talk with me about those American vessels the papers of which are still detained. He began with some general observations on the considerable commerce by American vessels during the last season in the ports of this country. I told him that it had been very considerable—greater than in any former year; and that the principal increase had been at the port of Archangel, the navigation to which had been much less interrupted than that to the ports in the Baltic.

"And then," said he, "your vessels have done a great deal of business here on English account."

I told him that was a mistake; that the American vessels which had come here were directly from America, and returned directly thither.

"But how happens it, then," said he, "that several of them have been sequestered, or at least that their admission has been suspended?"

"Why," said I, smiling, "the credit of that is attributed to you."

"That is to say," said he, "that we are supposed to have required that a strict examination should be had."

I assured him that I had sent to the Government here a list of the vessels which I knew to be American, and the cargoes of which I had no doubt were American property and on American account; that of some of these vessels I knew the captains, owners, and supercargoes personally, that by others I had received late letters from the United States, and that, as to them all, I had such evidence of their American character as left no doubt upon my mind. As to the vessels which had arrived here about the same time under other than American colors, I had nothing to do with them, and knew nothing about them; but that there were no English vessels which came now here under

false American colors, for the plain reason that they knew they would be immediately detected, seized, and confiscated. I then mentioned to him the cases which had occurred here last winter, and the effect which had been produced by them in England.

He asked where the American vessels could get such quantities of sugar as these had brought. I told him that our own country produced sugar—particularly Louisiana and parts of the State of Georgia. Besides which, we had sugar from St. Domingo, from Brazil, from the Spanish West India Islands, and from South America.

This led us into a conversation upon the ancient colonial system of the European powers, in which I gave him my opinion that the issue of this war must eventually demolish it. He asked me what the state of our affairs now was with England—whether in case the Orders in Council were not revoked before the 2d of February it would not be a state of war—and said he was glad to perceive that the desire of the French Government manifestly was to harmonize with us. He expressed much concern at the distress with which commerce in general is affected, and his hope that England would at last come to some terms, from which it would find relief. There was, however, nothing material said in this conversation but what had in substance been repeatedly observed between us in former conversations, for which reason I abridge most of the particulars. As he took leave he repeated his invitation for my family to his ball for next Friday evening.

8th. In the evening we all went to the children's ball at the French Ambassador's. A great part of the company assembled late and returned very early. The children danced Polish dances, country dances, and French dances. But there appeared a coldness and reserve about the party which I had never observed on like occasions before. The Chinese shadows were duller than usual. I saw Count Romanzoff there, and delivered Mr. Harris's message to him. I also mentioned to him that I should probably not deliver the letter for the Emperor[1] at least before the summer, and perhaps not then. He expressed himself satisfied with both my articles of communication to him.

[1] His letter of recall, referred to in the entry on the 13th January, p. 212.

The children had their supper between eleven and twelve o'clock. We came home ourselves soon after one in the morning, leaving the remnant of the company still dancing, but the ball moving on heavily. It seemed as if the adventure of General Hitroff was fresh upon every lady's memory.[1] The person who appeared to enjoy it the most, and who was in the highest spirits, was Count St. Julien, the Austrian Envoy, an old rake, whose desire has long outlived his performance. He told me that he wanted a chair upon rollers to be moved round the room from lady to lady and to coquette with them all. He said he delighted above all things in company, and was very fond of amusing himself with making people ridiculous. I said that was an amusement more agreeable to the giver than to the receiver. He said that it generally returned, and the laughers were sufficiently laughed at themselves; that he liked as well to be the subject of ridicule himself as to make others so, especially when it was done with wit, but that this disposition had once cost him a thrust through his arm. In his youth he used to draw, and was fond of making caricatures. He had made one of a friend, which was very striking and, he must do himself the justice to say, very ingenious. He had given it to another friend in great secrecy, to show to nobody; but he had shown it to others, until it came to the person himself who was caricatured. "He thought proper to take it amiss, et il avait raison. He challenged me to fight, et il avait raison. He ran his sword through my arm, et il avait raison. We embraced each other, et nous avions tous deux raison. But I told him that as soon as my arm was well I would set about making another caricature of him. Such," said the Count, by a grave conclusion, "are the follies of youth." The Count very honestly and sincerely exaggerates a little to himself more than to others the keenness of his own wit. He brags of everything that a courtier and a soldier is vain of, and has not yet discovered that the levities which in youth may be graceful are, at his years, the best subjects of caricature. I told

[1] On the 3d is the following entry: "Mr. Montréal mentioned as a report that on Monday evening General Hitroff, a man who had a handsome wife, was taken up and sent to Siberia. The cause not known. Said to be from improper correspondence."

him that, with his taste, he would not want materials to work with here. He said no; that everywhere—at St. Petersburg, at Vienna, and no doubt at Washington—there were objects enough for this amusement. But here, it was true, there were des ridicules très-saillans, and then pointed me to one of an officer, "notre chevalier là qui danse les Allemandes sans les savoir." The Count's spirits were probably the gayer for the coldness which appeared between the Ambassador and his Russian guests.

15th. I called at twelve o'clock this day upon the French Ambassador, according to our appointment, and found Count Fagnani with him. He was giving an account of his journey yesterday to Gatschina. I presume he is a traveller for publication. He soon went away, and I mentioned to the Ambassador the case of the American vessels, and the difficulties in the way of their admission, concerning which he had questioned me when he last visited me, and which I had then told him were attributed to him. I then observed to him that some of our American vessels, though not of this last list, had met with objections for having been provided with certificates of origin given by the French Consuls in America, as I was informed an official declaration had been made by the Duke de Cadore, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that all such papers must be forgeries, and that the French Consuls in the United States gave no such certificates.

He said he recollected that I had mentioned the same thing to him some months ago; but that he had even since then received again from his Government a formal declaration, and had in fact communicated it to the Government here, that the French Consuls in America issued no such documents, and that all such papers were therefore forgeries.

I told him that this was certainly a mistake; that I had within a few days received the copy of a paper, of which I expected shortly to receive also the original, which, with his permission, I would read to him. It was a certificate of origin, signed by Mr. Gerand, the French Consul at Boston, dated the thirty-first of October last, and to which was added a certificate from the same person that he had been in the constant

practice of delivering certificates of origin when required, and upon satisfactory proof, excepting during the time of the Embargo.

The Ambassador took minutes of this paper, which I told him I had brought to show him, not officially, because it was only a copy, nor from the expectation that any others of my countrymen here would be injured by producing any such paper in future—for, after the warning which they have had, I supposed those who had them would be careful to keep them in their desks—but from the expectation that his own Government, when informed of its mistake, would take measures which its own credit and dignity, as well as the honor of its public officers, would seem in such a case to require.

"But," said he, "supposing our Consuls have given these certificates in disobedience of their orders?"

I said I thought it more probable, as well as more liberal to the character of those public officers, to suppose that if such orders had been dispatched to them they had not been received, or that they were expressed in terms to which the Consuls had not quite given the construction intended by them, than that they had violated their duty by acting in direct violation of their orders; but that even were this the case it became a question between the officer and his Government, which could not affect the rights, reputation, or property of persons who had received their certificates. If they had violated their duty, their Government might say so to the world—might recall and punish them—might disavow their acts, and discredit them after due notice. But this was a very different thing from declaring their real signatures to be forgeries. It was merely a question of fact: did they, or did they not, give the certificates? If they did, and you declare they did not, it is precisely the case of an individual who should deny his own handwriting to a promissory note; and, said I, the dishonor of such a procedure must fall ultimately upon the officer himself whose Government falsifies his acts, or upon the Government which thus gratuitously discredits its own officer. I could not suppose such an intention in the Government of France.

He said that, to be sure, there could not be two opinions.

upon a case so clear, considered as a question of *law* or of *morality*.

"Consider it, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, as a question of *honor*—as a question between men of *honor*—what would be the answer then?"

He smiled, and said, precisely the same. He added, that, as by the late measures in France it appeared that the Government was inclined to come upon good terms with the United States, he was persuaded that they would do justice in this case.

I told him that I thought this was a case which his Government would consider as altogether distinct from any consideration of good or bad terms between the two nations; that it implicated the honor of his Government itself, and that even if we were in the midst of a war, the falsification of a French officer's signature by his own Government, knowing it to be true, would not be justifiable, but an act of injustice which France would disdain.

He said it was very true, and that as the credit due to the Consul's signatures was conferred by those who appointed them, it was properly not just that others should suffer, if they were guilty of disobedience of orders. "But," said he, "it seems you are great favorites here. You have found powerful protection, for most of your vessels have been admitted."

I told him that they had; but it was after a delay of three months, and after their papers had been taken from the Commission of Neutral Navigation and had undergone a very strict examination before the Imperial Council. After the circumstance had occurred, I had written to Count Romanzoff, and sent him a list of the vessels, for which I undertook to answer that they came from the United States, and of which I had no doubt but that their cargoes were American property. All of these had now been admitted except four, which I expected would soon be, as their cases were equally clear with the rest. I then added, that in the first audience that I had of the Emperor Alexander, he had expressed a determination to favor the commerce between the United States and Russia, which he well knew was a commerce highly advantageous to Russia; and that he had at the same time manifested to me his strong

desire to harmonize with France, and his attachment to his alliance with her; that ever since that time Count Romanzoff had uniformly and invariably assured me that such was his own system of policy—to adhere to the French alliance, and to favor the commerce with America; that with regard to the French alliance, this was a subject with which, as an American, it was not my business to meddle; but that it was my duty to support to the utmost of my powers the rights and interests of our commerce with this country; and I hoped therefore that the Emperor would persist in his favorable sentiments towards it. In fact, I considered the two things as perfectly reconcilable together.

"I hope they will be more reconcilable still," said he, "as France and the United States will come to a better understanding with each other. But, after all, you have had a very advantageous commerce this last year. I am told you have had more than a hundred vessels at Archangel—as great a number here—and now between twenty and thirty of those last arrived."

"But," said I, "you are to consider that, thanks to you, we have had scarcely any part of the continent of Europe open to us. We have had only the ports of Spain and Portugal, where you are not the masters, and Russia. For you made Denmark and Prussia shut their doors against us, without a shadow of reason for it."

"You could not, however, have much commerce with Denmark," said he.

I replied that it was considerable, as long as goods were allowed to be introduced from Holstein into Holland and France, through Hamburg, by land. He finally said that it appeared further measures were to be taken in France after the second of February, and he hoped they would lead to the relief of commerce generally, which was now so excessively oppressed.

17th. The weather continues severely cold, and in my walk this day I observed a curious phenomenon. The sun was near setting (it sets at thirty-two minutes past four, precisely as at the winter solstice in Boston), and from a clear atmosphere sunk under a bank of haze. Before it had disappeared, its rays in passing through the vapor formed a rainbow, which, as I walked

up the quay of the Neva, appeared about the middle of the river, at an angle between me and the sun. At the same time the atmosphere was full of frozen particles of the same vapor floating all around me and coruscating in the sun. The Carnival ice-hills upon the river are finished, and the sliders upon them are numerous. They had already begun yesterday. The procession of sledges from the corner of the Winter Palace to the Hermitage bridge was more numerous, and the crowd of Russian spectators greater than I had seen it before this winter.

21st. We had all received cards of invitation to attend at the public examination of the studies of the young ladies who are about to leave the school which is called the Institute of the Order of St. Catherine. These cards were brought by the Aide des Cérémonies who brings the notices for the Courts. The invitations are given by order of the Empress-mother, who is the patroness of the institution. The examination was fixed for two days successively, the eighth and ninth of February, at nine in the morning. But we did not receive our cards until late yesterday, to attend this day at ten o'clock. We went at that hour in full dress, as to a Court. The building of the institution is on the Fontanka. We were introduced to a very large hall, which we found crowded with company. Convenient seats in the most distinguished places were assigned to the foreign Ministers. The Ambassador, Counts Bussche and Schenk, Baron Blome and General Watzdorf, were there, Count Lüxbourg, and most of the Secretaries. Mr. Everett and Mr. Gray attended; Mr. Smith did not. None of the imperial family were there—but almost all the Ministers of State and principal nobility of the empire. The examination of this day had just begun when we arrived. A printed synopsis or programme of the examination was distributed among the persons attending, with a list of the young ladies who have finished their education and are going out. The objects upon which the examination turned on the first day were—1. Religion, Sacred History of the Old and New Testament, and Moral Philosophy. 2. Universal Geography, preceded by an abridged Course of Mathematical Geography. 3. Universal History, Ancient and Modern, and the History of Russia in particular.

4. Russian Literature. On the second day—5. Arithmetic. 6. The German Language. 7. French Literature. 8. Experimental Philosophy. 9. Singing and Music. 10. Dancing. Besides which were to be presented some essays of compositions and of translations, and a variety of specimens of drawing, embroidery, and other works of the young ladies. The examination of arithmetic was in the Russian language, and I could not understand it. The instructor, however, put the questions, and the young ladies answered by making ciphered figures with chalk on a large black-board standing in a frame like a looking-glass, and which could be seen by all the audience; and by explaining the ciphers as they made them. The examination of the French and German languages was made by books in French, German, and Russian, which the young ladies brought to persons of the company, requesting them to open the book to any passage which they pleased. The lady then took the book, at the passage indicated to her, and read three or four sentences from the book, translating it as she went along, into French, German, or Russian, according to the language of each book. For this examination it is obvious there could be no special previous preparation; and it was one of those of which they appeared to acquit themselves the most indifferently. One of the ladies brought me a French book, and translated into Russian a passage at which I opened it for her. But I was not qualified to be her judge, not understanding a word of her translation. But it is an excellent mode of examination to ascertain proficiency. The examination of French literature was in logic and rhetoric. The whole of this was the repetition of a lesson by heart; and it had been well learnt by them all. The instructor put all the questions, and the ladies answered verbatim from their books. They were chiefly logical and rhetorical definitions, with examples of syllogisms, enthymemes, epichiremas, and the principal rhetorical figures. Most of the specimens were in verse, from the French poets, and the young ladies generally, except that they spoke not quite loud enough, recited remarkably well. Then followed experimental philosophy; the examination of which was likewise in French, and managed by the instructor. An

air-pump and an electrical machine were brought in, and a table with a Leyden jar, and phials of gas, with several other of the instruments used in courses of lectures upon this science. The instructor, who in appearance and manners was something of a caricature, asked questions upon the properties of matter—extension, cohesion, divisibility, mobility, porosity, &c.—and as the young ladies answered, desired them to show the proof of the answer by an experiment. The gravity and elasticity of the air, with samples of oxygen, hydrogen, and muriatic acids and gases, were thus proved, and an account and description of the barometer and thermometer were given; but many of the experiments were unsuccessful. One of them consisted in inflaming some spirits of wine and making them spout up from a glass fountain. The young lady and her teacher both burnt their fingers in making this experiment, and he spilt some of the burning fluid on the floor, which he undertook to extinguish with an empty decanter, and which burnt for two or three minutes. He extracted the air by the pump from the two hollow hemispheres of brass, to show the gravity of the atmosphere by their adhesion. He gave them to the young lady to show that they could not be pulled asunder. She gave one end of them to Count Lüxbourg, and held the other herself. At the first and slightest pull the hemispheres parted. The young lady, without being disconcerted, put the two parts of the ball together again, placed it upon the pump, extracted the air effectually, and then showed that the hemispheres could not be pulled asunder. So that the failure of the experiment at first afforded the strongest proof that she knew how to make it. But the teacher, who seemed quite as much inclined to exhibit his own skill as that of the young ladies, had taken so much time with his chemistry and air that there was none left for electrical experiments.

After this the select part of the auditory passed from the great hall into an adjoining room, where the drawings, paintings, embroidery, and other works were exposed. The drawings were in crayons, Indian ink, or water colors—most of them framed and copied from handsome prints. The name of each young lady was marked by a ticket upon her performance, and

all the names of the workers to the large pieces of embroidery which had occupied several hands; all these samples were exceedingly well done. The specimens of writing and composition were numerous, but I accidentally did not see any of them. In another adjoining room there were tables laid, and a cold collation served; cordials were also carried round to the company by servants.

After about half an hour passed in these rooms, we returned to the great hall, where a new arrangement of the seats became necessary, as a larger area was indispensable for the exhibitions. A piano-forte was placed in the middle of the hall, but the performer upon this was a man, as were the whole band of accompaniment. The young ladies sang airs, duets, recitative, and choruses. The best singers were of course chosen for the solitary performances, which were in a high style of excellence. The whole was uncommonly good. The whole examination was concluded with dancing—the Russian dance; the Spanish fandango, with castanets; a Polish dance; the shawl and garland dances, by three or four; and the whole number joined in chorus. The waltz was not danced. The number of young ladies who leave the school is eighty-one. There are four classes, each of an equal number. They are all very accomplished and graceful, but almost all not handsome, to say the least. The prettiest and most accomplished of them all is a Countess Chaillot, an orphan daughter of a French emigrant.

22d. Mr. Weeks came in one of the vessels whose cargoes have been admitted in part, and he wants to procure admission for the rest. I told him I expected to see Baron Campenhausen, who had promised to call upon me, this morning, and that I would speak to him upon the subject. I waited for the Baron, however, until half-past four o'clock, and he did not come. This is the fashion of doing business here, as I have experienced on many occasions. In my application to the Minister of Police in behalf of Waldstein, he promised that the matter should be settled to my satisfaction, and that he would inform me of it. To refresh his memory, I sent Waldstein himself to him with a written note, and he renewed his promise. The last time I dined at Count Romanzoff's I reminded him of the matter,

which he said he recollected very well, and that he would write to me about it in one or two days. I have not heard from him since. Baron Campenhausen proceeds exactly in the same manner. Every time I see him he gives me the fairest promises, which, according to the doctrine of Hudibras, are words—"wind, too feeble instruments to bind." It is useless to complain of this fashion. To promise and not perform is their polite mode of refusal.

In my walk before dinner, I met a crowd of people upon the quay of the Neva, opposite the Winter Palace, and a very large procession of sledges and carriages. The ice-hills on the river were also very much thronged. At eleven at night we all went to a ball at Count Romanzoff's, given on the occasion of Princess Zeneïde Beloselsky's marriage with Prince Volkonsky. All the Corps Diplomatique was there, but the company was otherwise not numerous—less than a hundred persons in all. I walked a polonaise with Madame de Laval, and on my mentioning to her that I had been at the examination of the St. Catherine school, she asked me whether I was there the day that Count Sergé Romanzoff (brother of the Chancellor) had gone up and offered himself in marriage to one of the young ladies. It was not the day when we were there. The Count was all last winter in a state of total insanity, and, though now so much recovered as to be out again in company, still has occasional fits of mental disorder. The invitation this evening was only to supper, and, being a full-dress ball, was solemn and dull, as they always are. The supper was served about three in the morning. We came home about four. The Ambassador did not stay to supper—which was, as usual, a subject of remark.

24th. This, instead of yesterday, is the day which closes the butter week: the name of which indicates its difference from the Roman Catholic Carnival. It is a sort of prelude to Lent, for by the Greek Church they are allowed to eat butter, and everything else, during this week, excepting flesh. It is also a week of popular festivity, which increases as the week draws to an end. The weather this day being extremely fine, the crowds of people in the processions of sledges and carriages, on the quay of the river, and at the ice-hills, was immense. There were three masquerades

given, one of which began at eleven in the morning and finished at two P.M.; the other two began at nine in the evening, and the music ceased precisely at midnight. There was a French play, which began at noon, and another at six in the evening. The full rigor of the Russian Lent commences from this midnight. The Roman Catholics have two days more of Carnival, and begin their Lent on Wednesday morning, which is Ash Wednesday. The whole system is reckoned from Christmas to Easter. It is all a fortnight earlier this year than it was the last. I read Massillon's sermon upon the ambition of clergymen, which is very good, but in which there are some singular ideas. I have often heard of the resistance which it was understood the Romish clergy were bound to make to their elevation to the episcopal dignity. The nolo episcopari is proverbial to express a resistance of form which is always to end with compliance. But Massillon very strenuously urges that it ought to be a serious resistance, founded upon a deep and sincere conviction of unworthiness. This is a hard saying, and I find nothing to warrant it in the Scriptures. If indeed a man is to measure his qualifications by a standard of ideal perfection, his estimation of himself will always be, and ought to be, humble. If a man compares himself with others who might be his competitors, the greatest danger doubtless is that he will overrate himself; and against this error he is certainly bound to be upon his guard. But as to an absolute duty to underrate himself, to think himself the most unworthy of a dignity of which he is really the most worthy, I neither understand it as a principle nor believe it as a fact. Clerical ambition is indeed a deadly sin, but a Roman Catholic bishop could not easily consider it in its deepest colors. He therefore views it only in the light of individual ambition—desires of selfish aggrandizement without reference to that of the Church.

27th. I called upon Baron Campenhausen this morning, according to his appointment, and had a conversation with him of nearly two hours; which began upon the subject of the American vessels whose admission has not yet been ordered, but which soon extended over the whole field of European politics. As to the vessels, he made me many apologies, all

very lame, for not having finished the business before, which he hinted was not owing to him, but to some other person. He made me as many promises that the business should be finished in a very few days; which promises being precisely the same as those that he has made me more than ten times for these three months, I am at no loss to estimate how much they are worth. He has a manner of talking which I have learnt to understand, and which, by the help of a translation, conveys his meaning clearly enough. It is to promise, and to apologize in vague and general terms; with obscure hints to excite the idea of difficulties in other quarters which proceed altogether from himself. "I was for taking these cases separately from all the rest—and it is very strange—it is a great mortification to me that they have been so long delayed. I cannot conceive why they could not have been decided by themselves. But then, on the other hand, they say cases under similar circumstances, not American, ought to be treated in the same manner. And then the false papers—and then the sort of *ménagement* . . . and then the caution that was to be observed to show that there was no change of system—and then all the clamor about this great convoy from Gottenburg—and then all these things put together, and the different opinions, and the different interests. . . . But as for everything that depends upon me, that has been done; and I will see if I cannot have the matter brought on from another quarter."

I urged to him that the vessels had now been kept nearly four months without a decision; that the Emperor himself and Count Romanzoff continually had assured me of the determination of this Government to favor the American commerce, and I had made it an invariable principle to meddle with no other; that I considered it my duty to respect the laws of the country, but it was also my duty to maintain the rights of my country and the lawful commerce of my countrymen; that I knew the French Ambassador had interfered against us in these cases, and before the admission of the greatest number of these vessels I had supposed that political considerations might have some influence in the business. But now, after the principal step had been taken——

"Between ourselves," said he, "I can tell you that that difficulty is entirely subdued. There is no question of that kind left."

I mentioned to him the case of the Eliza, at Archangel, belonging to Mr. Thorndike, and concerning which Mr. Dana made application to me. She actually came directly from the island of Teneriffe, and part of her cargo had been sentenced to be confiscated by the Commission of Neutral Navigation, because some of her papers bore the same signatures with those which had been found to be false on board the vessels which were condemned last summer, and which were English vessels, from English ports, but pretended to have cleared from Teneriffe. I said I had not seen the papers; but that from my personal knowledge of the owner, and of his agent, now here, and from the solemn assurances I had received from him, I had no doubt that the vessel came from Teneriffe; that she had not been in England, and that the cargo was entirely American property.

The Baron said that he did not know why the Commission at Archangel had felt itself bound by the decisions of the Commission here, in cases the circumstances of which, if similar in one or two particulars, were different in many others. The Teneriffe vessels condemned here had cargoes not at all suited to the place from which they pretended to come. There were declarations of the sailors that they came from elsewhere. Some of their papers had signatures which were known to be false—those which were produced in the case of the Eliza were indeed the same as two of those which had been suspected in the papers of the condemned vessels, but that was only one of a variety of grounds upon which the condemnations had ensued. He took a minute of this case, and said he would see what he could do about it.

I asked him whether it would be expedient for me to write a note to Count Romanzoff on this subject, and he said he thought it would. There was the case of the Rapid, too, about which Mr. Stieglitz was talking with the Baron when I went in. He said that if in the course of two or three days the Commission should not get through, and admit the remainder of that cargo,

he would thank me to send him a short note with a statement of the case, and he would see to it.

I told him it was a great hardship that genuine Americans should be put to so much embarrassment to defend themselves against the charge of producing false papers; that men of honor and integrity found both their reputation and their property jeopardized by such proceedings. I then referred him to the Declaration of the French Government concerning the certificates of origin of the French Consuls in the United States; which Declaration I had repeatedly assured him was altogether contrary to the fact. I could now show him documents to prove my assertions; upon which I showed him the copy of Mr. Gerand's certificate which I received from Mr. Joy, and the original certificate itself of the whole cargo of the brig Syren, Captain Howland, given by Louis Felix, the French Consul at New York, dated twenty-eighth July, 1810.

The Baron expressed great astonishment at the sight of these papers—the first of which, I told him, I had shown to the Ambassador. He asked me what the Ambassador had said to it. I told him he had shrugged his shoulders and acknowledged that he knew not what to say. The Ambassador had no more doubt than I had that these were authentic papers. But he had orders to declare the contrary, and what was it for him to say?

The Baron then put me many questions respecting the present state of our affairs with France, and the conduct of France towards the United States. He enquired why the measures on both sides had been calculated upon the dates of second November and second February; which I explained to him from the Law of Congress of the last session. He then entered upon the general consideration of the policy of France, and asked me if I had read an article in the last Moniteur concerning the Continental system. I had not seen the Moniteur; but I had just received the Hamburg Correspondent, and had read the article in a German translation. The substance of the argument was, that although the Continent suffered very much by the Continental system, the Governments did not lose their revenues, and the people could live through it; but that it must

lead to the total ruin of England, because England had a depreciated paper currency, which already lost fifteen or sixteen per cent. in the market. As to the Continental system, I said, that would undoubtedly last as long as the Emperor Napoleon should choose to continue his experiment, and as long as such articles as this should appear in their Moniteur. If there was a change of Ministry in England, the Orders of Council, which I abhorred as much as the Emperor Napoleon, would certainly be revoked, and then he might exult with triumph as much as if his Continental system had extorted the revocation. They would be revoked because the new Ministry would be composed of men who from the beginning had pledged themselves against the measure and who had already made several attempts to obtain their repeal. But it would not be the effect of the Continental system; and if the present Ministry should be continued, they would undoubtedly adhere to them. I said that when the Moniteur and the other French political writers argued against the British Orders in Council they could not miss being right; those orders were in such utter defiance and contempt of every principle of the Law of Nations, that nothing too severe could be said against them; but when the French writers extolled the effects of the Continental system, as counteraction to the Orders in Council, I thought as little of their reasoning as I confided in their facts. The Moniteur, for instance, now insisted that England was upon the verge of total ruin, because she had a paper currency that lost fifteen or sixteen per cent. It contended that the Continent was in a flourishing condition, because France lost none of her revenues, and because France had nothing but gold and silver. I did believe that a national bankruptcy, partial or total, would be inevitable in England. But what of that? France had committed bankruptcy three or four times since her revolution; and in annexing Holland to the French Empire she had made her commit a bankruptcy no longer ago than last summer. France considered it the simplest operation in the world to reduce a public debt to one-third of its amount and tell the creditors they must esteem themselves very happy to receive their interest upon that. With what face, then, could France pretend that

England was at the point of dissolution because she had a paper currency that lost fifteen or sixteen per cent.? As to France's losing none of her revenues, and having nothing but gold and silver, that might be true. And it might satisfy her, too, to consider her own condition as answering for that of the whole Continent. She could throw all the burden of this state of things upon Austria, upon Prussia, upon Denmark, upon Sweden, upon Russia, and reckon their sufferings for nothing at all; but they suffered nevertheless for that. As to a depreciated paper, I hoped that was not to be considered as a signal of national ruin; for if it was, the whole Continent, excepting France, was in a far more ruinous condition than England, having paper much more deeply depreciated.

The Baron then asked me what I thought of the probability of a negotiation for a peace; which I told him I had long been of opinion would not take place until the English have evacuated Spain and Portugal. I considered that as the only question yet remaining to contend against seriously. He said he was afraid that would yet be for a long time undecided; that it did not appear as if they would soon be expelled from Portugal; that if they should be compelled to embark at Lisbon they might immediately afterwards disembark again in some part of Spain; that the war seemed to be raging in almost all the Spanish provinces, and that the King, Joseph, as well as the King of Naples, talked of *abdication.*

I said I did not think the last circumstance of much consequence as to the negotiation for peace. Spain was to be under French domination, under one shape or another, and it mattered little who was to be its nominal governor. But the Spanish Colonies were to be forever separated from their metropolis, and they would not come under French domination. The Emperor Napoleon's marriage had manifestly effected a total revolution in his political system. He had formerly been inclined to form a system of federative monarchies, placing his brothers and sisters at their head. But since he had a prospect of posterity himself, the royalties of all his brothers would probably meet a similar fate to that of the kingdom of Holland.

The Baron appeared to coincide in these opinions, but he

was not so free as I was to express his opinions upon general politics. I told him that the Emperor Napoleon very often wanted such a monition as was once given to Peter the Great. In one of his fits of passion, he threatened violence against one of his officers, who simply said, "Your Majesty will do as you please, but your history will tell of it;" and Peter immediately checked his hand. Napoleon has been in great want of somebody to say to him, "Your history will tell of it," throughout the whole series of these Spanish transactions, and especially for the scenes at Bayonne. The Baron said that Talleyrand had undoubtedly rendered him that service, though without success.

28th. The General of the Jesuits, Father Brzozowsky, called upon me this morning with a letter for the Reverend Mr. Neale, the Roman Catholic priest at Georgetown, which he requested me to forward. I made many enquiries of him concerning the school which they have here. They have now forty-two scholars, which is the full number that they can take. There is under the father-general a provincial father, then a rector, five professors, and six regents. Each student has his separate chamber, where he studies. But the door remains open, and the duty of the regents is to watch and pass occasionally from chamber to chamber to see that the boys are really at their studies. They are in the classes five hours a day. Whenever the boys walk out they are accompanied by one of the regents. The pupils are taken not under six and not over twelve years of age. Their course of study employs six years—three for the ancient languages, one for rhetoric, and two for philosophy. The mathematics commence with the first year by common arithmetic, and close with the last by conic sections and the sublimest parts of the science. They have two half-holidays in the week. The church holidays and a few hours of every week are allowed for the teachers of elegant accomplishments—fencing, dancing, drawing, and music. Their discipline is indulgent, their punishment light and adapted to the moral feelings of the children. They have also a seminary for the education of priests: their term of study is fifteen years,—the six above mentioned—then a second year of rhetoric, which they are required to go over again—three years of *regency*, to form them to the art of

instruction—and five years' study of theology. With regard to rhetoric, the good father told me he thought nothing could be added after Quintilian, Rollin, and Father Jouvency, who, he observed, was a member of their order. He spoke with great commendation of the Rule of St. Ignatius, as a perfect model of discipline, and said that Frederic the Second of Prussia had declared that it would alone be competent to the good government of a kingdom.

I asked him if they had any public exhibitions at their school. He said there was one in December, and a public examination in May, to the next of which he would send me an invitation. He said that the Grand Marshal Count Tolstoy had now placed his second son with them. His eldest was now closing his year of rhetoric. He was remarkable for his docility and goodness of temper. But they had a young Prince Galitzin, who, though not of a genius uncommonly bright, surpassed all the others in indefatigable application. He said that from his experience in the education of children he always formed better hopes from moderate natural capacities with assiduous study than from brilliant parts, which were almost always too eccentric to turn steadily to good. It is everywhere the same.

March 1st. The French Ambassador paid me a morning visit. He mentioned that he had heard I was going away and intended to return to the United States. I told him that I should probably not go the present year. I said I had heard also that he was going away, and that he was to take the Department of Foreign Affairs at Paris. He said that he had been here three years, and that the report had been constantly circulated during the whole time that he was going away; that as to the Department of Foreign Affairs, it was not at all desirable that he should have it.

6th. I finished the original Discourse upon Universal History. There is to the edition which Mr. Navarro has lent me a continuation, said to have been written by Bossuet, but never published until the year 1806. This work, which I had never read until now, has been, and still is, so excessively extolled by the French writers that, as usually happens to overrated things, it has not answered my expectations. Bossuet was a party writer

(in regard to religion), and the reputation of all such authors is exaggerated and partly factitious. Faction of every kind can find wit in dulness, and supernatural powers in ordinary genius. The discourse is not, however, an ordinary work. It is a bold and vigorous outline of Universal History; chiefly founded upon the Bible. The succession of empires is marked out by a series of remarkable epochs, and the fortunes of the people of God, and their successors, the Christian Church, are compressed into a small but interesting abridgment. There are some chronological discussions, not very clearly elucidated; a review of the prophecies, equally profound and ingenious; an exposition of the arguments of the Jews, who deny the application of the prophecies to Jesus Christ; and an argumentation against the Protestants, derived from the novelty of their sects. The bishop's tone, whenever he enters upon controversy, has nothing in it of Christian humility or charity. He is arrogant and insulting; as, when he speaks of Louis the Fourteenth, he is a base and servile flatterer. He concludes with a rapid view of the Roman history, in which he recognizes the love of liberty and the spirit of patriotism as the sources of all their greatness.

8th. At twelve o'clock I went to the Office of the Department of Foreign Affairs, on the quay of the Neva, which I supposed to be the place where Count Romanzoff had appointed to meet me; but he was not there. I then went to his own house on the quay, but did not find him. I finally went to the house where he resides, and was admitted. On apologizing to him for being so late, and telling him that I had first gone to the office of the department, which I thought his note had indicated to me, he said that the house in which he lives was the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères.

I then told him the subject upon which I had requested to see him—the vessels which were still waiting for a decision respecting the whole or parts of their cargoes. He expressed some surprise, and said he thought that business had been settled some time ago. I said it had been in part, but that there remained a number concerning which it had been delayed; that, not wishing to importune him more than was absolutely necessary, I had applied several times to Baron Campenhausen con-

cerning it; that he had repeatedly assured me that the business should be immediately settled in their favor; but it was not yet done. I then told him how long this decision had been delayed, and how important it was to those concerned that they should have time to transact their business and be able to get away immediately on the opening of the navigation in the spring. I added that I had made a minute in writing of all the cases, not in official form, but merely as a memorandum, which, with his permission, I would give him.

He said he was very glad I had brought it, as it would serve him to draw up his official note to Baron Campenhausen, which he would immediately send. He would not call this delay a caprice of the Baron's, but he did not know what was the reason of it. I accordingly delivered the minute to him, and mentioned particularly the case of the Eliza at Archangel, repeating to him the observations which I made concerning her, last week, to Baron Campenhausen. I asked the Count's permission to send him a packet to be forwarded by the first courier that would go to Paris. He said that he would send it with pleasure; that he had already received notice of a courier from Paris, whom he expected immediately, and shortly after his arrival he should dispatch one. He asked me if I had any news from England. I had none. He said it appeared Mr. Labouchère, the same person who had been sent to London last winter from Holland, was gone again; but as there had been no change of Ministry, probably he would be as little listened to as he was before. Perhaps he had been sent upon the expectation that with the establishment of the regency there would be a new set of Ministers.

I said that I should have supposed the subject upon which Mr. Labouchère went last winter was now no longer a matter for negotiation, as Holland had been so formally annexed to the French Empire.

"Pourquoi pas?" said the Count; "such things are not irrevocable; and at least the Emperor Napoleon may be willing to offer terms which may be favorable to England." I said that, as to the restoration of the Kingdom of Holland, I did not think that was an object in which the English Government would

take much interest—they would be indifferent as to the form of government, which must essentially be under the absolute control of France. He said he thought so too; and though it might not be an agreeable consideration for the Hollanders, it was impossible to conceal that they were no longer to be *prized* as they formerly had been, considered as a nation.

I asked the Count if this was a special holiday, having seen a great number of carriages and sledges in the St. Isaac's square, before the church, and several soldiers at the church door. He said it was no holiday; but as the nobility of the province had been this week making their elections, perhaps it was some religious ceremony which they attended at the close of the business. He had heard that the Count Strogonoff had been re-elected the First Marshal. It was the eighth time he had been elected —that is, he had held the office ever since the establishment of the system, which was an institution of the Empress Catherine. But as it was not to be disguised that Count Strogonoff was growing old, they had now elected a candidate, who he heard was Count Orloff, as a substitute in case of a vacancy. He had not attended, and never attended these meetings himself, because he did not consider himself as having a right to attend them. There were, indeed, many persons who attended them merely because they were owners of a house in St. Petersburg; but that was not the construction which he gave to the law. At the first election, the Empress Catherine, to avoid every appearance or even suspicion of exercising any influence, had purposely left the city and gone upon a journey while the elections were held. "At present our masters," said the Count, "do not absent themselves at these times; but as to this province, the institution itself has not answered the expectations that had been entertained from it. The object was to assemble in a body and make a representation of the principal landholders. But from the situation of the capital and of the property in its neighborhood, it turns out that all the owners of the petty gardens and country-seats on the Peterhof road claimed the right of attending the meetings here; and upon such a title one of the Marshals elected was a Mr. Bille, the brother of a merchant in this city—a man who, to be sure, as a merchant, had a very respect-

able occupation and was wealthy, but who had begun lower in life than that." The Count, therefore, is not much satisfied with the institution, which is indeed a singular anomaly in a government like this. The elections are held once every three years; and the merchants have an election separate from that of the nobility. The officers elected constitute the judicial tribunal of the province, from which there is an appeal to the Senate. My conference with the Count was short, and I left him about one o'clock.

11th. In walking my usual round this morning, I met the Emperor upon the Fontanka. He stopped and talked about the weather—said it was very windy, and that I was in the direction to have it shortly afterwards in the face. I told him that as it was not cold, and I had already been walking long enough to quicken the circulation, I should scarcely perceive the wind. I asked him whether this very warm weather, which has now continued nearly a fortnight, would not break up the river. He said that it would be a very extraordinary instance if it did; that the river had never been known to break up before the middle of March, and sometimes not until May. I observed that the last year it had waited until the 30th of April; but I thought it could not stand so long this season. "But," said he, "we shall be paid for all this moderate weather before the winter ends. The spring never begins before its time without relapsing afterwards into winter. Even last year, on the 31st of May, our style—think of that, our style—I was going to Twer, and had on the road a very considerable flight of snow. We gain nothing by having mild weather too soon." While he was in the midst of these remarks, a carriage-and-four passed us in the street. He stepped aside from before me, put up his glass to see who was in the carriage, bowed, and took off his hat, and then stepped back to me, and finished the sentence which he had broken off in the middle.

17th. In taking my daily walk, I met upon the quay General Pardo, and walked with him. He talked, as usual, of political news, and of a courier received by the French Ambassador the day before yesterday, by whom he received a positive order to stay until the arrival of Count Lauriston, his successor.

General Pardo pledges himself that the Ambassador's recall was at his own repeated solicitation, and that he had told him his health was so impaired that on his arrival at Paris he should ask permission to go to the waters of Barège. In the evening we had a visit from Baron Blome, who likewise talked politics in his style. I asked him some questions concerning this country, which he would not answer. For the current news of the day, such as is picked up by visits, and such as those with whom he associates incline to circulate, Baron Blome is the best-informed man at this Court. But he gets no secret information, is often misinformed, and, as to the history and constitutional organization of the country, quite ignorant. So are all the foreigners whom I meet here. They seldom think it worth their trouble to make enquiries.

18th. As I was walking I met first Mr. Navarro, who told me that Count Czernicheff had arrived last night from Paris. I afterwards met Count Lüxbourg, who was going to dine at Baron Blome's, and I walked with him. He thinks that Russia is about to adopt decidedly a system of neutrality, and speaks of a new ukaze for the regulation of trade, which is to be issued next Sunday, the anniversary of the Emperor's accession. I do not much believe in that. Lüxbourg told me that his letters from Count Montgelas, the Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, informed him that all their advices from Paris concurred in stating that the coolness between France and Russia was becoming more and more notorious, but that hopes were entertained that it would not come to an absolute rupture this season. He says that the Emperor Napoleon scarcely speaks to Prince Kurakin, and that Monsieur de Champagny has had quite an angry conversation with Mr. Nesselrode at a public dinner and before a large company. Yesterday the Ambassador dined with the Emperor, who, after dinner, was in conference with him until ten o'clock, and this day the Ambassador has been engaged writing, and has admitted nobody. In the mean time both parties continue to arm and prepare for war. There are now at least two hundred thousand men stationed on the frontier from Riga to Kiew, and yesterday or the day before one hundred and eighty heavy cannon were sent off from this city, in addi-

tion to all those that had been sent before. On the other hand, France has just sent a large quantity of fire-arms to Dantzic and Warsaw; and the number of troops under arms in the duchy of Warsaw is from fifty to sixty thousand men.

A diplomatic dinner of about sixty persons at the French Ambassador's. The Chancellor, great Crown officers, Generals, and Foreign Ministers were there, all in full dress. Immediately after I went in, Baron Campenhausen came to me and told me that it was better late than never—that he had been upwards of a fortnight upon pins until yesterday, which was the first day that he had been able to make his report to the Emperor; that he was happy now to say that the cases of all the American vessels (excepting that of the Eliza at Archangel) were definitively decided; that the cargoes and parts of cargoes which had not the necessary certificates should be admitted on the engagement of the persons interested in them to produce the certificates hereafter; that as to all the other small parcels which were under other circumstances of irregularity, the Emperor had also ordered that they also should be admitted, and that thus everything recognized as American should be cleared. With regard to the case of the Eliza, there might be some further delay. A gentleman who had some interest in it had called upon him once or twice, but could speak nothing but English, which he (the Baron) could not speak, and therefore they had found some difficulty in understanding one another; that, however, he had already written his opinion, that the case was very strongly distinguishable from those of the pretended Teneriffe vessels which were condemned and confiscated here last summer, and the business would be eventually terminated to my satisfaction.

I thanked the Baron for his information, and especially for the final decision upon the cases which had been in suspense; and I asked him whether the custom-house had received the orders for the admission of the merchandise.

He said they would be expedited from the Commission of Neutral Navigation to-morrow or the next day, and that he had told Mr. Stieglitz eight or ten days ago that he might freely make advances on the goods as much as if they were already admitted.

Count Bussche told me that a courier was gone the day before yesterday to recall General Kamensky from the command of the army in Turkey, and that General Kutusoff, the Master of the Police, was appointed to go and take his place. I asked him what was the cause of this change. He said he did not know—perhaps to employ Kamensky upon a more important command. He said that Czernicheff, who was himself present at the dinner, had brought a letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander, expressed in terms of friendship and kindness stronger than any that he had ever written before; but that there were other things which did not so well correspond with these professions. He also remarked that there were many of the Ministers and Generals here whom he did not know; that they were seen only upon these great dinners, or at Court, and, if you asked who they were, you seldom found anybody who could tell you. He said that his King (Jerome) had a curiosity to know characters, and had given him instructions to report particulars respecting the most distinguished persons at this Court. But he had excused himself from executing this commission. It was too difficult and too dangerous. The King had beaucoup d'esprit, but he was a young man, and perhaps had not altogether reflected upon the possible consequences of things. For his part, he made it a principle to write nothing but what he might be prepared in the vicissitudes of this world to have all reported back here again.

We talked also of the apparent avowal in the late French official gazettes of the intention to annex all Spain to the French Empire. Prince Dolgorouki, who has just been appointed Minister to Naples, and who sat on the other side of Count Bussche, took part in the conversation, which, he observed, must be spoken in such a tone of voice that the Ambassador should not hear it. Mr. d'Alopeus sat next to the Prince. He too is appointed Minister to the King of Würtemberg; but with a permission to visit all the Courts of the Rhenish Confederation —Lüxbourg supposes, to be a spy upon all their movements in these critical times.

After dinner I conversed with General Ouvaroff, who has just returned from the Turkish army, and with Count Alexander

Soltykoff, who told me that the last census, or, as they call it here, revision, of the empire, was in the year 1795 or 1796; which was taken before the regular period, which is at intervals of twenty years, on account of the final division of Poland, with the annexation of the Polish provinces to the empire. The Ambassador was apparently in good humor, and his guests seemed more at their ease than they have appeared at some of his late parties; but the extraordinary attention paid by them to Count St. Julien, the Austrian Envoy, was remarkable. Excepting the Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, whom the Ambassador himself attended, all the other principal Ministers and Generals made a stand at the door until the Count passed to go in to dinner. The Count was quite irradiated with this politeness, and bowed himself almost into a hoop as he stepped from the circle to precede them. He sat at the Ambassador's left hand at table.

I told Count Romanzoff that Mr. Harris was very much pleased with Moscow, on which he said, "Cela ne me contrarie point du tout, d'entendre qu'on s'amuse à Moscow." Cela ne me contrarie point du tout is a phrase of the Count's to signify that it gives him great pleasure.

23d. As I was returning from my walk, about five o'clock, I met the carriage of the Empress-mother, followed by two others, just going from the palace, and I saw them cross the river from the marble palace over to the fortress, to the church of which she annually goes and performs a solemn act of devotion at the tomb of the late Emperor Paul, this night being the anniversary of his death. I had intended to go over and witness this ceremony; but on speaking of it to the Master of Ceremonies, Maisonneuve, he spoke of it in terms rather dissuading me to go. He said that it was a mere act of family devotion, at which he had never attended himself, and he could not tell me the hour at which it took place. Mr. Harris, however, had mentioned it to me as an object of curiosity worthy of being seen. But now it was too late to follow the imperial carriages over.

April 7th. Palm Sunday. At ten in the morning I went to the Roman Catholic church and heard mass performed. The church was crowded. The only part of the ceremony which I

had not seen before was the distribution of the holy palm-branches. But while the mass was performing, there was in the confessional on each side of the altar, in the left wing of the church, a priest who confessed a number of the people, men and women, as they successively presented themselves. The confessional is in the form of a sentry-box, open at the upper part, and with a low door reaching about two and a half feet from the floor, to let the confessor in and out. It is barely large enough to hold one person, has a bench to sit down upon, and a small lattice window on each side, at which the penitent, kneeling on the outside, applies his lips, while the priest listens from within. Each confession lasted from five to ten minutes. The priest applied himself alternately to the lattice on each side, and muffled himself up entirely in his cloak. When the confession was finished, he threw aside the cloak from his face, locked his fingers together, and, holding his hands up thus joined, with his eyes cast upwards, muttered a short prayer; then, separating his hands, with the right one crossed his own breast, and with the knuckles of the two first fingers gave two gentle knocks at the side of the lattice where the penitent was kneeling, as the signal of absolution. The persons who went to confession were of the lower classes of the people—common soldiers, footmen in livery, and women of apparently the like rank. I observed their countenances on going to and returning from confession. They were generally and evidently anxious as they approached, and joyous, or at least relieved, as they retired from the box. Some of them before confession kneeled and prayed with great apparent earnestness on the steps of the altar. There was a young woman whose confession told itself in her shape. Her previous earnest anxiousness was greater, her confession longer, and her subsequent satisfaction less unmingled than was discernible in any of the other cases. Some of them, after confessing, went and received the communion.

12th. Good Friday, which is this year the same in both the calendars. I accompanied Catherine Johnson to the Roman Catholic church, where we saw the performances of the day. We went before ten in the morning, but the ceremonies had

commenced at nine. The church was crowded, and it was with difficulty that Catherine and Martha, whom she took with her, found seats. I stood the whole time. Besides the mass, there is a procession and representation of a sort of religious pantomime, exhibiting the death and burial of Christ. A crucifix with the figure of Christ is carried round under a canopy, laid out on cushions in the chancel, and then transported in solemn procession into a chapel at the left of the great altar. In this chapel there is a scenical representation of the sepulchre, with a remote view of Mount Calvary, upon which stand the three crosses—and of the Temple of Jerusalem. There is a transparent coffin with the image of a dead body within it, large as human figures, and painted images of the two Marys on one side of the coffin, and two angels on the other. The figures of two Roman soldiers appear as guards at the entrance of the sepulchre, which is lighted by sepulchral lamps. The small crucifix which had been carried in the procession was laid on cushions upon a table barred off in front of this scene, and there were two large brazen canisters on the table for the reception of alms. I saw numbers of men and women successively go up to this table, kiss the feet, the side, and the hand of the image on the cross, and then drop a piece of silver in one of the alms-boxes. There was a sermon upon the Passion, delivered in the German language, by a person who, by his pronunciation, appeared to be a Pole. He spoke the discourse from memory, but appeared not remarkably fluent. The style of his oratory was moderate, and rather cold than vehement. The division was conformable to the French school, and all the circumstances of the Passion were introduced into it with ease and propriety. The morning services were finished between twelve and one o'clock.

13th. Having heard much of the religious ceremony performed at the Imperial Chapel on Easter-eve, I was desirous of being a witness of it. But, as it is a ceremony to which the foreign Ministers are not invited, I followed the directions of Mr. Harris, who had already attended it two or three times. He called on me about ten in the evening, and we went together to the palace just at eleven. We were, however, a full half-hour too soon, the apartments not being yet lighted. We sat down

during that time in the guard-room of the Chevalier Gardes, and then went into the hall next to that of the throne, where the company was assembling. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, soon after came in, and told us we must fall in with the crowd after the imperial family should pass into the chapel; but the Grand Marshal, Count Tolstoy, coming into the hall afterwards, came up to me, said that he was very glad to have met me, that he would take care to get us introduced into the chapel, for that if we should follow the crowd we should not get a place where we could see anything. He left us, and soon after returned; and, as the imperial family were now just ready to go into the chapel, he requested Prince Galitzin to accompany us, which he did, and introduced us, by a side-door from the same guard-room where we had first been seated, into the chapel, where the priests and the choir of singers were all ready; but the imperial family had not come in. He placed us at the left side of the chapel, close to the iron railing which parts the chancel from the church, and exactly where the foreign Ministers are placed when invited to the celebration of a Te Deum. On the other side of it, within the chancel, were the Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, and two or three other Ministers. Prince Galitzin and Mr. Gourieff, who came with us, also went in there. General Watzdorf and Count Bose were already in the chapel, and we all stood together. About five minutes after, the Emperor, Empress-mother, Grand Dukes Constantine and Nicholas, and the Grand Duchess Ann came in, followed by the whole Court. The crowd was excessive, and if we had been left to follow the directions of the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, we should hardly have got within the chapel.

The Empress was not there, having lately met with an accident in falling over a trunk and receiving a hurt in her forehead, which confines her to her apartment. The Grand Duchess Catherine is gone with her husband to meet the Duke of Oldenburg, his father. The Grand Duke Michael also is absent. The Emperor and Empress-mother went and stood within the chancel at the right hand. A gun from the fortress at midnight had been the signal of their entering the chapel. One of the priests went and presented to each one of them a lighted

taper, which they took into their hands; and a lighted taper was in like manner given to every person in the chapel. This custom is observed at almost all the religious ceremonies of the Greek Church. The choir of singers then came out from their stations, marching two and two in procession, followed by the priests, then by the Emperor and Empress-mother, and after them by the Grand Dukes and Grand Duchess, and a small number of the Court lords and ladies, all with lighted tapers in their hands; the choir, consisting of singers of all ages, from boys of eight or nine years old to men of forty, all in dark red and laced imperial uniform dress, singing as they marched a solemn hymn—and minute-guns were firing at the same time from the fortress. The procession went in this manner out of the chapel, and round several of the palace halls, and then returned into the chapel in the same order, the choir continuing all the time their chant. The Emperor and imperial family resumed their stands, and a religious ceremony by the priests began. It was long, and to me altogether unintelligible. The principal performing priest was not, as I have usually seen at Court, the Metropolitan, and Archbishop of St. Petersburg, Ambrose; for he was engaged upon a like ceremony at the Monastery of St. Alexander Newsky. It was not even a bishop, but the Emperor's confessor, who, as such, is entitled to wear the mitre. He performs the service with much less dignity than the Metropolitan, and his voice could scarcely be heard.

During one part of the ceremony, one of the priests presented to the Emperor two images to kiss, which Count Romanzoff told me were sacred relics procured by the Emperor Paul from Malta. One of them was a picture of the Virgin Mary, said to have been painted by St. Luke, and the other was the head of St. John; "and these," said the Count, "are all the benefit we have derived from our relations with Malta." Some time after, the priests ranged themselves all in a line, each of them bearing a sacred image. The Emperor went up to them and kissed the images, and then embraced each of the priests who bore them. The Empress-mother followed him and went through the same ceremony, only instead of her embracing the priests they all kissed her hand. Count Romanzoff told me that she would kiss

them all on the lips; but, observing that she did not, said that it was always thus done heretofore, and that the kissing of the hand was a very late innovation. The Emperor then embraced his mother. The Grand Dukes followed, and embraced the Emperor and Empress. The Grand Duchess came next, and went through the process. Then the Chancellor of the Empire, the Grand Chamberlains, Counts Strogonoff and Narishkin, kissed the relics and priests, and the Emperor; and finally the Empress's hand. A promiscuous crowd of officers followed during more than an hour, going through the same formality, the choir of singers continuing all the time to chant. At the same time all those noblemen and officers, as soon as they had finished the operation with the imperial family, turned to one another, and such a scene of kissing and embracing ensued as I never saw before. As they passed from one to the other it was a continual motion, like a bee-hive. It reminded me of the descriptions in Ariosto and Wieland of a Sultan and his Court falling suddenly into a fit of involuntary dancing.

Before the embracing commenced, the tapers which had been distributed around among the company were put out and returned to a servant, who went round with a waiter to receive and take them away. After embracements were concluded, a new religious ceremony commenced—a mass, celebrated by the principal priest, within the sanctuary, the doors of which, by the Russian rites, are opened only upon this occasion. In the course of this performance was introduced what they call the reading the four gospels to the four winds of heaven. One of them was read by the principal priest at the altar, which is at the east. Three desks were brought and placed fronting the west, north, and south. A large folio volume containing one of the gospels was placed upon each of them. A priest came and took his stand before each of them, and read about a chapter of each gospel, each priest reading two or three verses at a time, and following one another successively. The confessor read in so low a tone that his voice could scarcely be heard; but the others read in a very strong base voice, between speaking and chanting, a fashion of reading peculiar to this Church. The ceremony concluded by the principal priests taking the com-

munion at the altar; but in which neither the imperial family nor any of the other priests participated. The whole was finished soon after three in the morning.

14th. There was this morning a very splendid parade and review of forty thousand men; half of whom, it is said, are to march off immediately to the frontiers of Poland. The Emperor sent a horse to General Watzdorf to attend this parade. Mr. Navarro called to see me this morning. The day was uncommonly fine for Easter. In walking on the quay I met and walked with General Pardo, who told me that he considered an immediate war between Russia and France as inevitable. The Duke of Oldenburg and the commercial system were the causes. He said that as to the complaints and protest of Russia against the seizure of the Duke of Oldenburg's territories, Napoleon had answered, according to his custom, *par une sottise*—that the thing was sanctioned by a Senatus-consult—as if his Senate consulted anything but his command. The General said there would soon be a great dispersion of all the Corps Diplomatique, and that he himself, he supposed, would also be expected to go. "But I can tell you," said he, "that, on account of my own concerns, I shall not go; I shall stay here. As to Romanzoff," said he, "the only thing that still keeps him in is that Caulaincourt is yet here. When he is gone, Romanzoff will not last a week." I asked who he thought would succeed him. He said there was talk of Panin, but not Markoff, whom the Emperor personally disliked. Mr. Harris dined with us. He had told me last evening, while we were sitting in the guard-room, some information which he had recently received concerning the prospect of war, and he now urged the expedient of making a sort of provisional Treaty, to be finished if the United States Government should send powers. He has renewed this subject to me many times. But I think it best to wait for authority to act. It is true that if Count Romanzoff goes out, there will be little chance of doing anything afterwards. But in that case any provisional arrangement would avail us nothing. We had this day a succession of Easter compliments, and eggs of all kinds—glass, porcelain, wood, marble, and sugar—besides the real eggs.

16th. This morning a messenger came from the Grand Master of Ceremonies and informed me that the Grand Duchess had fixed this day at half-past one o'clock, afternoon, to receive the Corps Diplomatique at her palace. We accordingly went at the appointed hour. As I was going up the stairs at the Annitschkoff Palace, I met the Emperor coming down, alone. He stopped, and said he supposed I had come to see his sister. I said I was going to pay my respects to her Imperial Highness. He asked me if I had seen the house before. I told him I had —that it was very magnificent. He said the house was now appropriated to its proper use; until lately it had been turned into a sort of magazine. I found most of the foreign Ministers already assembled there. Several of these came in after us— and among the rest the Ambassador. When we were all assembled, we were introduced into the apartment next to the bedchamber; and soon afterwards the Grand Duchess came in, accompanied by the Prince, her husband. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, made the presentations. There were with the Grand Duchess in attendance only the old Princess Volkonsky, and Prince Gagarin, the Grand Duchess's Equerry. The circle was held altogether in the same style as at the Imperial Palace. The Grand Duchess spoke to the Ambassador and to all the Ministers, and was followed by the Prince, as the Empresses follow the Emperor. She stood much longer talking to each person, and, after going through all the circle, returned again and resumed a conversation with the Ambassador; after which she and the Prince retired, and we all came home.

20th. At half-past ten this morning I went to the Roman Catholic church and saw the christening of Nelson.[1] The ceremony was very long, continuing nearly two hours, and was performed partly at the door of the church, partly in the nave, and partly within the chancel near the altar. It included, I believe, the three ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, and communion. There was a bishop, or at least a parson with an episcopal mitre and staff, and ten or twelve other priests,

[1] The negro servant whom Mr. Adams had brought with him from America, and who now entered into the imperial household.

officiating—with the choir of singers in the organ-loft chanting the greatest part of the time. There was so much of a crowd that I could neither see nor hear distinctly much of the performance, though it was the first Roman Catholic baptism that I had seen. As the baptism of a person full grown, it differed much from that of an infant. He was first baptized at the door; then was introduced, leaning upon the arm of the priest, up to the nave; there was anointed with oil, and had a white fillet tied round his head, and a white robe over his garments. At the conclusion, the communion was administered to him. It was nearly one o'clock when I came home.

24th. While we were at breakfast this morning, about ten o'clock, the salute of five guns from the fortress announced to us that the passage of the river in boats was again free, and that the Governor had brought the glass of water to the Emperor. I received a note from Baron Campenhausen, informing me that he would see me at any hour this morning. I accordingly went at about one o'clock to his house, and had a conversation with him. He told me that it had never been his intention that bonds should be required for the production of the Russian Consular certificates upon the last admitted American cargoes; that a mere engagement of the consignees, without any penalty, was all that he had required, and that was merely to save the appearances in regard to the obligations of this country; that the custom-houses had misunderstood his instructions, but he had written yesterday a new order to explain his former directions, and had given facilities to take the engagements of the consignees immediately here, without requiring any at the out-ports, where the vessels are. He said that he had sent to Mr. Gourieff some weeks ago his protestation against the decision of the Commission at Archangel in the case of the Eliza, and he did not know why Mr. Gourieff had not finished the business in the Council; that he had ordered the papers of the American vessel at Abo to be dispatched, that she might come to Cronstadt; that in the case of the Venus, at Riga, he would give orders that the engagement to produce the papers (from Cadiz) should be taken, as in the others, or that the petition of Mr. Kennedy, the supercargo,

should be granted—the cargo sold, and the proceeds deposited until he shall himself produce the papers. He believed that he had not one case of an American vessel left upon hand. As to the *time* which had been given for producing the papers, a year and a day, that had been fixed on the proposition of Mr. Meyer and Mr. Stieglitz themselves; but if longer time was wanting, he was as willing that they should have two or three years as one.

I spoke to him of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and General Turreau respecting the French Consular certificates.

He said there was one Hamburg vessel that had produced a French certificate of a Consul in America, and they were embarrassed what to do with it; but the most extraordinary case they had was of a house at Rotterdam, which had made a solemn declaration before the Russian Consul that they had expedited a certain vessel and cargo to a Russian commercial house at Archangel, and a declaration equally solemn before the French authorities that they never had expedited any such vessel. The Baron, as usual, talked about commercial politics in general, but in a style a little different from that of his last conversation with me on the same topic.

May 2d. I dined at Count St. Julien's, with a small company —General Ouvaroff and General Pardo, Mr. Laval and Mr. Ribeaupierre, with Mr. Schubert, the Director of the Academy of Sciences, and the Count's secretaries, Lebzeltern and Berks. The Count apologized for a departure from etiquette in having sent cards of invitation for an unceremonious dinner. His other guests had been as much perplexed as General Pardo and myself to know how they should go dressed. At dinner the Count mentioned his having been last evening at Countess Strogonoff's and suddenly having found out that the Princess Amelia of Baden was there. Upon which Mr. Laval told an anecdote of a person who once met the same Princess at the same house. While they were there, the Princess asked if *her sister* (the Empress) had not passed by in a carriage, and the gentleman had answered, "I don't know, but if you will tell me her name I will go and see." "Ah!" said Count St. Julien,

"that must have been a stranger, like one of us." "No," said Mr. Laval, "very far from it—quite another person." But he did not name him; so that it was not explained whether it was an instance of ignorance or of insolence. But, at any rate, it marks the tone of treatment which both the Empress and her sister meet at this Court. I had after dinner much conversation with Mr. Laval, who says that the war is not so near as is pretended, and confirmed me in the opinion I had, that many of the current war rumors are invented by the party who are laboring to plunge the Emperor into the war—offensively. Laval says the Emperor sees this as clearly as he or I, and that he will not be guided by that party.

6th. Morning visit from Mr. Raimbert, who complains much of the accounts furnished by Mr. Rodde, of Reval, upon Mr. Gray's vessels that have wintered there and are coming to Cronstadt. He told me also that he had just come from the Ambassador's; that he hoped there would be no war; that they were afraid here. I afterwards paid a visit to the Ambassador myself, and found him at home. He enquired if I had any recent accounts of the state of our affairs with France or England. I told him all I had heard, and said that after the Emperor Napoleon's declaration in the answer to the deputation from Hamburg, Lubec, and Bremen, all we could do would be to wait with patience. The Emperor said that the decrees of Berlin and Milan (were issued)[1] for all nations that did not support their flag against the British Orders in Council. The British would not revoke them. We had nothing left to maintain our flag but war. And in a war with England we should have no flag. When we have two hundred ships of the line, and a navy in proportion, we may talk of maintaining our flag by war. Now it would be ridiculous.

He said he wished it were possible to see a prospect of peace.

I observed that, according to general opinion, it was more remote than ever; though I understood the hope of preserving peace between France and Russia was now stronger than some time ago. "Oh, oui!" said he. "J'espère que tout cela *se*

[1] These words are suggested to supply an obviously accidental omission.

civilisera. I do not see any great interests upon which the two countries need to quarrel; nor even any small interests, which may not easily be arranged to their mutual satisfaction;" and then he repeated, "J'espère que tout cela se civilisera." I asked him if he expected General Lauriston soon to arrive. He answered, to-day or to-morrow. Indeed, he might have been here before this. A courier who arrived three days ago left him at Dantzic. I said I had heard that there had been a change in the Department of Foreign Affairs in France—that the Duke de Cadore was no longer the Minister. "It was true. The Minister appointed in his place was the Duke de Bassano." I remarked that he had been long and constantly engaged in public affairs, and Secretary, I believe, ever since the Executive Council. The Ambassador said I was mistaken; that the Secretary under the Directory was La Garde, and Maret came in only at the time of the Consulate. He did not know what was the occasion of the Duke de Cadore's going out. It was only mentioned to him in a private letter of 16th April, the day when it happened, and when the courier was to have left Paris.

I asked if it would probably produce any material change in the political system. "No. The Emperor governs so much by himself, that a Minister is nothing more than the pen, and not the hand that guides it."

I asked if the Prince of Benevento had not still some superintendence over the Department of Foreign Affairs. "No. He had no hand in the public affairs at present, but was altogether in retirement. His capacity as a Grand Dignitaire was that of Vice Grand Elector, the *double* of the King of Spain, who was Grand Elector. This was a place not of business, but merely of representation. Its only duty was to present to the Emperor the Senators and members of the Legislative body. The only office of a diplomatic nature, in rank above that of the Minister of Exterior Relations, was the Arch Chancellor of State; which was held by the Viceroy of Italy."

I asked him whether he expected to go soon after the arrival of his successor. He said, in three or four days; that he had full time to be prepared, and should be impatient to get home.

I asked him if he would do me the favor to take a small packet of letters for Mr. Russell, which he promised to do with pleasure. He said that shortly before his departure he would give me notice, and call to take leave of Mrs. Adams.

I met the Emperor, who stopped and conversed with me—at first, as usual, about the weather, which he remarked was warmer and finer than he remembered ever to have known it so early in the season, but he was afraid we should have it balanced by foul weather hereafter. Snow, it was at least certain, we should have; for he had never known, and there never had been known here, an instance of the month of May passing entirely without snow. I said that now the weather was rather that of an Italian spring. He remarked that it was very long since he had seen me, and asked if I had abandoned my habit of walking. I answered that I had not, but I believed it was the hour at which I usually walked that deprived me of the happiness of meeting his Majesty. He said that he had often of late been so engaged in business that he could not take his usual walks; and sometimes he had gone out of the usual track, which might also have contributed to the length of time since he had met me. He then said that the ice from the Ladoga was passing down (he was coming from the river—I was going towards it), but that there was not much of it, and the weather was so moderate, he thought there would not be so much as usual. He then made a movement as if to leave me, and I was about to bow and turn from him, when he stepped back to me, and, leaning on the iron railing of the canal, asked me if I had any late accounts from home. I told him I had letters to the twentieth of February. He asked if they contained information of any particular importance. I said they did not; that the occurrence of principal note of which I had heard was the arrival of the new French Minister, Serrurier, to replace the former one, General Turreau. He asked me what the state of our affairs with England was. I answered that they remained in an unsettled state; that our Minister there had taken leave and was gone, but he had left a Chargé des Affaires there; and that the English Government had sent out a new Minister to the United States, who, as Mr. Perceval had said in Parliament, carried out

some new propositions from England. I added that I had heard Mr. Smith, a gentleman who had been with me, and had had the honor of being presented to his Majesty, would be Chargé d'Affaires in England. "But," said the Emperor, "did he not go from here to Vienna?" I said he did, and was now at Paris; but I had heard he was to be the Chargé d'Affaires in England. "It is a place of some importance," said his Majesty, "is it not?" I said, of very considerable importance, especially in the present state of the relations between the United States and England. "And," said he, "I hear you have lately made an acquisition." I observed, I supposed his Majesty meant in Florida. He said that was what he meant. "But," said he, "it appears to have been a spontaneous movement of the people themselves, who were desirous of joining themselves to the United States." I said, so it appeared from the accounts which I had seen, but that I had received no communication from my Government upon this subject. I added that this was a part of the territory which had been ceded by France to the United States in the Louisiana Treaty; that Spain, however, had entered into a controversy with us about it, upon which negotiations were pending at the time when the great changes in the Government of Spain itself had taken place; that since then the people of that country had been left in a sort of abandonment by Spain, and must naturally be very desirous of being annexed to the United States. Under these circumstances the United States have taken possession of the country. The Emperor smiled, and said, "On s'agrandit toujours un peu, dans ce monde," and bowed; upon which I quitted him, and continued my walk.

We had been standing so long that numbers of people between the two bridges had observed us, and from the time when I left him until I had got beyond the distance where we could be seen together, the people gazed upon me as upon a very important personage; once past those boundaries, every mujik brushed by me with as little notice as if passing one of his fellows. Such is the magic of an Emperor's countenance. We had stood all the time immediately before the guard of soldiers stationed upon the Fontanka, who were turned out under arms. When

he turned back to me, to speak of politics, he waved his hand to the officer to dismiss the guard from being under arms; which he did.

9th. On rising this morning, I received from the French Ambassador a message that his successor, Count Lauriston, had arrived in the night; and an invitation to come and dine with him in boots. At half-past four I went to the French Ambassador's and dined. He presented us to General Lauriston, a man, by his own account, as near as may be, of my age[1]—very different in manners, address, and appearance from the Duke de Vicence. The comparison is not to his advantage. He brought with him an aid-de-camp, named Longuerue, who appeared only at the dinner, was introduced to nobody and spoke to nobody. The company, besides the two Ambassadors and the family, consisted of the Counts St. Julien, Schenk, Bussche, and Lüxbourg, General Pardo and Baron Blome, the Chevalier Brancia, and myself. Prince Galitzin was the only Russian there. The Duke de Vicence was suffering excessive pain with his lame leg and foot. While we were at dinner, Count Tolstoy, the Grand Marshal, came in full dress from Court to pay his visit to the new Ambassador. Mr. d'Alopeus came in after dinner, and said he was going upon his mission in a very few days.

There was in the evening a play at the Hermitage, it being the celebration of the Grand Duke Constantine's birthday. Count Bussche remarked that the choice of plays was made by the Emperor, and it was singular that for this evening he had selected Ruse contre Ruse, the other title of which is Guerre ouverte. After the dinner I walked about an hour with Count Lüxbourg, who still thinks the war will break out.

13th. Russian May-day. The weather was cold, and, in the morning, rainy. We dined at four o'clock, and after dinner the ladies went to the procession of carriages from the Peterhof gate to Catherinenhof. I took a long walk round the Fontanka and river quays, over the bridge which was yesterday replaced, to the new Exchange. I met in the Newsky Perspective Baron Campenhausen, who turned and walked to the Fontanka bridge with me. He had called upon me the day before yesterday,

[1] Born February 1, 1768,—a little more than six months younger.

when I had not been at home. He said it was to talk to me about a poor merchant, one Mr. Cramer, whom he had sent for to take his opinion last autumn about some sugars at Archangel, and who, together with other persons whom he had also called to give their opinions, had taken them for refined sugars powdered; that he had lately been to him and complained that this affair had injured him exceedingly; that Mr. Harris had written to America, charging him with having taken part against Americans, and that it had affected him very seriously in his business; that Mr. Cramer had requested him to speak to me about it, and he could assure me that Mr. Cramer had no knowledge whatsoever that it was sugar imported by Americans, which must acquit him of any intentions to injure Americans in their trade.

I told the Baron that Mr. Cramer had spoken to me on this subject, and that I had heard a great deal of it at the time while the character of the sugars was in question; that several Americans had indeed been much alarmed on finding themselves suspected and inculpated of an intended fraud upon the Government, and when they found such charges and suspicions countenanced by an opinion said to have been delivered by Mr. Cramer when consulted by the Government, it was natural that they should feel resentment against him, and that it should have affected him in his business. Mr. Cramer had told me, however, not only that he had not known the sugars to be the property of Americans, but that he had been of a different opinion from that of the other persons consulted with respect to a part of the samples. This fact was more material to his justification than whether he did or did not know to whom the property belonged; and this was what he told me the Baron could attest for him.

The Baron said it was true Mr. Cramer had at first expressed a doubt with regard to one of the samples, but he, as well as the other gentlemen, had finally assented to the opinion of the sugar-refiner, who came from Hamburg. That, I said, was the misfortune, as it was now ascertained that they were all mistaken, and the sugar-refiner as much as all the rest. The sugars were raw white Havanna, and not refined sugar powdered. Mr. Cramer, with the other gentlemen, had made a

mistake, unfortunate now for himself; but with regard to the intention I believed he was not to blame; and if the occasion should offer, I would say as much in his favor.

Upon this I left the Baron and continued my walk. The whole of this transaction has proved to me the evil and danger of excessive jealousy and suspicion in the management of public business. The Baron himself was the dupe of his own suspicions. He endeavored in a cunning way to get the opinions of merchants to sanction his suspicions. He succeeded to get the opinion, but it was an error; its effect was almost to ruin one of the merchants from whom he had drawn an incautious and mistaken opinion, and now he is reduced to exculpate the man whom he injured by a captious and insidious consultation. He says he refused to tell them to whom the sugars belonged. Cramer says he deceived them by using German names to designate American vessels. Under the semblance of an impartial examination, it was an unfair snare, laid for the merchants whom he consulted, as well as for the importers whose property was at stake—and all to indulge suspicions. Give me, in every station of life and every crisis of affairs, an open and a candid mind.

17th. Mr. Harris called on me this morning, and requested me to go with him to present him to the new French Ambassador. He was not at home, and we left cards there, and at M. de Caulaincourt's. He has removed into the apartments on the street, leaving all the hotel on the canal to his successor. We next went to Count Schenk's, where we were received; but his Secretary, M. de Gremp, whose visit I was returning, was not at home. As we left Count Schenk's the new French Ambassador drove up to the door in his carriage, and left a card without getting out. He passed me immediately afterwards, and I saw that he was full-dressed. On leaving Count Schenk's I parted from Mr. Harris, and called at Count Stedingk's; but he was not at home. I walked around upon the river quay, and through the Summer Gardens, where I found some elegant company. The bridge to Kammenoi-ostrow is just putting up for the summer. On returning home I found the Ambassador's cards. He had been going through one of the most inconvenient and

absurd but best established usages of this place—that of going a round of visits in full court dress, and leaving cards at every house without enquiring whether the persons visited are at home, or ever getting out of the carriage. There is so much punctilio in this usage that it admits of no substitute. It is not sufficient to send a servant with a card, nor even to send round your carriage: nay, if you go yourself, unless it be in full dress the visit is not duly paid. You must be seen in full dress by all the porters; but it is understood that you are only to leave a card. This is called a diplomatic visit paid in person.

I walked again in the evening. Met and walked with General Pardo, a phenomenon of human character—an excellent classical scholar, a profound connoisseur in the arts—a Spaniard, the proudest of his nation that I ever knew, a most impassioned Spanish patriot in their present struggle against France, and yet appearing here as the Minister of King Joseph, a Lieutenant-General by his appointment, and wearing a great "blushing riband" of his order. He is, of all the men that I was ever acquainted with, the one whose discourse is the most constantly in hostility with his situation and conduct. Yet his conversation is agreeable. His great intellectual deficiency is judgment. His characteristic want is energy. Such a composition is rare—taste, learning, and a brilliant imagination, without steadiness of brain or firmness of heart. He told me the Duke de Vicence would go to-morrow night.

18th. Morning visit from Mr. Montréal, and afterwards from Mr. Harris, who came to tell me that he should call with the Duke de Richelieu, which he did about an hour after. The Duke is Governor of Odessa, and now here upon a visit, as he has been about six weeks. He is of the ancient and high nobility of the French monarchy, and was an emigrant; but has been many years in the Russian service. He told me that he had an army list of France for the year 1790, in which the Emperor Napoleon, Count Lauriston, and Savary were all down as Second Lieutenants in the regiment of La Fere. He spoke to me also of the American trade to the Black Sea, and wished that the admission of American vessels to it might be stipulated in the treaty of peace beween Russia and the Porte; to which

he supposed the Turks would readily agree, and which he was only afraid would be forgotten.

19th. The morning being fine, and as on rising I heard the music of one of the regiments marching to the parade, I resolved to go out and see it. I went about half-past eight o'clock, but found only one regiment yet upon the square. Pursued my walk to the quay, where I met the Chevalier Brancia; he turned, and we walked to the Summer Gardens. On our return we found the troops all assembled, and servants with horses waiting at the Emperor's door. Walked round the Boulevard, when Brancia left me. He was going to visit Dr. Creighton. A few minutes before ten the Emperor appeared, galloping along in front of the line of troops, which extended from the corner of the Grand Millionne to the bridge across the Nicolai Canal, on the Galeerenhof. The Grand Duke Constantine rode at the Emperor's left hand, on a line with him. The French Ambassador, Count St. Julien, and General Watzdorf, followed behind, and a suite of fifteen or twenty general officers and aides-de-camp. I could not ascertain the number of the troops upon the parade. There was a mixture of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. I marked the Uhlan regiment, every man of whom carries a little red-and-white pennant at the top of his pike. The arrangement of baggage appears well adapted for marches and to diminish the incumbrances of a large train. The Emperor's review is not long. It consists in his galloping from one end of the line to the other, and back again—after which the troops file off on the Palace Square before him.

21st. I took a short walk before dinner, and went through the Summer Gardens. Met and walked with Mr. Prevost, who told me that the Duke of Vicence had left this city on Sunday, about noon, and expected to lodge this night at Baron Löwenstern's, near Riga. On Saturday morning he had an interview with the Emperor, who had given him a box with his picture, with his own hand, saying it was a great likeness, and that he gave it not as to the Ambassador, but as a token of his particular friendship. He embraced him several times; bade him adieu in the most affectionate manner, and even shed tears. Prevost said the Duke was much affected by the numerous

marks of esteem and regret shown him at his departure. And they were well merited. He lived here in a style of princely magnificence; and he was one of the most accomplished gentlemen in his manners that I ever knew. His civilities and attentions were always obliging, and without pretension or affectation. His personal disposition was moderate and pacific. He had perhaps made himself too agreeable here for the purpose of his own Government. In his family, it is said, he was passionate and violent, and he had connections of gallantry in which he indulged himself too much without reserve. It engrossed too much of his time; it laid him open too much to the Government here; and it occasioned scandal in a country by no means scrupulous for the purity of its morals. The Emperor's presents to him at his departure are upwards of a hundred thousand roubles in value, three or four times as much as it is customary to give. The more I see of this usage, the more I approve the principle adopted by the Government of the United States, to prohibit altogether the acceptance by their Ministers of any such presents.

24th. Mr. Krehmer sent me the London Courier, from 19th to 26th April, where I found articles which give me great concern upon the account of my country. They threaten war in the most unequivocal terms. I fear the British Ministry have made it unavoidable. They menace us with an "Iliad of woes," and already deny us every particle of compassion for our sufferings under them. Non nobis, Domine! If our trial is now to come, God of Justice and of Mercy! give us spirit to bear with fortitude and to derive ultimate power and virtue from all the evils that they can inflict, and spare us from that woe of woes, the *compassion* of Britons!

31st. I took my usual morning's walk. On the Fontanka, near the bridge through which the canal joins the river, I met the Emperor walking. As he approached me he said, "Monsieur Adams, il y a cent ans que je ne vous ai vu," and coming up, took and shook me with great cordiality by the hand. After some common observations upon the weather, which has been very fine, but which this day was cold and autumnal, and which he thought would yet come to snow, before the end of

this month, Russian style, he asked me whether I intended to take a house in the country this summer. I said, no; that I had for some time had such an intention, but had given it up. "And why so?" said he. I was hesitating upon an answer, when he relieved me from embarrassment by saying, "Peut-être sont-ce des considérations de finance." As he said it in perfect good humor, and with a smile, I replied in the same manner. "Mais, Sire, elles y sont pour une bonne part." "Fort bien," said he; "vous avez raison. Il faut toujours proportionner la dépense à la recette." A maxim worthy of an Emperor, though few Emperors practise upon it. He then asked me if I had received any late news from America. I said I had. He replied that he also had lately received some very interesting dispatches from Count Pahlen, which had given him much pleasure. He asked how our affairs stood with England. I said they had a very hostile appearance, and that the English journals were threatening us with the last extremities, but that my own letters from America did not appear to expect that a war would ensue. "It has, however," said he, "very much that appearance—at least if we believe the French journals. But, au reste," he added, "we know how much the Moniteur is to be believed, and that certain deductions are to be made from whatever that contains." I said, to be sure—people were very apt to publish as fact what they had an interest and a wish to believe.

On this he made me his usual parting bow, or rather military salute, by raising his hand to his hat, and pursued his walk.

Soon after six in the evening, I went and attended the third and last day's examination of the pupils at the Jesuits' school. The examination was of the four classes, and, being upon subjects more easily comprehended than the sublime mathematics of last evening, I was much better entertained with it. French and Latin Grammar, Geography, Mythology, Prosody; passages from Virgil's Eclogues, and from Gresset's French translation of them; Rhetoric, with a recitation and illustration by analysis of Massillon's funeral eulogy upon Turenne and Cicero's Oration pro Rege Dejotaro, furnished the materials for the examination. The exercises closed by what we should call at our Colleges a conference, upon the respective merit of the infantry,

cavalry, artillery, and light troops for military service. Four of the young men delivered discourses on the superior merit which each of these modes of service might claim; and a fifth opened the subject to the auditory and sat as umpire of the contest. He adjudged the palm of utility to the infantry; assigned the next place to the cavalry, the third to the artillery, and regretted that he had not a fourth prize to bestow upon the Cossacks, Uhlans, and Hussars. The controversy was very well supported, and each of the young men delivered his part as well as would be done by most of our College speakers. Oratory, however, is less cultivated here than with us, and in that respect the performances are inferior to ours; as in the mathematics they are much superior. The printed notice of the exercises says that the discourses of the young martial disputants were composed by themselves; but this must be taken as the Emperor takes the news in the Moniteur. After the performances were finished, the prizes (books handsomely bound) were distributed to the students who had excelled by application and success—two to each class. Their names were publicly proclaimed by one of the fathers, and the Minister of Public Instruction gave them the books. It was about ten at night when all was finished.

June 3d. This morning the Father-General of the Jesuits called on me before breakfast, with a letter to be transmitted to America; which I took. He sat and conversed with me, I believe, more than two hours. He enquired about the numbers and character of our religious sects in America; and when I told him of them, he lamented the multitude of sects which had separated from the Holy Church, and urged with great earnestness upon me the necessity of unity as well as union in the Church. I indulged him in his remarks, and purposely stimulated him to controversy, by contesting his positions and hinting the answers to his arguments. I found him not so keen and skilful a controversialist as I should have expected. The necessity of a Church, and of a head to the Church; the certainty of the seven sacraments; the express words of Jesus Christ to establish transubstantiation, and the duty of celibacy for the priesthood; he dwelt upon all these points with an

appearance of strong conviction upon his own mind, and with no small show of a desire to produce it upon mine. He apologized for talking to me on religious subjects, because it was a holiday of the Church, and told me that their Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Mohileff, would administer the sacrament of confirmation to several persons this day between twelve and one o'clock at noon. I went at the time and saw this ceremony performed. It has nothing peculiar in it, but was remarkable by the great solemnity of its forms. The Archbishop wore the embroidered robe, the mitre, and the crosier, which, after having finished the ceremony, he laid aside within the sanctuary, and he was conducted to the front doors of the church by seven or eight subordinate priests, with like solemnity. It was over in less than half an hour, and I walked home.

4th. I had written yesterday a note to Count Romanzoff, requesting a conference with him, and this morning found on my table a note from him appointing this day at noon for that purpose. I went accordingly at that hour. The Count, as I entered, told me that he had just received a courier, who had passed through Paris, but who came from Madrid—an aid-de-camp of Prince Repnin, the Minister appointed from Russia to reside near King Joseph, but who never went there. The aid-de-camp had left Madrid after the King, who had now arrived at Paris, after having seen his brother, the Emperor Napoleon, at Rambouillet. I thanked the Count for the packets which he had sent me, brought by former couriers. He said he understood they were packets which he should be sorry for; as they were to occasion my return home. I told him that they contained notice of my appointment to an honorable office in my own country; but that there was some tie which attached me so strongly to this country that I should probably not go yet. I then mentioned the situation of my wife, which would make it impossible for me to embark for America certainly until very late in the season, and probably before the next year. He asked me if the office was of a nature which would admit of being long vacant. I answered that I considered it would not; that it ought to be filled as soon as possible; and I could not go immediately to assume the dis-

charge of its duties. I had written to the President of the United States, requesting him to excuse me from accepting it, and to appoint another person. He then said that he should this evening ask the Emperor's permission to dispatch a courier to Paris, and should probably send him in the course of the day after to-morrow. If I wished to send any letter or packet to the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, he would be happy to forward it for me. I accepted his offer; and I then observed that from the idea which since my residence here I had formed of the importance and mutual benefit of the commercial relations between the United States and Russia, from the signal manner in which Russia had distinguished herself from all the other belligerent powers of Europe, in her treatment of the fair commerce and neutral rights of America, and from a wish to increase and render still more advantageous the commerce between the two countries, the idea and desire had occurred to me of cementing still further their amity by a treaty of commerce. I had suggested this idea to the American Government, and was now authorized to propose the negotiation of such a treaty, if it should be agreeable to the Emperor. I had thought it most advisable to make to him at first this verbal communication, instead of sending him an official note upon the subject. I requested him to consider it as confidential, so that at least it should be made known only when he thought it advisable; as I had communicated the knowledge of it to no person whomsoever.

The Count then asserted his great and long-settled attachment to the United States—the desire which he had so many years entertained of favoring American commerce. It was not only a thing to which he was attached by sentiment, but it had been with him long a maxim of policy. It was the interest of Russia to encourage and strengthen and multiply commercial powers which might be the rivals of England, to form a balance to her overbearing power. Russia herself had not the advantages for it. She could not be a great naval power. Nature had in a great measure denied her the means. She ought then to support and favor those who had them. The propriety of extending this spirit to the United States had become more

obvious and strong by the decay and disappearance of the old commercial States. Holland, for instance; how great a commercial power she had been even within our memory! Those sentiments he had often expressed, with a strong sense of conviction, to the Emperor, who had always received them well and appeared impressed with the justice of them. He referred me to Mr. Harris for the proof that such had always been his system, or indeed to some other person even in preference to him.

I observed that I was fully sensible of it myself; that I had frequently had the demonstration of it; and I could assure him that the Government of the United States were by no means ignorant of it. He said that he would lay before the Emperor the proposition, which he presumed would meet with no difficulty whatsoever—unless, indeed, there was one, which he did foresee: which was, that in the violent and convulsed state of commerce and of the world at this time, he hardly conceived it possible to agree upon anything, if he might be allowed the expression, that had common sense in it. But, however, at any rate, this need not prevent him and me from debating the subjects which might be interesting to the commerce of our countries, and coming to an agreement if we could. This is precisely the object of the American Government. He said he would make his report of this conversation to the Emperor, and in a few days would send and ask me to call upon him again.

Then he enquired how affairs stood between the United States and France on one part, and England on the other. I told him briefly the actual state of things. He asked me if Mr. Erving was now our Minister in France. I said Mr. Russell was the Chargé d'Affaires; Mr. Erving's mission was to Denmark. He said he had understood that Mr. Erving had some arrangements to make in France, which would detain him still some time at Paris. How were we likely to come out with England? I told him that it would depend altogether upon England herself; that my letters from America did not appear to indicate an expectation of war there, but that the late accounts from England seemed to manifest hostile dispositions.

He said he thought that was very probable. England, no

doubt, would decide according to the ministerial opinion of what was most for her interest, and that would now more than ever be of adherence to their system. Their recent successes were calculated to give great strength to the Ministry, and to repress the opposition far more than had been seen for many years in that country. Indeed, he must say that for many years England had not exhibited such talents as those by which she was now governed. The two brothers Wellesley had certainly proved themselves extraordinary men, not only by the greatness and perseverance of the plan which they had pursued, and which seemed now to have at hand a great result—the *dénouement* in Spain and Portugal was apparently not distant—but by the success with which it was likely to be attended. If, to be sure, it was only to begin over again, they would not appear to have done much; but if the issue should be as important as now appeared probable, it would certainly be much to their credit. They would also be much elated by their successes, and he did not consider them as men who would be restrained by any principle from any enterprise that they might judge to be expedient.

I told him I did not rely at all upon the expectation that principle would restrain them, but there might perhaps be interest to restrain them. If Spain and Portugal should be entirely evacuated by the French, the people there would as much as ever need supplies of grain and other provisions, and the English could hardly resolve to intercept them without famishing their allies, and even their own armies.

The Count asked whether they could not obtain the same supplies from other quarters, particularly from the coast of Barbary. I said that they undoubtedly had part of their supplies from that quarter; but it did not suffice, and if they lost the American market, there was none that could take its place, unless it were that of the Baltic, from Dantzic to Riga; and that, I believe, had been to a certain extent always open to them.

He said that their supplies from thence had been very small indeed; at least, there had been scarcely any exportation from thence.

"That," I replied, "was at least their only resource; and if they opened that, it could only be by coming to terms of accom-

modation with Russia; and if they made peace with Russia, in the name of Heaven, what motive could they have for quarrelling with America?"

The Count smiled, and said that it reminded him of something that had been said by another person, and which, therefore, he could not give as his own. It was that there were sea madmen as well as land madmen (des enragés de mer, comme des enragés de terre), and the English were the sea madmen.

Here we rested the matter for the present. I mentioned the launching of the ships, which had failed last Saturday, and, I had heard, was intended for this day. He said he believed it would be to-morrow; that the Minister of the Marine told him that he should have him waked at six in the morning to give him the notice. But he had authorized the notification to be opened at the Department, so that the foreign Ministers might be notified in time, without his having the trouble of being roused at that hour. He said the lowness of the water at the lower Admiralty was the cause of the launch having been postponed on Saturday; and that great complaints had been made at the time of the selection of that spot for a navy-yard, on account of its being exposed to such accidents.

In the long entry of this day appears a notice of the fact that the writer had received information from home of an appointment to a wholly new field of duty.

This is best explained by reference to the Executive record of the Senate, in which appears the following entry for Thursday, 21st February, 1811.

The following written message was received from the President of the United States by Mr. Coles, his secretary:

To the Senate of the United States:—

I nominate John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

James Madison.

The message was read.

Ordered, That it lie for consideration.

Friday, February 22, 1811.

The Senate took into consideration the message of the President of the United States of yesterday, nominating John Quincy Adams to office, and

Resolved, That the Senate do advise and consent to the appointment, agreeably to the nomination.

The following is an extract from the official letter sent to Mr. Adams. It bears date the 26th February, 1811:

ROBERT SMITH, SECRETARY OF STATE, TO MR. ADAMS.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that the President has thought proper to avail the public of your services at home, and has accordingly appointed you, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to the seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, vacated by the death of Judge Cushing.

This appointment will make it proper that you should return to the United States as soon as the public interest and your own convenience will permit. You are accordingly herewith furnished with a letter of leave to the Emperor; and in presenting it you will be sensible of the propriety of giving not only such explanations and assurances as may be calculated to prevent the circumstance of your return from being misconstrued, but such as may be best suited to convince the Emperor of the continued friendship of the United States.

To which the substance of the answer by Mr. Adams is as follows. It bears date the 2d June, 1811:

"Deeply sensible of the honor done me by the President and Senate in the appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court, I lament that circumstances beyond my control have prescribed to me the duty of declining it. As they are, for the most part, of a private nature, I have taken the liberty to explain them in a private letter to the President himself, enclosed, and which I have to ask of you the favor to deliver to him. One of them, itself decisive to dictate my determination, is the impossibility of my return to the United States during the present year, arising

from the peculiar situation of my family, the length of time necessary to accomplish a voyage from the extremity of the Gulf of Finland to the coast of North America, and the short portion of the year during which such a voyage can be commenced."

19th. In the evening, I went to the top of the round tower at a corner of the house in which we dwell, and saw the redness of the sun as evening and morning twilight at the same time. I returned again to the tower a little after midnight, and observed a second time the same phenomenon. I read a chapter of Savary's Koran, chiefly without a candle, and at midnight.

21st. After more than two hours of restlessness, finding that I had no prospect of sleep, I rose, dressed myself, and walked out to see the sun rise, on the day of the summer solstice. I took my stand on the quay opposite the Winter Palace, at the spot where last year, on the same day, I had seen the sun set. It rose at forty-six minutes past two, and I marked its bearings. There was, however, a low cloud bordering that part of the horizon, so that I could not see the sun until about a quarter of an hour risen. I then returned home, and, at about half-past three in the morning, went again to bed. I slept until nearly nine.

22d. At twelve o'clock, noon, I went to the house of Mr. Gourieff, the Minister of the Finances, whom I found in his cabinet. I mentioned to him the object of my visit, which related to the two American vessels, the Horace and Superior, which have arrived at Cronstadt with prohibited articles. He told me that he had received a petition respecting only one of them—the Horace; that the directions of the law were precise, requiring that all prohibited articles, upon their arrival at the ports, should be destroyed; but that, in consideration of the circumstance that these vessels were not originally destined for this place, but had come under a sort of compulsion, he should in his report to the Emperor, which he expected to make this day, recommend that permission should be granted for the re-exportation of the goods in the same vessels in which they were brought—for he could not undertake to decide this upon his own authority; that as to the exportation by land, which had been requested in the

petition of the commercial house, he did not think it could be granted; for as the prohibition formed part of the system which had been established for the regulation of commerce during the present year, a departure from it in one case might be alleged as a precedent in others, which would make the whole system a mere nullity.

I told him that I had not expected it would be possible to obtain the leave for exportation by land; that in the note which I had written to Count Romanzoff on the subject, I had not asked it; but that I had asked, as I did not know that it would be incompatible with the law of the country, that the permission of re-exportation might extend to the employment of other vessels than those in which the goods were brought. I said that in one of the cases I knew this would be a convenience to the owner, who had some time since ordered purchases of Russian merchandise to an amount of seven or eight hundred thousand roubles to be made here, and to be paid for by bills drawn here on foreign countries; that a considerable part of the purchases had been made, and some of them might be exported by this ship if he could send away the hides in another.

The Minister said that he would suggest this consideration to the Emperor, though he could not promise that it would be successful. He then assured me of his own disposition to favor as much as possible the commerce of the United States with his country, and observed that he had this day dispatched orders to Riga for the admission of an American vessel which had arrived there from Lisbon, she having sailed from that port in the month of April of the last year.

I said I had addressed a note to Count Romanzoff also upon this case, which I presumed had been referred to him. He said he believed not. He did not recollect that Count Romanzoff had referred to him any note concerning this affair from me. "And, indeed," said he, "excuse me for giving you the hint, but in any of these cases, if there is any facility which I can afford your countrymen, and in which you take an interest, if you will apply directly to me the business will be more expeditiously settled than by a note to Count Romanzoff. Because, if it goes to him, you know, it must be treated *diplomatically*,

and then the affair takes quite another course. Even now, respecting this vessel at Riga, perhaps it may occasion further questions in future; but that is a matter all settled—the orders are dispatched."

I told him that, as officially I could, as a matter of right, correspond only with Count Romanzoff, I had addressed my note, of course, to him, and had forborne to call upon him, Mr. Gourieff, from the apprehension of being importunate; but that, having now his permission, I should certainly take the liberty of applying directly to him, and thanked him for the assurance of his good dispositions in regard to the American commerce.

After this we entered upon general conversation, and the Minister manifested an earnest curiosity to be informed of the state of our relations with Great Britain and with France. I told him much the same as I had said to Count Romanzoff and to the Emperor. Mr. Gourieff expressed a very high opinion of the British Ministry, and particularly of their energy. I acknowledged that they had lately been favored with an extraordinary career of success, and I could not deny that they appeared entitled to the credit of eulogy; but there was some part of that energy which I believed would ultimately prove very calamitous to their country. They were abusing the power of making paper money, until its depreciation had already run down to thirty per cent.; they were accumulating the load of paper to support the burden of the war, and the Ministers in Parliament had frankly avowed that the war could not be carried on without it.

He said that the Bank appeared to have issued not more than twenty-two millions sterling; that they were already sensible of its dangers, and seeking a remedy for it, which he believed they would find. I said that in addition to the Bank paper there was the enormous mass of the debt, to be considered as paper too. He thought not. A paper which bore interest, he said, never weighed upon the circulation: it was private capital, like land or houses. Paper could be oppressive only as it was a representative without a constituent—a representative of specie when there was no specie to represent. As to the English funding system, he admired it as one of the most

extraordinary inventions of the human understanding. There was not one of the mechanical inventions for which the English were famed which he thought more deserving of admiration than that. Recurring to our affairs with France, he said he had heard our vessels were now admitted there, and that a more friendly disposition to us had been lately professed than before. I told him I had heard so, but that, to be candid, I placed as little dependence upon the French Government as upon the English. He smiled, and appeared to be of the same opinion.

26th. We had for several days past an engagement, postponed until this day, to go upon a water-party with Mr. Fisher and Mr. Jones. They dined with us at an early hour; and about four in the afternoon we took boat at the landing opposite the Winter Palace, were rowed up the Neva and the Great Nevka to the island of Crestoffsky, where we landed, and took tea at a shady spot in the open air; we then embarked again and returned, rowed as before; we landed below all the bridges and at the end of the quay, just above the lower Admiralty. In returning we had floated down part of the time, while the boatmen were singing in concert the national airs, with a pipe resembling a clarionet, a tambourine, and a pair of cymbals. There were eleven of the rowers, and when they sang they sat in two lines, face to face, crosswise of the boat, each upon an oar, and their feet resting on the benches. They are all in uniform, and wear plumes in their hats. Their song is always the same, and appears to consist only of three or four notes. It was about ten in the evening when we returned.

July 15th. Went to a diplomatic dinner at Count Romanzoff's. It was to take leave of Count Stedingk, and a dinner of reception to the Chevalier Bezerra. I told the Chancellor that in a few days I should ask an interview with him, to present to him Mr. Hazard, who is appointed by the Government of the United States Consul at Archangel. He said that to save me the trouble of writing he would propose that it should be on Wednesday, at eleven o'clock in the morning; to which I agreed.

I had some conversation with the French Ambassador. He asked me how our affairs stood with England. I told him I thought it probable that his Government would make our peace

with England. "How?" "By not keeping their word. They had promised to repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees, and had not kept their promise." "Oh! but you must seize two or three English vessels, and then I will promise you that you may come freely to France, and will never be troubled with the Berlin and Milan decrees. Only you must not bring English merchandise to us."

"Americans will not bring you any English merchandise, except when you insist upon having it. But you give so many licenses for trading with England, that there is no temptation of profit to carry any English goods to you." "No, no! we do not give any more licenses. Ay! ay! my spies" (he had said in a joke that his spies had not informed him that I had moved into his neighborhood), "my spies give me quite different information. Well, if we get English merchandise, it is only to burn it." "Yes; and you have burnt so much that now you are obliged to send for more for your own use."

All this was said on both sides in a sort of banter; half jest, half earnest. Blome was standing by, and enjoyed it very much. I had forgotten to go with the mourning crape. But there were several others in the same predicament to keep me in countenance.

25th. Mr. Hazard came as I had requested, at half-past ten. I went and introduced him at Count Romanzoff's. He had taken with him his commission, and a French translation of it, but the Count did not look at them. He said he thought it would be sufficient for me to write him a note, mentioning the appointment, and the necessary document would be expedited, he believed, from the Department of Foreign Affairs—certainly not from the Chancellor's office. But, as Mr. Borel was at the head of the Department of the Consulates, if there were any other formalities necessary he would send him to me to give me notice of them. "For, between you and me," said the Count, "there can happen nothing but what will be rightly done."

As Mr. Hazard speaks scarcely any French, and the Count no English, he did not hold much conversation with him. He said, turning to me, "Je crois que nous allons vous enlever le Comte Pahlen, mais ce sera pour le remplacer." Then, laughing,

he added that it seemed to be a kind of destiny for Count Pahlen to visit all the sovereigns of America; and if another such power should arise in that hemisphere, he did not know but that they should charge him with commencing the diplomatic relations of Russia with it. But Count Pahlen himself seemed to be much afraid of this mission to Brazil, for he had accepted it on the condition, or with the earnest solicitation, that it might be limited to two years. The Emperor had read his letter, and had been diverted at his concern. It was, however, determined in the course of two years to provide some place for him here at home, and so the commission would be sent him according to his own inclination. And hereafter, he was persuaded, the Count would thank him for having given him the means of becoming so extensively acquainted with both the American continents. As to such places as Cassel or Stuttgart, what could a Russian get by an appointment to them? It was easy to visit them, and great numbers did visit them, without having diplomatic missions. But Count Pahlen, on his return, will have seen what scarcely any Russian can have seen, and none to the same advantage.

I said I hoped he would at least have occasion to remember the country with pleasure.

He said that with regard to our part of it he certainly would; as all his letters very fully testified: they were strongly expressive of his satisfaction with his situation there. The Count then enquired whether I had any recent intelligence of the state of our affairs with England. I said I had received the official account of the American captain, of the action between the two ships, of which he had doubtless heard.[1] I had not seen the account of the English captain. If it should give a statement materially different from the other in regard to the facts, I could not say what would be the consequence; but if the facts were as stated by Commodore Rogers, the British Government, I supposed, would disavow their officer's conduct, as they have done in so many cases before. In the present case,

[1] This relates to the encounter at sea on the 16th of May between the American frigate President, commanded by Captain Rogers, and the British sloop Little Belt, commanded by Captain Bingham.

however, there was the difference that their ship and men had been the greatest sufferers.

He said he had seen accounts from England, with the gazettes down to the twenty-eighth of June. That there appeared to be great agitation in the public mind there on account of that event; and it was said a squadron, commanded by an Admiral Yorke, had been ordered to sail for America. But then it appeared the struggle in Spain was all to be gone over again, very differently from what had been so lately expected. It had been thought that if the war in that country was not entirely at an end, at least the English had obtained a decisive preponderancy. But now the French army under Marshalt Soult was reinforced and concentrated, and Lord Wellington had been obliged to raise the siege of Badajos, in order to draw all his forces together for another battle. Now the event of another general action was to be waited for. I said that from the late speeches of the Emperor Napoleon and of his Minister of the Interior, it appeared that France did not give up the game for lost in Spain; but that it remained to be seen whether the French armies there would be reinforced. He said that reinforcements had certainly been ordered, that troops had marched from Toulon and Marseilles, and he was informed by dispatches from the Ambassador at Paris, Prince Kurakin, that after a review lately of several regiments at Paris by the Emperor Napoleon they immediately received marching orders, and were gone to Spain. The Count told me that he had taken this place in the country in order to be near the Emperor; but he found it so inconvenient for the transmission to and fro of all the papers that must pass under his inspection, that he should give it up after next week.

26th. I have this day been married fourteen years, during which I have to bless God for the enjoyment of a portion of felicity, resulting from this relation in society, greater than falls to the generality of mankind, and far beyond anything that I have been conscious of deserving. Its greatest alloy has arisen from the delicacy of my wife's constitution, the ill health which has afflicted her much of the time, and the misfortunes she has suffered from it. Our union has not been without its trials,

nor invariably without dissensions between us. There are many differences of sentiment, of tastes, and of opinions in regard to domestic economy, and to the education of children, between us. There are natural frailties of temper in both of us; both being quick and irascible, and mine being sometimes harsh. But she has always been a faithful and affectionate wife, and a careful, tender, indulgent, and watchful mother to our children, all of whom she nursed herself. I have found in this connection from decisive experience the superior happiness of the marriage state over that of celibacy, and a full conviction that my lot in marriage has been highly favored.

30th. The whole morning was engrossed by one of those occasional occupations which so often divert me from business of more urgency. I found in an American newspaper a return of the whole population of the United States by the last census of 1810, and I engaged myself in calculations resulting from a comparison of it with the returns of 1790 and 1800. The proportion of increase between the second and third census is exactly the same as that between the first and second. It is between thirty-six and thirty-seven per cent. in ten years; rather more than three per cent., and very near thirty-one per thousand. I do not think it possible that this proportion should continue even for the next ten years. It is a phenomenon which the world never witnessed before, and which probably will never be seen again. The state in which we have been the last twenty years is too happy a condition for human nature long to endure. Blessed be God for it, and may He still protract it, notwithstanding the ingratitude and other vices by which we have forfeited almost the right to ask his favor! May He also protract the portion of virtue in the people which has hitherto contributed to preserve the blessings they have enjoyed! May He continue to build up a state which shall exhibit a clear and permanent improvement in the existence of social man! When I reflect upon the capabilities of that people and that territory, I have no curb to enthusiastic hope, but in the recollection of the follies and vices which have proved so fatal to mankind in all former ages, and which threaten to destroy all the glorious prospects of my own country. Let me implore the aid of Heaven

to meditate further, and to some useful purpose, on this subject, so that this may not be a day lost.

August 3d. Peterhof Fête. At eleven this morning I went into my carriage, and at a quarter before two alighted at Peterhof, at the small building opposite the palace, where the foreign Ministers are received on this occasion. The distance from my house is thirty-five wersts, or twenty-five miles. I went with four horses in front, and without stopping once on the road. I was alone, Mr. Smith and Mr. Gray having gone in another chariot with six horses. I took with me the message to Congress at the commencement of the last winter's session, and read part of the documents—that is, the whole of Mr. Pinckney's correspondence. The road was crowded with carriages of all kinds from the city gate to the palace at Peterhof. The invitation to the Corps Diplomatique was to a masked ball, supper, fireworks, illumination, etc. They were requested to alight, and to dine at the *Pavillon*, destined to receive them. On arriving there, I found one of the aids of the Master of Ceremonies, and one of the running footmen of the Court, who showed me to a chamber where I could dress. I went immediately to the apartment of Mr. and Madame Bezerra, and gave her the card from Catherine, excusing herself for not going. They were to be presented to the Empress-mother and the Grand Duchesses. I then walked about an hour round the garden. The principal water-works were playing; but, as they form only one of the various exhibitions of this day, I did not see them so well as at the visit we made to this palace on the twenty-fourth of last September. The preparations for the illuminations of the evening were all made, excepting the placing of the lamps. There were erected scaffoldings of planks in various forms, with rows of wire stuck on them in lines adapted to the figures to be represented, each wire stuck into the plank and rounded into a circle, distant about six inches from the plank. The lamps were glass tumblers filled with tallow, a wick passing through the centre, and the wick and surface of the tallow brushed over with spirits of turpentine. Each of the wire circles was to hold one of these tumblers. On the gulf, about a quarter of a mile distant from the shore, there were seventeen Imperial yachts,

under full sail and dressed out in a full suit of colors. I saw Claud Gabriel and Nelson in the garden; Nelson appeared to be unwell. I returned to the lodge, where I now found Mr. Smith and Mr. Gray. We dressed for dinner. M. de Maisonneuve, the Master of the Ceremonies, came into the parlor where we were assembled, with Mr. and Madame Bezerra, whom he presented to Count Lauriston, inviting him to lead her in to dinner. A Portuguese Minister's lady escorted by the French Ambassador was, in the present state of the world, a singular curiosity, and excited a smile throughout the company. The dinner ought regularly to have been presided over by Count Romanzoff, but, on account of his brother's death, he did not attend on this occasion. Mr. Weydemeyer, a member of the Council, attached to the Department of Foreign Affairs, and M. de Maisonneuve, the Master of the Ceremonies, presided, and did the honors of the table. The dinner was excellent, and the fruits of all climates in profusion; cherries, strawberries, raspberries, apricots, plums, peaches, oranges, grapes, and pine-apples were served in abundance. The members of the Corps Diplomatique present were about twenty-five. After dinner we rode round the gardens in carriages provided by the Court. They are called *Lines*, and resemble a double sofa, with a seat on each side for four persons. They were on four wheels, and tackled with two horses. We rode about an hour, returned to the lodge, and lounged or played away the time until eight o'clock. We then went in dominos and venetians to the palace on the same *Lines*, and assembled in the central chamber, painted all over the wainscoting with female portraits. There were already the nobility of both sexes who attend the Court, and within a quarter of an hour the imperial family appeared. The Emperor and Grand Duke Constantine first passed through the chamber to the dancing-hall, and about five minutes afterwards the Empress and Empress-mother, followed by the Grand Duchesses Catherine and Ann, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and the Princess Amelia of Baden, and the Duke and two Princes of Oldenburg. The Court and Diplomatic Corps followed them into the ball-room, which was excessively crowded with people of all classes and descriptions. The imperial family

and Court nobility walked a number of Polish dances; there was no room for any others. The Empress, with her sisters, took seats at the head of the hall. The Empress-mother played at piquet in an adjoining chamber; she played with the principal nobility and with the French Ambassador. Both Empresses spoke to most of the foreign Ministers. They asked me the same questions—whether my wife was there? why she was not there? where we now resided? whether we had a comfortable house? and whether Mrs. Adams would be conveniently situated for her confinement? Between nine and ten o'clock the illumination commenced. Count Litta said that the whole garden was lighted up in ten minutes; there were three hundred thousand lamps, and sixteen hundred persons employed to light them. Just after ten the Emperor passed back into the Hall of Portraits, and upon the balcony fronting the back garden. The fireworks were then played off. They were not, upon the whole, equal to those of the twenty-sixth of October last; they were over in a quarter of an hour. We then passed through several of the halls to a very long gallery, over which was a sort of canvas roof, and in which was a long table on which the supper was served. There were about three hundred persons set down to this table, among whom were the Court circle and the foreign Ministers. The supper was equally excellent, and the fruit as plentiful and as various, as at the dinner; it was over in about an hour. Miss Gourieff told me that if I returned home this night I should find the bridges raised; but I thought she was joking. After supper we went down and rode round again for an hour and a half upon the *Lines*. Madame Bezerra, though the only lady of the Corps, and an entire stranger, presented this day for the first time at the Court, went through the whole with perfect propriety and without embarrassment. About a quarter-past one we returned to the lodge—to separate and retire for the night, or undress to return home. The daylight was already beginning to return, and many of the lamps were already extinct. Mr. Jones, who returned the last evening from Moscow, without having been able to reach Makarieff, came spontaneously to the lodge about seven in the evening, and from that time introduced himself everywhere as in the suite of

the Corps Diplomatique. General Pardo was the only foreign Minister absent. Navarro and Lüxbourg were not there; but they have taken leave at Court. Barons d'Arnim, Gremp, and Maréchal were also absent. General Bétancourt received the red riband of the order of St. Alexander Newsky while there at the ball. A curious part of the show was the Circassian deputies in their national dresses, when presented and spoken to by the Empress.

4th. At half-past one in the morning I entered my carriage again and returned home. I reached the lower bridge across the Neva just as the sun was rising, at a quarter before four. The lines of carriages on the road were almost uninterrupted from Peterhof to the city gate, and they were often two or three in front. I passed upwards of two thousand, as I presume, on the road; and during the first half of the way great multitudes of persons returning on foot. The numbers of people who attend at this celebration are asserted to be at least fifty thousand. It has been usual to keep such a day here ever since Peter the First's time, but the day has occasionally been changed. I was present at this fête in the year 1782, but it was then kept on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the twenty-ninth of June, old style; being the then Grand Duke Paul's name-day. He was not present, however, being then upon his travels. The day is now changed to that of St. Mary Magdalen, which is the Empress-mother's and her daughter Mary's name-day, the twenty-second of July, old style. The time is much better for an illumination, as there are now two hours in the night of darkness sufficient for the effect of the lamps. On the twenty-ninth of June there is no darkness at all. Accordingly, the effect of the illumination this time was far more brilliant than, from my recollection, it was when I saw it before. There were then, I think, no fireworks. The company then was, I think, more numerous, and, from my impressions, more splendid in dress. Perhaps, however, it was because then magnificence of dress was not so familiar and common an object as it now is. I saw the Court then only at a distance and as a stranger. At present I know all the principal individuals. The Empresses and Grand Duchesses were attired with great splendor

of jewels. The Empress-mother wore an imperial diadem entirely set in diamonds, and of immense cost. The men were all plainly dressed, with their uniforms slightly embroidered. The ball finished much earlier now than formerly. The Emperor abridges all the tedious festivities. On arriving at the lower bridge, I found, as Miss Gourieff had told me, that it was raised. I went to the upper bridge, and found it in the same situation. I now learnt, and not without concern, that they raise both the bridges every morning at two o'clock, to let the vessels pass through, and that they are kept raised from two to three hours. I was detained at them about an hour, and reached my house about a quarter before five in the morning. The weather had been fine the whole day and night; but I found a surtout convenient in the carriage as I returned.

5th. I had a visit this morning from Count Lüxbourg, who is going away in a few days. He waits only for the arrival of his successor, a Count Jennison, who was coming from Berlin, but was stopped at Polangen and not allowed to proceed until a passport from Count Romanzoff could be sent to him. Lüxbourg took leave of the Court yesterday week, and he says that the Emperor, after charging him with his compliments to the King of Bavaria, said to him, "J'espère que la paix du nord de l'Europe ne sera pas troublée. Il y a beaucoup de discours dans le public; mais tout cela ne signifie rien. A quoi bon feroit-on la guerre? Il est temps qu'on commence à se tenir tranquille. On ne croit pas, sans doute, faire des conquêtes ici. A quoi cela pourroit-il mener? Au reste, nous sommes prêts." Lüxbourg says that he was quite surprised and embarrassed at hearing the Emperor speak to him in this manner, and hardly knew how to answer him. He told him, however, that the sentiments so worthy of a great monarch he presumed were also shared by the other side (de l'autre part), and that peace was undoubtedly the object most desirable for suffering humanity. He says, too, that he has written an account of this conversation to his Government, leaving out, however, the expressions which import a readiness for war. I should have thought them by far the most important part of the report.

6th. According to appointment, I went at half-past twelve

to Count Romanzoff's. I reminded him of a note which soon after my arrival here I had written him respecting the Commerce and the Hector, and mentioned that I had lately received a letter from one of the owners making enquiries what was done with those cases. He asked me if I had never received from him any answer relating to them. I said I had not. He said he would immediately attend to it; that it had been referred to the Minister of Marine, and no report had yet been made by him. I spoke of a packet which I sent him in the beginning of June, for Mr. Russell, at Paris, which was to go by a courier; and as I had just received from Mr. Russell a letter, by which it appeared that packet had not come to his hands, I was afraid that by some accident, or perhaps some mistake of my servant, the Count had not received it. He said that he had; but the delay in its transmission to Mr. Russell had arisen from another accident—an extraordinary length of time during which his courier had been detained before he had dispatched him. It was full two months after the time he had intended. Prince Kurakin complained of it very much; but, after *all those* discussions had arisen, the Emperor had positively determined that he would not come to any definitive resolution to be communicated by courier until he should know of the Duke of Vicence's arrival at Paris, and what effect would be produced by his return. The courier, therefore, had not been dispatched until the day of the Te Deum, and probably has but just now arrived in Paris.

I said that with regard to the preparation of a Treaty of commerce, I had made no further communication to him, owing to the uncertainty both in the state of public affairs and of my own situation here—not knowing what the ultimate disposition of my Government with regard to this mission had been or would be. He said that from this uncertainty in the state of everything, it seemed really impossible to enter upon any discussion relative to commerce. We could not know from day to day whether there would be any commerce. It would be impossible to do anything more than provide for the day that was passing over our heads. What would come to-morrow was beyond all human foresight. What, for instance, would be

the consequence of a war between the United States and England, which I had told him I thought probable, and which he thought so himself? However amicably disposed they were here to favor our commerce, and they continued as much so as they ever had been, it would obviously upon that contingency be totally stopped by the English. He was, therefore, sorry to see this prospect of that war; for it protracted all the hopes of peace, and menaced a longer and a more extensive war. Did not I think so? What was my opinion of the chances for *a peace?*

This fashion of consultation is one of the Count's forms of civility. He supposes that I feel flattered by having my opinion asked, and that it will make me talk as much as he pleases. I always do give him my opinions as freely as he asks them; not that I fancy he attaches so much importance to them as he imagines I do, but because I consider it as civility returned for civility, and because as long as my talk is not tiresome to him I suppose it to be agreeable. I asked him if he meant a general peace. "Ay, or at least a peace between France and England?" That was the same thing; I saw nothing like a prospect of it, or a disposition to it, on either side. There never was less reason to expect it. He said he was extremely sorry to be so nearly of my opinion. And I was extremely sorry to hear his Excellency acknowledge it; for it confirmed me in a belief which I should have been most happy to have had him shake. But it was too clear. The Emperor Napoleon, and his Minister, Montalivet; spoke of the war in Spain as likely still to occupy several campaigns. They talked of ten years, as of a matter for which France was prepared. No symptom of relaxation or yielding could be discovered there. In England such symptoms must come first from the people; as long as their spirits could be kept up, their Government would not flinch; and as long as they had any successes to boast of, the spirits of the people would not flag. There was no appearance of that kind yet—no petitions for peace, no talk of a change of Ministry. There was, indeed, great anxiety for the issue of affairs in Spain and Portugal; and until that affair was finished, the English nation would not begin to look round them and

think of peace. The Count said that France was certainly now making another great effort there. Besides the success of their arms in taking Tarragona, and the junction of the two marshals, Soult and Marmont, he knew that the Emperor Napoleon had determined to send eighty thousand more men into Spain. The English army would probably be obliged to resume its old position near Lisbon, and there time again might be gained. For it was remarkable that the Emperor Napoleon, who was always accustomed to announce quick dispatch and to threaten with thunderbolts, had in this case admitted that the subjugation of Spain would still be an affair of time.

He then asked me whether I knew if Mr. Bezerra had any late news, and what his opinion was of the present state of things. I said that I had not seen Mr. Bezerra since the Peterhof day, when he did not know of Lord Wellington's retreat.

The Count then told me that the Ambassador had just been with him. He had received a courier, who brought him the account that the Ecclesiastical Council assembled at Paris had been dissolved, and three of the bishops arrested. He was a little surprised at this instance of resistance to the will of the Emperor Napoleon, but he did not expect it would be followed by any serious consequences. He believed there was very little religion in France. When he was last there he had made it a particular object of his personal observation. He had supposed before he went there that the result of the horrible revolution through which they had passed would have been to awaken religious ideas in the people, and to have given their minds a peculiar direction that way. He saw no such thing. He saw no disposition with regard to religion but that of profound indifference. It was not a fashion of infidelity such as had been known in France thirty or forty years ago—not a sectarian atheism, courting martyrdom; but total indifference—a total absence of all thought concerning religion. He had mentioned it to the Emperor Napoleon, and perceived that the remark had displeased him. He asked him on what he founded his opinion. The Count answered that as he had before going to France entertained the theoretic idea that he should find strong symptoms of religious propensities, he had made it a point to observe,

and had repeatedly gone into the principal churches of Paris on Sundays and holidays in service-time. They were all absolutely deserted—scarcely a soul to be seen, except here and there an occasional straggler, who looked as if he had been sent on an errand and had come into the church and taken a chair to rest himself on the way. The Emperor had replied, "Perhaps it may be so, but I assure you it is not my fault. On the contrary, I know the importance of religious sentiments, and encourage the propagation of them as much as I can. There are even five or six popular writers to whom I give pensions for this purpose, and among them are Chateaubriand and Madame de Genlis." "Now," said the Count, "*he* considers these people as drugs of the Imperial Pharmacopœia—ingredients to be mixed up in the chemical mass of an Emperor's government. His own idea is political, and not at all religious. And as to his pensioners, for aught I know, Chateaubriand may be honest, but Madame de Sillery would preach any religion for which she could get paid. I know something of her, and I know her to be as false and unprincipled a woman as breathes.

I said that Chateaubriand himself had lately shown some resistance against the Emperor's will, as I had heard, on a religious topic; that he had written a discourse for his reception as a member of the National Institute, which he had not been suffered to pronounce, and which he had refused to alter.

The Count said it was not a matter of religion. It related to the death of the King. Chateaubriand was received at the Academy in the place of Chénier. Chénier had voted in the Convention for the King's death, and Chateaubriand, instead of pronouncing a panegyric upon Chénier according to custom, had written a violent philippic against him, and criminated him especially for his vote on the King's trial. The Emperor had forbidden its being delivered; because he, Napoleon, *had pardoned* all those who had voted for the King's death, and had among them several of his highest Imperial officers. Cambacérès was one. Regnaud St. Jean d'Angely was another. He did not choose that any such allusion to that event should be made in a public oration; especially by a man whom he patronized, and to whom he had been a benefactor. The

Count added that he did think there was something very indecent in the manner in which they managed some of these academical receptions in France. He had attended one of them, where a man, whose name he did not recollect, was received in the place of a certain physician named Cabanis, who had written an atheistical book. The new member had observed the custom of eulogizing his predecessor, but the President in answering the discourse had severely censured him for praising such a book—for the recipiendary had included the book in his panegyric. The Count added, laughing, that these reception-speeches and answers had been well ridiculed by Piron, who said that they all amounted exactly to this, that the member said, "Messieurs, je vous remercie," and the President answered, "Monsieur, il n'y a pas de quoi." This Academy had occasioned him to make another indiscreet observation in conversing with the Emperor Napoleon. They had on some occasion, while he was at Paris, perhaps some affair of the Spanish business, sent a deputation to the Emperor, and the orator of the deputation had said, among other things, that "they were an invisible militia surrounding his throne." The speech was published in the next morning's Moniteur, where the Count read it. Seeing afterwards the Emperor the same day, he had told him that there had been to him a deputation from the Academy, and that he encouraged and countenanced *those people*. "I am not," said the Count, "remarkable for being incautious about what I say; but that day somehow it happened that all my caution forsook me. For I said, 'Yes, Sire, and I have read something as a speech of that deputation which struck me oddly, and gave me some pain.' 'And what is that?' said the Emperor.' 'Why, Sire, they said they were an invisible militia surrounding your throne. The meaning of which is that your throne derives support and assistance from a club of Atheists. Now I think, in the first place, this is not true; and in the next, if it were, that it is not becoming that it should be thus publicly announced.' The Emperor made little reply, but I saw," said the Count, "that what I had said was not agreeable to him. The next day, however, the orator's speech was published again in another gazette, and the passage upon which I had animad-

verted was omitted. I had no doubt that my remarks to the Emperor had occasioned its being struck out.

"Ever since my return from France at that time I have been persuaded that there was very little religion there. Now, indeed, this incident in the Council disconcerts a little my ideas ("dérange un peu mes idées"), and we shall see what it comes to. But again I have considered that the Council, consisting principally of old men, may naturally have an extraordinary proportion of members more stubborn than the spirit of the times will be found to bear them out. The characteristic of the great mass was indifference, and it was not confined to France. It pervaded the great body of the Roman Catholics throughout Europe. Consider," said he, "what the *Pope* is, in the principles of that sect. You know the situation in which he has long been kept. How, but from this immovable indifference, can we account for it that not the slightest manifestation of interest or of sensibility to his condition has appeared in any part of the Catholic world? Yet the mass of population in several important European states were Roman Catholics. To instance only *Austria*."

I said I did not know whether I could without indiscretion tell him what I thought of Austria. But he must be aware Austria had made her effort. She had struggled—she had motives of policy which would induce her to restrain the expression of sentiments among her subjects which might impair her good understanding with France.

He replied that the sentiments to which he alluded were precisely of a nature which the Government could not control. If they were felt, they would burst through all such restraints. He did not know, however, that any such restraint had been used, or attempted. There certainly had been none here. Several provinces of the Russian Empire were inhabited by Roman Catholics; and the Emperor Napoleon knew—he had long since been informed—that if any difference between him and the Pope should arise, by which the consciences of that class of the Russian subjects might be affected, the Russian Government would not side with him against them.

I mentioned to the Count that I had some time since seen a

letter from the Roman Catholic Bishops in America to those in Ireland, concerning the situation of the Pope. He had never heard of it, and requested me, if it should again fall in my way, to send it to him; which I promised.

In the part of the conversation respecting the prospects of peace, I told him that besides the war between the United States and England, which, with him, I feared and lamented would be inevitable, the state of affairs between France and Russia, with the discussions they were agitating (at least as they were represented in the public opinion), had also a strong appearance of protracting the period when peace might be expected. He said that with regard to the relations between Russia and France there were undoubtedly many unfounded reports in public circulation; but thus much he could say, that if the whole budget could be turned inside out (si on pouvoit tourner le fond du sac en dehors) and exposed to the view of everybody, it would not at all promote any other conclusion than is already drawn from what is known.

10th. I dined at the French Ambassador's—his first great diplomatic dinner. Count Romanzoff asked me to send him the three latest English newspapers; being later than any that he had seen. I accordingly sent them immediately on my return home in the evening. At table I sat between the Minister of War, General Barclay de Tolly, and the Emperor's aid-de-camp, Count Ozarowsky. My only conversation was with the latter. I mentioned to him that the late King of Sweden had returned from Heligoland into Holstein, greatly incensed against the English Governor and officers of the island.

The Count said he was the most difficult man to deal with that he had ever met in the course of his life. When he came into Russia last autumn, the Emperor sent him, Count Ozarowsky, to meet and compliment him. His orders were to do everything that the King pleased, and to facilitate anything upon which he should determine. Whether he chose to stay at Riga, or to come to St. Petersburg, or to go into the interior of Russia, or to embark for England, his pleasure was to be the rule for Ozarowsky's conduct. But he was scarcely ever

six hours together of the same intention. At one time he was for staying at Riga; then for going to Sarepta, a Herrnhut establishment; then for going to Bender—because Charles the Twelfth had been there; and lastly, for going to England, and then to Spain. He did actually go to England, but did not stay there long. He came thence to Heligoland, and now has returned to the Continent. The Count says that he is disordered in the intellect to such a degree that he sometimes fancies himself to be Charles the Twelfth in person—and that was his motive for intending to go to Bender—a project which he carried so far that the horses and carriage were already tackled for his departure before he changed his mind. He has a sort of Bible, or rather a Herrnhut Calendar, with a text from the Bible for every day in the year. He consults this book every day as an oracle, and considers the text for the day as prescribing to him his rule of conduct for that day. But, as he gives a sort of mystical construction to these texts, he makes out of them a meaning of his own, which, instead of inspiring wisdom, as the natural operation of the Bible would be, leads him into a multitude of absurdities. Yet he has, withal, many good qualities —a proud spirit of honor, and generous sentiments.

15th. It being the Emperor Napoleon's birthday, I dined in formal ceremony at the French Ambassador's. It was like the dinner on the same occasion the last year; but Count Lauriston's magnificence is not in so high a style as that of the Duke de Vicence. The ceremony of rising to drink the Emperor's health in champagne wine was repeated in the same manner as then; and there was a band of music occasionally performing during the dinner. The preparations for the illumination were like those of that night. I sat between Counts Soltykoff and Bussche at table. The company were about fifty-five persons. The dinner was short, and the company all very soon afterwards retired.

16th. I received a note from Count Maistre, the Sardinian Minister, requesting me to return him his manuscript translation of Plutarch's treatise on the Delays of Divine Justice, which he lent me some weeks ago. I have read it, and been pleased with his preface and notes. The translation is too much dilated.

The argument against Wittenbach, to prove that the Christian Scriptures were known to Plutarch, is weak. He commends Wittenbach's learning and ingenuity, but censures his infidelity. There are two points in the character of Plutarch's style which the French denominate *bonhommie* and *naïveté*; they are well represented in the old translation of Amyot, but I do not find them in that of Count Maistre. He has doubtless corrected some mistakes and elucidated some obscure passages. Plutarch reasons well, but leaves much of the mysterious veil over his subject which nothing but Christian doctrine can remove. If the existence of man was limited to this life, it would be impossible for me to believe the universe under any moral government; Prudence would be the only God, and Jupiter, according to the pagan doctrine, would be subject to Fate. It is not the affliction of the righteous, but the prosperity of the wicked, which would contribute most to stagger my faith in Divine justice. I cannot reconcile it to my own mind to see the crimes of a successful conqueror punished in the person of his innocent great-grandchild, and to take it for justice. There is one more idea which I think not unimportant. Taking a future state of retribution for granted, the imperfection of Divine justice in the present life necessarily follows. If it were complete here, there would be nothing to compensate hereafter; if the righteous were rewarded and the wicked punished here, in this world, to the full extent of justice, there would be neither merit nor demerit left upon which justice could operate hereafter. Now, let it once be admitted that there is a balance of virtue and of vice to be accounted for and settled in another state of existence, and there will be no question left with regard to the delays of Divine justice; because, however defective the measure may be found here, the principle supposes that it will be filled up elsewhere. I sent Count Maistre his book, with a note of thanks.

28th. Mr. Montréal came again this morning, with some further information concerning the vessels arrived at Reval, and spoke to me of a publication which he had heard was in an English newspaper, and with which my name was said to be connected. I did not know to what he referred, but Mr. Harris

afterwards, in the course of the day, sent me the London Courier of the thirtieth of July, containing the publication. It is a stupid forgery, purporting to be a memoir, signed by the Duke de Cadore, thirtieth of October, 1810, addressed to the Russian Ambassador, Prince Kurakin, to be laid before the Emperor of Russia. It contains a clumsy imitation of the general accusations of France against Britain and British policy, and asserts the necessity of changing the English Constitution or the dynasty on the throne. But for the rest it speaks in language suited only to the sentiments of George Rose, or any other ministerial tool. Its venom against the United States would be sufficient to betray its English origin. This miserable thing the Courier, a ministerial paper, announces with emphatic solemnity as perhaps the most important state paper ever laid before the English nation, asserts repeatedly that it is of unquestionable authenticity, and gives what it calls a history of its publication; that it was sent by Prince Kurakin to St. Petersburg, where, not producing upon the mind of the Emperor Alexander the intended effect, it was communicated by the Russian Government to me; that I sent a copy of it to my Government, and to my father, through whom it was first published. This is a lie from beginning to end.

30th. The French Ambassador came, according to his appointment. The Ambassador had seen the spurious memoir attributed in the English papers to the Duke de Cadore; but he had seen it in the Pilot of the thirty-first of July, extracted from the Courier of the preceding day, where I saw it; and he says that in the Pilot of the first of August there are some further remarks upon it. He supposes it to be a device of the British Ministry themselves; for he says that the extreme severity with which the laws of England punish forgery is only because their Government view it as a breach of their own exclusive privilege.

I told him I had not much opinion of their virtue, but I could hardly suspect them of participation or connivance in so low and wretched a device as this. He said they were at their wit's end; that the King was dying, and the Prince had other favorites; their paper was falling in value every day; their expenses,

especially in Spain and Portugal, increasing; their merchants all turning to bankrupts. He had seen in the Statesman a list of bankrupts. It took up half the paper. And so the Ministers spread abroad one falsehood after another merely to maintain themselves. One day it was a victory in Spain; the next, it was a naval victory and the destruction of a French fleet in the Mediterranean; the third, it was the taking of Genoa. Now they were trying to coax America, and he saw they were beginning to hint that Captain Bingham's account of the attack upon the Little Belt was not fully confirmed. Then again they were coaxing Russia, and were sending frigates and store-ships with powder and saltpetre, which no sooner arrived than they were ordered away.

I asked him if he was sure of that.

He said the Emperor himself had told him so. It was a foolish attempt at a separate negotiation, which they had tried twice before and failed—once with the frigate which brought the prisoners, and once *on another occasion*. (He meant the frigate that brought the Portuguese Minister.) They were now not more successful than before, though it was said they were in great want of gunpowder. If they wanted it, he could not conceive why they wasted it. Every day they had some fête or manœuvre here at Cronstadt, when they burnt as much powder as would serve for one day of battle. But at least he was sure they did not intend war with France, and therefore that they would have no separate negotiation with England. It was, to be sure, an awkward way of doing business, if this was it. Russia had Voronzof and Smirnoff in England; if they wanted to negotiate, it was very easy, but then they would not take such a ridiculous course as this.

I told him I rejoiced to hear him say that there would be no war between this country and France, for I had for a long time been afraid there would.

He said he came here with the same apprehension. He knew that France did not intend to begin; but he heard so much before he came, and saw so much on his way, that he really feared they would begin here. The preparations were in themselves great and menacing—five divisions ordered away

from the Turkish army to Poland (I never heard of more than four); and then the paper about Oldenburg looked so much like a manifesto. But that had been explained. It was merely a reservation of rights, and would be got over. There were points about which Russia was obstinate; she must show a little flexibility and give them up. The return of the Duke of Vicence had done much good. It was so much easier to explain and prove intentions, verbally and in person, than at a distance of eight hundred leagues. Besides, if it was thought that long residence in the country, and personal favors received, had made something of a Russian of him, when the reports of the new-comer perfectly agreed with those that he carried, they must be convincing. I might rely upon it therefore, with the most perfect certainty, that there would be no war for anything *yet* in discussion between the parties. "And now," said he, "we have sent eighty thousand more men into Spain, and are going to form a camp at Boulogne, and along the coast of the North Sea, opposite to England. We shall see if they do not think of calling their troops home to defend themselves."

I said that it seemed as if there would not be a very active campaign in Portugal.

The Emperor, he replied, intended first to sweep all clear in Spain; to wear out all the guerrillas, and take Valencia and Carthagena, which would not cost so much trouble as Tarragona. Cadiz would be left, and that was a strong place. Probably it would be the last hold; but the Emperor had given great means (de grands moyens) to King Joseph, and all must before long be settled there. As to Portugal, the English would always have the position of Torres Vedras, which could not be forced. Probably the war would not be much pushed there. But if the English stayed where they were, at Portalegre, encamped in the marshes of Alemtejo, the pestilence would do among them the work of a French army. Besides which, there were Generals quite competent to keep the field on a day of battle, but not qualified to plan successfully a whole campaign. (He must have alluded to Soult.) The result of the campaign was the only important object in war, and therein lay the great talent of the Emperor (Napoleon). A battle was to him only a

secondary object of consideration. It might almost be said it was unimportant. If he lost a battle to-day, he knew that in three weeks' time he would be ready to win the next. He was sure of the effect of an entire campaign—that was everything—and that, happily (heureusement), was what they wanted here. They had not got a single General fit to be named. Oh, if they had, with such soldiers as they have, he should be very much afraid of them. But how they went on with this war in Turkey! This year nothing done at all, but to return back to where they were two years ago. The year before last, Prince Bagration sends a pompous account of a victory, gets the blue riband, and the day after is recalled, because it turns out that his victory was a defeat. Last year, what did they? Lost thousands upon ten thousands of men in storming two or three paltry fortresses, which, after having got, they could not hold. Why, the Emperor Napoleon would not ask more than one campaign to go to Constantinople. As to the English, if we could but take away from them their Scotch soldiers and their Irish sailors, we should have cheap and easy work with the rest. The Irish are most excellent sailors, and the Scotch are equally good for the land service; but they have a national feeling very distinct from that of the English. "They claim me as a countryman to this day."

I asked him whether he was directly descended from the celebrated John Law. "No; but from his elder brother, who was my grandfather. John Law left no children. But I am his heir, and that of the family, and am still the proprietor of the estate of Lawriston in Scotland. When I was in England on a mission, there was a great entertainment given in Scotland, at which they toasted me as a Scotchman; and what is more curious still, they did the same for my son, when, for having distinguished himself at the battle of Wagram, he was promoted on the field of battle." The General then told me how the Emperor had sent after him into Italy, where he had been employed upon a particular mission, to make him Ambassador here. He had never before been upon any but short and easy missions; always used to have it soon over, and receive nothing but testimonies of satisfaction. But now it was altogether different. "I

don't know how your Government does with you," said he, "but for mine, I can scarcely ever get so much as a cold approbation. If you yield anything, if you seem even to set forth what is alleged on the other side in all its strength, they seem to think you are biased by the people where you are, and coaxed into their influence. I foresaw this, and told them so before I came away. I said I knew I should get more scoldings than compliments. However, I determined to accept, and here I am. It must come to what it can."

He now took his leave, and about two hours afterwards I had a visit from Count Bussche, the Westphalian Minister. He is of opinion that there is a separate negotiation between Russia and England; that the sending of these store-ships was a concerted thing; and that Prince Lubomirski, whom he says he knows to be much in favor with the Emperor Alexander, was charged with a secret mission. It is certainly possible, and the suspicion is countenanced by the manner in which the Prince went from hence; but the reception, or rather the rejection, of the store-ships upon their arrival is strong evidence either that he was not executing, or that he has not executed, his errand with sufficient address, or that, since he went, there have been changes of affairs which have operated a new change of policy.

September 2d. After dinner I paid a visit at Mr. Laval's. I found Count Maistre and the Chevalier Brancia there, and Mr. Labensky—but a company smaller than usual. Madame de Laval was absent—went yesterday to Pavlofsky, and had not returned. She came home while I was there. I asked Mr. Laval some questions about the two institutions of cadets. One of them is to educate officers for the army, and the other officers for the navy. The army cadets are under the direction and management of the Grand Duke Constantine. They are taught the manual exercise in great perfection, and little or nothing else. The marine cadets are under the inspection of Captain Krusenstern and Mr. Laval; of the Captain for the practical part, and of Mr. Laval for the part of instruction. They enter from nine to eleven years of age, and remain there six years, after which they are obliged to serve as marine officers, with the appointment of midshipmen. The three last years of their

attendance at school they are *bas-officiers* and *gardes-marines*, and when the sea is open and free to them, are sent out on board frigates to cruise in the Baltic, to learn the practice of navigation. This part of their duty now is confined to the navigation between this city and Cronstadt. They are taught the mathematics with great assiduity, and many of them make great and surprising proficiency in them. They are also taught the French and English languages, and some of them German; but the greatest attention is paid to the French. There are thirteen teachers of that language alone. But then there are seven hundred pupils belonging to the institution. Their numbers occasion the greatest inconvenience. And another heavy misfortune is the depreciation of the paper money. The funds remain the same as they were in the time of the Empress Catherine, while the money has depreciated to the rate of four for one. The masters have salaries of two hundred roubles a year, when they ought to have two thousand. Good masters, therefore, are not to be had. Notwithstanding which, this is the best naval school in the country. Mr. Laval promised me that he would some day accompany me and show me the buildings and arrangements of the institution.

4th. I sent home the papers which the French Ambassador had lent me yesterday, with enquiries whether he could see me this day, and at what hour. He sent me word that he should be at home the whole day, and would receive me when I pleased. I called upon him about one in the afternoon, and thanked him for the loan of the papers. I had then some conversation with him upon general subjects. His papers came by a Russian courier to Count Romanzoff. His own courier, whom he has some time expected, has not yet arrived. He complained that his couriers were all dispatched to him too late. I asked him if he was still as confident of peace as the last week. He said, yes; at least there could be no war now—it was too late. He had heard, indeed, that the Emperor Napoleon had made a promotion upon his birthday, 15th August, of fifty Brigadier-Generals and several Generals of Division at once, which could hardly be true. There had very probably been, however, a promotion, and it might be unusually numerous, for there had

been none since the last campaign against Austria. It was said, too, that the Emperor Napoleon had had a conversation with the Russian Ambassador, Prince Kurakin. That was very probable; but as the substance of it had been reported to this Government by Prince Kurakin, and as neither the Emperor nor Count Romanzoff had told the substance of it to anybody, it was evident that there could have been nothing in it of an unfavorable nature; for if there had been, they certainly would have spoken of it.

The Ambassador's reasoning must go upon the principle that by anything of an unfavorable nature he means express war.

He said that when the Russian courier came from Paris, the Emperor Napoleon was going to Compiègne, and perhaps to Holland, which would further increase the suspicions and alarms here. But he would be returned so soon after his departure that they would not have time to be alarmed long. He had heard, too, that *the Generals* had been appointed here; but this was merely a rumor. On the whole, I saw that the General himself was not perfectly sure how affairs actually stood, and that although he really believes the peace will continue, he is not altogether without his doubts.

9th. Four o'clock P.M. was fixed for the christening of my infant daughter. The company invited assembled at that hour. The Reverend Loudon King Pitt, chaplain to the English factory church, performed the ceremony. Levett Harris, Esquire, Consul of the United States in this city, was the godfather, and Madame Bezerra, the lady of the Portuguese Minister, and Mrs. Annette Krehmer, were the godmothers; the witnesses present were the Chevalier Bezerra, General Watzdorf, and Count Bussche, Portuguese, Saxon, and Westphalian Ministers, the Chevalier Navarro, Mr. and Mrs. Bentzon, Mr. Krehmer and his daughter Sally, Commodore Bainbridge, and Messrs. Blodget, Fisher, Gray, Harris, jun^{r}, and Jones—together with our own family. The child was baptized by the name of *Louisa Catherine*, being that of her mother. The ceremony took about a quarter of an hour, and immediately after it was over we sat down to dinner. Great part of the company spent the evening with us, and we had cards. I played whist with Mr. Bezerra, Mr. Jones, and Mr.

Gray. My oldest son and my daughter have been baptized according to the rites of the Church of England. My sons John and Charles were baptized at Boston, by my worthy friend Emerson, now deceased. I think the ceremony of baptism as performed in our Congregational churches much more proper and rational than that of the English Church. I have both in this instance and in that of my son George recurred to the ceremony in this form, only because I thought the rite itself essential, and because the forms of the English Church are the most like to those which I have considered as the best, and to which I myself was born, that I could have access to. The motives for my preference of our own form of baptism are—1. Because it is done in church, a place devoted to divine worship, and in the presence of the congregation. It is therefore more solemn and more public than a private baptism can be; both of which are characters peculiarly suited to this act. 2. Because it is much more simple, performed only with a previous and succeeding prayer of the clergyman, without any entanglement of creeds and controversial doctrines. 3. Because the father of the child is the only sponsor, and solemnly undertakes what it is his duty to perform—that is, to educate the child to virtuous and Christian principles; while the sponsors of an English christening are often strangers, who are never likely to have any control over the child, and therefore rashly enter into solemn engagements, the performance of which will never depend upon themselves. But the rite itself, the solemn dedication of the child to God, I prize so highly, that I think it ought never to be deferred beyond a time of urgent necessity.

19th. I received this morning a note from Mr. Craig, informing me that he had heard that there was to be a ball this evening at the French Ambassador's, and requesting me to present him to the Ambassador and to allow him to accompany me there. I answered him that I regretted I could not present any American at the French Ambassador's unless he had been previously presented at Court. I returned the visit of the Chevalier de Bray, where I found Mr. St. Genest and Mr. Harris. M. de Bray gave some particulars of the mode of courtly living at Paris, which made me doubly rejoice at having no call there.

St. Genest complained of the manner in which the diplomatic establishment in France is organized, and said that if he or Rayneval were to go to Paris they could not be presented at Court, because they were not auditeurs—though Prevost, their junior, having that title, would be. They were refused it, and were told it was because they were above it. Besides which, to obtain it, proof must be given of having an income of six thousand livres a year. I called on Mr. Harris and had some conversation with him concerning this curious application to me of Mr. Craig. I told him that I had adopted as rules which experience had rendered necessary—1. To present no gentleman at Court without first obtaining an express permission from Count Romanzoff. 2. To present in person no one to Count Romanzoff, to the foreign Ministers, or to anybody, except at Court. 3. To solicit no letters for any one to persons in other countries. The ambition of young Americans to crowd themselves upon European Courts and into the company of nobility is a very ridiculous and not very proud feature of their character. There is nothing, in my estimate of things, meaner than courting society where, if admitted, it is only to be despised. Yet such is this vicious appetite for great acquaintance, and so little delicacy has it, that an American Minister abroad can preserve himself from sharing in the scorn which it excites only by adopting some such general rules as these.

26th. I called again at eleven o'clock this morning upon Count Lauriston, and this time found him at home. He had some musicians with him, and violins and a bass-viol, and music-stands, so that he was preparing for a family concert. I invited him and all his family to dine with us next Monday. They agreed to come. I asked permission to send a letter to Mr. Russell by his next courier. He said he should send one on Sunday. He spoke of the Emperor Napoleon's being at Compiègne, where he said it was probable he would stay longer than had been expected; that he would perhaps go to Holland, but probably not to Hamburg. He mentioned paragraphs in the English papers saying that he was trying to keep Count Romanzoff in office here, but that he would certainly be turned out. He also mentioned the English sloop-of-war and the

store-ships at Reval. I asked him if they were gone. He said they were gone out of the harbor, but were still anchored below; and the Emperor Alexander had told him his naval force had not a superiority adequate to drive them from thence. He asked me if I had any late accounts from the United States. I told him, none—that scarcely any American vessels had arrived here within the last month, and that his countrymen, I believed, were in part the cause of it. How so? A number of privateers, under French colors, had taken stand at the passage of the Sound, which was now not blockaded by the English; one of those privateers had taken, to my knowledge, two American vessels coming here, and those which were going from here were considered as in great danger of being taken by them also. He said it was the difficulty of discriminating between our vessels and the English which made ours liable to capture. And the English themselves boasted of the use they made of our flag. He had but a few days ago seen a paragraph stating that Admiral Saumarez had permitted two hundred vessels to come under *American colors* from Gottenburg into the Baltic. I told him undoubtedly the English favored this deception as much as they could, for the sake of exposing our vessels to be taken for theirs and exposed to the same capture. It was their interest to prevent the discrimination; but it was the interest of France, as well as ours, to make it. I then repeated to him the means by which it is so easy to make the discrimination, wherever there is an American Minister or Consul. He asked me if I would furnish him with a list of those which had sailed from here this season, and which I considered as unquestionably American; that he would transmit it to Paris, and then if any of them should be taken they might be more speedily liberated. I promised to furnish him such a list, and he said I had better send another copy of the same list to Mr. Russell. I mentioned to him that among the American vessels arrived at Cronstadt there were three with false papers, which we had detected, and which had been seized and would be confiscated. "But," said he, "I do not mean to speak of it by way of complaint—I do not wish to trouble anybody—but, between us two, there must be many more than three vessels

under American colors which have come with false papers, or which at least have come from England." "Well, between us two," said I, "speaking with the same confidence as you express, there are many American vessels which I believe came from England; but they all came in ballast. Of loaded vessels, I assure you, not that there have been *none*, but, to my full persuasion, scarcely any. As to vessels coming in ballast, the Government here hardly ask any questions—they come to export Russian produce and manufactures; which is an object of so much importance here, that they do not trouble themselves about the flag." I understood him to say that he had seen a list of fifty-five American vessels that had arrived with cargoes, and of thirty-three in ballast. He also said there had been within a few days a seizure of one or more loaded vessels which came under the Pappenburg flag. I have no doubt that in asking me for the list, besides the motive which he avowed to me, he had that of collecting information upon the subject, according to instructions lately received. I know that Mr. Lesseps has received such instructions. Mr. Longuerue walked with me as far as my door.

Soon after returning home, I went out again to see the annual exhibition at the Academy of Arts. It is much inferior to that of the last year. The paintings are all very bad. There was a subject of national history, the Czar John Vasilievich giving a poor soldier to drink from a helmet, treated by several of the students at the Academy, of what they call the fourth age or class. The four prize pieces in painting, and the four in basso-rilievo, were exhibited. There were a few historical and fancy pieces exposed by persons to obtain the rank of Academician, and a few portraits. One of the best pictures there was a Repose of Suwarrow, by Mr. Swienin, the gentleman who is gone out to America as adjoint Consul, and with whom I dined at Mr. Fisher's. A visit to this place is, however, always interesting and agreeable, on account of the models from antique statues which are always exhibited. They are numerous, and many of them well executed. But the print-shop, and particularly the very bad prints exposed for sale in one of the halls, seem an incongruity. The indifferent pictures

hanging in the halls is another. I observed again the full-length portrait of the Emperor Paul, which I had noticed last year. It is well painted, but the air of dignity attempted to be given him, with his countenance and person, is as incongruous as his purple tunic and imperial crown and robe, with an enormous pair of jack-boots armed with spurs. I then called upon the Chevalier de Bray, and invited him and Count Jennison to dine with us on Monday, which they promised. The Chevalier told me that there was a verbal invitation to the Corps Diplomatique to attend at the consecration of the new church of Our Lady of Kazan to-morrow morning at ten o'clock. On returning home, I found that one of the aids of the Master of Ceremonies had been to give us the same notice. I sent word of it to Mr. Harris, and walked home. I asked the Chevalier de Bray whether he knew what were the particulars of the conversation held on the fifteenth of August between the Emperor Napoleon and Prince Kurakin. He said the Emperor began by speaking of the accounts from the Russian army, and told the Prince that although General Koutouzof had claimed the victory at the late affair of Rustchuk, it was evident by the result that he was not entitled to it, since he had been obliged to abandon Rustchuk itself, to repass the Danube, and to give up everything that the Russians had gained in the last campaign; that the reason why he, Napoleon, had claimed the victory at the battle of Essling, was because he had maintained his position upon the island and the head of the bridge on the opposite shore, so that he was enabled to rebuild his bridge and pass again as soon as he was in force; that he could not help being surprised and somewhat uneasy at seeing the Emperor of Russia, of whose judgment and honor he had the highest sense, weaken so excessively his army where he was actually at war, to increase his armaments in Poland, where there was no danger of his being attacked; that with regard to the Duchy of Oldenburg, that was included in the Confederation of the Rhine; that the Duke had not fulfilled the obligations resting upon him in that capacity; that he, Napoleon, might therefore have put him to the ban of the Empire, and considered it as an affair of internal concern, in which no foreign power had a right to inter-

fere. But, out of regard and consideration for the Emperor of Russia, he had offered, and was still ready to give, ample indemnity to the Duke of Oldenburg, and he asked Prince Kurakin if he had powers to conclude a convention upon the subject. The Prince said that he had not. Upon which the Emperor said that he was ready to make the arrangement whenever it should please the Emperor of Russia. But if he had not the highest confidence in that Prince's justice and honor, he should have been suspicious that he meant to attack him; and in such a war he did not know upon what ally Russia could depend. This discourse naturally struck the Russian Ambassador with surprise and alarm; but the Duke of Bassano immediately afterwards gave the Ambassador the strongest assurances that it was not intended to indicate any hostile intentions; the substance of it was again repeated in a circular dispatch from him, which has been sent to the French Ministers at all the Courts where the Russian protestation of last spring had been sent.

27th. Went with Mr. Smith in full dress, and attended the consecration of the new church of the Mother of God of Kazan. We were there punctually at two o'clock, and found it difficult to get in, owing to the immense crowd. It was about eleven when the Emperor and imperial family came in, the Emperor having, according to his constant custom upon all holidays, begun the day by a *parade* of the troops. From that time until half-past two the ceremonies were performing, so that we stood between four hours and a half and five hours. The stone floor of the church, too, was somewhat cold and uncomfortable. There was a large carpet for the Emperor and imperial family to stand upon, and a narrow stair-carpet for the priests to pass over, upon which we had frequent and earnest notice not to encroach. We were placed, after several removals to and fro by Count Romanzoff and the Grand Master of Ceremonies, Narishkin, at a stand opposite the place where the Emperor stood, and in full view of him. The services were performed by the Metropolitan Ambrose, and the other dignitaries of the Church who usually perform with him. The ceremonies were excessively long, and in very few particulars sufficiently significant to be understood by me. At one stage of it the priests, followed by

the Emperor and imperial family, went in procession out of the church, and marched round it, carrying the holy relics, and the sacred, miraculous image of the Virgin to whom the church is dedicated. At another, the four ends of the church, at the east one of which hung a full-length image of the Virgin, and the three others of which are the doors, were anointed with oil by a small brush at the end of a long pole; the kneeling was twice repeated, and once continued longer than usual. The priests were in their customary garments, and the metropolitan mitre was studded with costly precious stones. The choir of singers performed their parts as usual. General Pardo and the Chevalier de Bray soon got weary after the ceremony commenced. Old Count Strogonoff stayed until the last half-hour, but was then obliged to retire. He had received us at first, and said to us, "Je suis charmé de vous recevoir chez moi, car c'est encore chez moi." That is, the church has been built under his superintendence, as President of the Academy of Arts. It is one of the most magnificent churches that I ever saw. It has been about eleven years building, having been begun during the reign of the late Emperor Paul.

October 4th. We dined with Count St. Julien, the Austrian Minister, at a great diplomatic dinner, the first he has given. Count Romanzoff, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, the two Masters of the Ceremonies, Laval and Maisonneuve, the French Ambassador, his aid, secretaries, and consul, and all the other foreign Ministers and their secretaries, were there, excepting Count Maistre, the Sardinian, and the Chevalier Bezerra, the Portuguese, Minister. The absence of these two gentlemen, with both of whom Count St. Julien is well acquainted, and who are always invited to Count Romanzoff's parties, was evidence clear enough of Austrian policy, and how its pride cowers before the power of France. There was in the dinner, and in everything connected with it, an effort of magnificence, seemingly to equal or outdo that of the French Ambassador. The servants were nearly as numerous, and the same various styles of liveries, and equally rich. But the Count had behind his own chair two chasseurs in hussar dresses, bedizened with silver lace and tassels and sashes to such a degree that

scarcely any part of the clothing under them was visible. Their mantles, bordered with furs, hung crosswise behind them from shoulder to shoulder, and both of them were tall, handsome men, with persons well adapted to set off their garments. This is a very handsome dress, but not more convenient than suitable to a footman waiting at dinner behind a gentleman's chair. The Count's house is also very magnificently furnished. He gives for it two thousand ducats a year rent. His table was handsomely ornamented, but not so superbly as is customary at the Chancellor's or at the Ambassador's. His dinner was remarkable for a number of things of studied rarity, such as pineapple jelly served in cups of pineapple rinds. There was a band of music performing during the dinner, almost without intermission. The music was very good, but fit only for the field; the horns and drums and cymbals made such a thundering harmony that it was literally "rending with tremendous noise our ears asunder." It was impossible to hold any conversation with one's next neighbor. General Pardo told me after dinner that the only way he had been able to account for its not having been stopped after the first three minutes, by order of the master of the house, was that his cartilages were ossified. The Count was indeed the only person at table who did not appear sensible at all that his orchestra was too powerful. The Emperor Francis's health was drunk in champagne, the company all rising from table, according to the usage at the Chancellor's and at the Ambassador's. But it was curious that Count Romanzoff, after going through the ceremony of this toast, addressed himself before he sat down, across Count St. Julien, to the Ambassador, who sat on the other side of him, and toasted his master, the Emperor Napoleon. This was another act of homage to the supremacy of France, demonstrative of Russian policy. For this dinner was occasional—given on the Emperor Francis's *name*-day, and the honor was intended exclusively for him. Count Romanzoff never thinks of the Emperor Francis at his Alexander-day dinners, or at the Napoleon-day fêtes at the Ambassador's. The attendance of the servants, like everything else at this dinner, bespoke the stiffness and awkwardness of novelty, and even the seating of the company was irregular and

unusual. The Chevalier de Sturmer sat at the Ambassador's left hand. Almost all the foreign Ministers sat on the opposite side of the table. I sat between Count Bussche and the Chevalier de Bray. I observed the rule of temperance better than usual at these great dinners, to which I believe the stunning noise of the music in some sort contributed. For by preventing all conversation it left my mind unoccupied by anything which could lead me to forget my resolution, and by confusing the brain it roused me to an extraordinary exertion to preserve it in as rational a state as was possible. The company all retired immediately after dinner, and I came home with a dull headache, occasioned by the noise, but which subsided as soon as I had enjoyed half an hour of quiet at home.

7th. I walked before dinner over Count Strogonoff's garden, of which I now take my leave, and which has afforded me a frequent and agreeable walk the summer through. I examined again the ancient tomb, said sometimes to be that of Homer, and sometimes that of Achilles. It is of marble, eight feet long, forty-four inches high, and of the same width. The four sides are sculptured in basso-rilievo. At the east end is a centaur, with a bow, and a young man naked; the two faces are directed each towards the other, and it seems intended to represent the training of Achilles by the Centaur Chiron. The long north side has four figures representing two centaurs in battle, one with a lion, and the other with a lioness, or tiger. In the centre and behind the animals there is a tree. On the short west side is a female figure seated, playing upon a lyre, and two others standing, one on each side of her. The long south side has ten human figures, of which two are women seated upon stools; in the centre is a young man with a shield upon his arm, in an attitude of starting to force himself away, and a female on her knees before him, as if imploring him to stay. I conjecture it to be Achilles discovered by Ulysses and summoned to attend the Greeks at the siege of Troy. The sculpture is in a style of very considerable refinement, but not of the most perfect period of the art. The heads of the centaurs, the form of the naked young man, and of the lions, and the draperies of all the attired figures, are executed in a style of great improvement. There

are mouldings and cornices above and below the figures round three of the sides, but the long side with the two centaurs and lions is plain. At three of the corners are carved plain Doric pilasters, but at the fourth, the eastern corner, is an image like a human figure with the head of an ape. There is a marble lid, or cover, originally of the same length and width as the tomb, but one end of which has been broken off; it still, however, nearly covers the whole. It is shaped like the roof of an American barn—sharp-pointed at the top, as if to shed with most ease the snow or rain. It is uniformly sculptured in a sort of regular leaves, and is two feet in perpendicular height. On the face of its unbroken end there is a round medallion carved in the stone, upon which there may have been an inscription. There is not, however, at present, the trace of a letter. The sides of the monument themselves are not entire; they have been broken in several places, but are put together with accurate adaptation.

9th. Finished the third volume of the Bibliothèque des Philosophes. It contains a dedication to the King, by Dacier; a discourse upon Plato, with some account of the motives for the translation; a life of Plato; dissertations upon the doctrine, the style and method, and the interpreters and commentators of Plato; the first Alcibiades, or concerning human nature; and the second Alcibiades, or upon prayer. Voltaire says that Dacier was a mule loaded with all antiquity. There appears to be neither criticism nor philosophy in his own writings. I have not the means of judging of the merit of his translations; but they are in no high repute. It is strange that a man who had spent so much time and taken such pains to understand Plato himself, and to make him understood by others, should have caught so little of his spirit himself. He has a profound admiration both of Plato and Socrates; but it is the admiration of a slave, or of an inferior being. His great anxiety seems to be to make saints of them. Yet I am under obligations to him for making me acquainted with Socrates and Plato, whom I have not Greek enough, or not leisure enough, to read in the original. I read the first Alcibiades at Auteuil, in 1784 or 1785, and it has been useful to me. The second Alcibiades might be

called the Vanity of Human Wishes. It lays down the same principles and uses the same arguments as Juvenal and Dr. Johnson have thrown into the poetical and satirical form. The form of prayer recommended by Socrates is more comprehensive than that of Juvenal, and contains the substance of a part of the Lord's Prayer. The process of the Socratic reasoning is slow, sometimes too diffuse, and too uniform in the manner. Cicero gives some importance to all the personages of his dialogues; Plato has but one personage, all the rest are automata.

I read also several articles in the Edinburgh Review, and among the rest that upon the Philosophical Essays of Dugald Stewart, published at Edinburgh in 1810. The whole article is curious, and highly interesting; but there is one part of it which gave me a mingled sensation of surprise, pleasure, and mortification. It is a train of reasoning on the subject of etymology and figurative language so similar to that of my Lectures 30, 31, and 32, that it would be difficult for a third person, reading both, not to suspect one to be a plagiarism from the other; the whole page 198 of the Review (No. 33, for November, 1810) is so much like pages 274 and 275 of my second volume, that they seem almost copied from one another. I was surprised to find opinions, and even some of the forms of expression, which I had thought entirely my own, belonging as much to another as to myself. I was pleased to find such a coincidence between my own sentiments and those of so distinguished a writer as Dugald Stewart, and I was mortified to find myself not alone in what I considered as among the few original parts of my book, and upon which my vanity has often flattered me as with a discovery.

12th. The messenger from the Master of Ceremonies came with a card from Count Paul Strogonoff, announcing the death of his father, Count Alexander Strogonoff, the old nobleman who had received us at the consecration of the Kazan Church as at his home. He had just lived to witness its consecration, and on that day, in the church itself, had been elevated by the Emperor to the first class of the subjects of the empire, in which there were only two persons besides himself—Count Strogonoff and Prince Kurakin, the Ambassador at Paris. He

was nearly eighty years of age, and had enjoyed every honor and dignity and pleasure of life, almost to its last day. It was probably, however, the fatigue and the chill of the consecration which cost him his life. His funeral service is to be performed at the Kazan Church on Tuesday next, and to be followed by a procession to the Monastery of St. Alexander Newsky.

13th. Finished reading the fourth volume of the Bibliothèque des Philosophes. It contains the Theages, or on wisdom; the Euthyphro, or on holiness; an abridgment by Dacier of the first and second Alcibiades, and of the Euthyphro; the Apology of Socrates, delivered upon his trial; the Crito, or upon the obligation of duty; and the Phædo, upon the immortality of the soul—which I now read the second time. In the Theages, Socrates gives the account of his demon, or familiar spirit—a voice, he says, which occasionally warned him what he was not to do, but which never gave him any advice to act. It is not easy to say whether this was the effect of superstition or whether he spoke in figure. It is still more difficult to impute it to deliberate deception. The instances which he gives of the occasions when he heard the voice, make it hardly possible to consider him as having intended only Prudence or Conscience. They are four; but they all relate to the conduct of others, and not his own. The Euthyphro is a discussion whether it be consistent with holiness for a man to appear as the accuser of his father for murder. Socrates here mentions that he himself was accused by Melitus of disbelieving the established gods and attempting to introduce new ones. He certainly does ridicule the popular creed about the gods then in repute, and shows that holiness cannot be defined that which pleases them. The Apology is divided into three parts—what he said before the question upon the charge; after it, when he was to name his own punishment; and after the sentence of death had been passed upon him. The mildness of his tone and manner, the firmness and intrepidity of his adherence to his principles, the sportive playfulness of his satire, and the exalted purity of his doctrines, are all but divine. He repeats here the assurance that he is accompanied by a demon; but there is no substantial defence against the accusation of Melitus. He had no

defence to make: the charges were substantially true. The Crito is the exposition of his motives for refusing to make his escape from prison when under sentence of death—sublime morality. Hume, I think, says it is the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. Socrates argues in this dialogue from a dream that he had the night before. So that he believed in dreams. He lays down, however, and demonstrates the position, that evil is never to be returned for evil, and it is from this that Juvenal quotes that sentiment in his 13th Satire. I am better pleased with the Phædo at the second reading than I was at the first. Its argument is still unsatisfactory. One of his principal reasons is the doctrine of the metempsychosis; another, the existence of the soul before the body—which is attempting to prove a doubtful point by data still more doubtful. We know them now to be false. The idea that spirit is a simple and not a compound essence, and therefore not liable to decomposition like matter, is ingenious, and the strongest that he gives. He refutes with sufficient force the objection of Simmias, that the soul is only a *harmony*, and that of Cebes, that although the soul may last long enough for several bodies, it must at last wear out. But one of the most remarkable things in this treatise is the observation of Simmias, that to establish firmly the soul's immortality, a special revelation from Heaven is necessary.

15th. Attended the funeral solemnities at the interment of the late Count Strogonoff. We went to his house about half-past nine in the morning. He was lying in state, under a splendid canopy, in an apartment hung entirely round with black cloth and lighted with tapers. All the principal nobility of the Court were there, but none of the foreign Ministers except Count Maistre. But Mr. Laval, Master of the Ceremonies, told me that it was considered as more of a compliment to the family to go first to the house. The corpse was removed from the house in about half an hour. The procession to the Kazan Church was performed entirely on foot, and everybody was bareheaded; the house being too near the church to form a procession of carriages. The crowd was so great that it was with difficulty I made my way into the church and found it to the

place for the foreign Ministers. The ceremonies were similar to those I had seen at the interment of Prince Beloselsky, but longer, and with more magnificence. There was a funeral discourse delivered by the Archimandrite Philaretus, said to be the most distinguished orator among the Russian clergy. It had the merit of being short—about twenty minutes; but I could not understand him, and few of the assembly could hear him. His manner was temperate, and his gestures graceful. He did not appear to attempt any excitement of the passions. The passport, as it is commonly called, is only a prayer for God's mercy to the deceased, and a sort of certificate of his character. It is rolled up and put into the right hand before the closing of the coffin. The body was clad in the uniform worn by the Count when alive, with the star of the order of St. Andrew upon the coat. A number of stools covered with cushions of crimson velvet were ranged on both sides of the stage on which the coffin was placed, and on each stool was laid the mark of some distinction which the Count had enjoyed—such as the ribands of the different orders, a gold medal struck by the assembly of the nobility of the province, of which he had been chosen eight or nine times successively the marshal, &c. Before the coffin was closed, his son, grandson, relations, friends, and servants went up and performed the usual ceremony of kissing his hand. The son and grandson prostrated themselves three times at the lowest step before they went up, and as they descended. One of the women of the family remained prostrate, with her face fixed down upon the first step, for a full space of five minutes, weeping and sobbing aloud as in extreme distress. Countess Litta, who is a distant relation of the deceased, was much affected during a part of the ceremony. She wept much, and sobbed heavily for some minutes, but recovered herself before the ceremony was finished. It was past two o'clock when the procession from the church commenced; but I did not follow it. I returned home.

I had some conversation at the house with Count Romanzoff. I mentioned to him the appearance of French privateers at the passage of the Sound, concerning which I observed I knew that Mr. Harris had spoken to him. He said that Mr.

Gourieff had laid the subject before the Emperor; that the Emperor had directed Mr. Gourieff to repeat the statement to him, the Chancellor, and had directed him to make representations concerning it to the Danish Government, and he had accordingly entered into a correspondence with the Danish Government through Baron Blome about it. But what could be done? If France had no possessions upon the Baltic, the old ground might be taken that the Baltic was a *mare clausum;* but, however it might be closed with regard to other nations, it could not be so to the powers bordering upon it, and consequently not now to France.

I told him that such considerations had induced me to spare him the trouble of a formal application upon the subject. I had not much expectation from what Denmark could do, though she would be the greatest sufferer by the event. Our vessels would not go through the Sound to pay the toll, for the sake of being taken by French privateers. They would sooner come with English convoys through the Belt.

The Count said he hoped many of them would take their destination for Archangel, as he did not think they would be troubled by French privateers in that sea. And then he told me again, with an injunction to consider him as laying aside the character of Chancellor of the Empire, the story about the enragés de terre and the enragés de mer, which he had told me before, last June. He asked me if I had any late news from America; and particularly with reference to a prospect of war between the United States and England. I told him I had none; but if I could venture to give him my private opinion, it was that there would not be a war—that France was rendering us too many good offices, like that of stationing those privateers at the passage of the Sound, to make us very hasty in coming to extremities with England. He smiled, and said he thought so too.

17th. Walking afterwards upon the quay, I met Mr. E. Plummer and Mr. Smith, of Boston, who informed me of the arrival of several American vessels. Met the Emperor, who asked me if I had returned into the city, and where I lived now. I told him in a corner house of the Vosnesensky and Little Officer's

Streets. He said he knew well where it was; and after living thirty-five years in a place he ought to be well acquainted with it. He enquired whether Madame was confined. I told him she had been. "When?" "More than two months ago." "What! in the country?" "In the country." He shrugged his shoulders and waved his hand, which is a fashion of gesture that he often uses to intimate that he did not know a thing you are telling him, without saying it. And he does not say it, because he cannot. I believe he knew my wife had been confined perfectly well. But he asked me the question for the sake of conversation, and to please me; and after asking it, he could not seem to know anything about it. His mother does the same thing more remarkably still. He pursued the enquiries. Had her confinement been fortunate? Entirely so. And what had she got? A daughter. He then said he believed I did not walk now so much as formerly. Just the same. "But," said he, "we have lived very near each other this summer, and I do not know how it has happened that we have never met." I said it was true, that it had been long since I had the honor of seeing him. "Not once, that I recollect," said he, "the whole summer. Yet I was often riding and walking." I said I believed the cause of it was that I had generally been walking at his Majesty's hour of dinner. He finished by making an observation upon the weather. He said nothing upon any political topic.

25th. I met the Emperor upon the Fontanka. He observed I had no gloves on my hands, and asked me if I was not cold without them. I told him I had accustomed myself to going without gloves, and seldom wore any but in extreme cold weather. He appeared to be much surprised at this, for the wearing of gloves or of mittens is so universal in this country that I suppose it struck him as oddly to see a man with bare hands as it would have been had he met one barefooted. In general, the Emperor is extremely quick and particular in observing slight peculiarities in dress. He asked me whether there was an officer of the navy of the United States now here. I told him there was, but he was on the point of his departure. He enquired what had brought him here. I said his private

affairs. Had he come as master of a merchant vessel? He had not. Merely as a traveller, then? As a traveller, upon business of his own, and with permission of the Government. Was it customary under the Government of the United States to allow their naval officers to go as masters of merchant vessels? Sometimes, when they were upon furlough. Most of our naval officers had been taken from among the captains of vessels in the merchant service. That, he said, differed from the English practice. In England, officers of the navy were sometimes allowed to sail on merchant vessels, but he believed they were never taken from merchantmen to be marine officers. I said they had an extensive system for the regular education of officers to the service of the navy, which on a smaller scale we now had also; but that our navy itself was a recent institution, and in the origin it was necessary to take its officers among the persons best qualified for the service, which were obviously mariners experienced in the merchant service. He said it was his physician (Dr. Wiley) who had told him that there was an American officer here. I suppose he also knew that I had applied to Count Romanzoff for a passport for him, but of this he said nothing. I met Dr. Wiley the other evening at Commodore Bainbridge's lodgings. He was attending him professionally under an attack of rheumatism. In the course of my walk I met General Pardo, who told me of the courier arrived last evening from General Koutouzof with advices of a splendid victory over the Turks.

31st. Mr. Fisher had been over to the island to see Mr. Blodget, who is very dangerously ill with a fever. This was the first day that he could go over since Sunday; the river not having been passable before. I went with him to the glass manufactory, which is just beyond the monastery of St. Alexander Newsky. It was so late that we could see only a small part of the works which they carry on. The most curious part of them is the making of looking-glasses, four of which had been cast this morning before we went there. They showed us the manner of coating the glasses with mercury and tin, and they were at work in polishing a number of them, which is performed with a steam-engine—an invention of prodigious effect, in its

application to manufactures. They also make here decanters, wine-glasses, tumblers, and colored glass dishes and vases of various kinds. I saw the various works of blowing, coloring, cutting, and gilding; but we were obliged to go over the whole in the space of half an hour; and I know not how to describe even what I saw. I wish I could visit a manufacture once a week, and spend three hours at every visit. If I learnt nothing else by it, I should have a perpetual lesson of humility in the consciousness of my ignorance from which it would not suffer me to escape. This manufacture belongs to the Crown, and I hope to see it again.

November 7th. I continued reading the first volume of Chateaubriand's Itinéraire. It is merely a journal—but the journal of a man of genius. He alleges the motives of his journal—to look for scenery for his Martyrs, to visit Greece for the sake of its antiquities, and a religious pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. This book is a good *study* for a traveller who wishes to give himself or others an account of what he sees. The two introductory memoirs, and every page of the book, are full of *erudition*—book-learning. He thinks he has discovered the ruins of ancient Sparta. He mentions the trees and plants which he met on his way as a *botanist*. He paints with elegance and truth the manners of all the people with whom he converses —Turks, Greeks, Jews, Italians, janissaries, mariners, guides, &c. He reflects, perhaps, too much. Some of his reflections are ingenious and pleasing. Many of them are fanciful combinations of trivial occurrences in his journey, with incidents of antiquity. Some about the vicissitudes of human affairs have too much of the commonplace stamp. He says he carried with him no books but Racine, Tasso, Virgil, and Homer—the last with blank leaves to write notes upon—all poets. In his navigation from Trieste to Modon he met a cabin-boy who sang songs from Tasso's Jerusalem. It sounds to me as if he had said the Mousse kept a basin of Sèvres china to eat his broth out of. Popular songs are seldom taken from epic poems. I question whether even the odes of Horace or of Pindar were ever sung by Roman or Greek cabin-boys. A keen eye may see here and there traces of vain-glory piercing through the

veil of Christian humility. The author glories in his country, in his religion, in his literary successes, and persecutions; and he studiously sets off his own courage, and patriotism, and tender affections. His favorite association of ideas is between himself and any thing or person illustrious in antiquity. He generally puts in a qualifying disavowal of comparison, for form's sake; but the next great man that occurs to his mind comes with the same company,—himself. All this, perhaps, is inseparable from a journal.

9th. I finished reading this morning the Laws of Plato, and in the evening the first volume of Chateaubriand's Itinéraire. Began, but did not finish, the Epinomis. I met in the Itinéraire an account of an occurrence similar to that which happened to us on approaching the island of Bornholm. The writer makes an ingenious reflection upon it, on the continual transitions, not only of scenery but of fortune, the traveller witnesses, and in some sort participates—one moment upon the ocean, buffeting a storm, or drifting to a rock or quicksand, the next entering a house of sickness or mourning, and from that passing, perhaps, into another for a banquet or a ball, to the voice of feasting and of mirth—of the bridegroom and the bride. This thought is at once so striking and so obvious that I was vexed at having never made it myself. He speaks of having met a number of American officers at Tunis. He blames Sparta for not having been sufficiently ambitious, and avows some sentiments in favor of domestic servitude, which savor much of the soil and the season in which they originate. They are mingled with other sentiments of fervent Christianism and attachment to liberty which it may be difficult, but perhaps not impossible, to conciliate with them.

10th. I had only time this morning to finish reading the Epinomis, or Philosopher, at the close of Plato's Laws. As my acquaintance with Plato becomes more intimate, my admiration of his genius, and my regret for his errors, increase. I lament that I had not sought this intimacy sooner and more assiduously. In reading him it is necessary to be always upon one's guard, always winnowing the chaff from the wheat. His Laws might with more propriety have been called the Republic, than

the work which bears that name. The laws are professedly a project of a Constitution for a Cretan colony that was to issue from the city of Gnossus. As a project of government, it is, if possible, more absurd and impracticable than the Republic. He chooses to have five thousand and forty families, and proposes laws to prevent their increase not less than their diminution. He makes laws for the most trivial domestic arrangements, and punishes with death more frequently than Draco. But some of his regulations are excellent, and many of his principles are truly admirable. His argument upon the existence and nature of the gods, upon the immortality of the soul, and upon future rewards and punishments is inferior to nothing but Christianity, and stronger in logic than the Phædo. The doctrine upon *Love*, peculiar to Plato, is fully set forth in this book, and, in spite of all ridicule, is both beautiful and sublime. The doctrine about numbers seems to me rather pedantic than profound. But the advice to study the mathematics and astronomy is well reasoned. I hope to be yet much better acquainted with Plato.

At noon I went with Mr. Smith to the Winter Palace, and attended the Te Deum. The Emperor, Empress, and Grand Duke Constantine only were there of the imperial family. The Empress-mother is sick at Gatschina. I had some conversation with the French Ambassador, who hinted to me that with the help of about five thousand men we could easily take Canada. The Te Deum was finished about half-past two.

13th. Mr. Fisher called on me and proposed paying a visit to Mr. Dubrowsky, the Librarian of the Imperial Library. While I was dressing to go with Mr. Fisher, Mr. Harris came in, and sat with me nearly an hour. It was thus past three o'clock before I went out with Mr. Fisher. I would have postponed the visit to Mr. Dubrowsky to another day, but Fisher was anxious to go this day, and I accompanied him. Mr. Dubrowsky received us in an obliging manner, and showed us a number of curious manuscripts—principally curious on account of the persons to whom they had belonged. Among them were a mass-book belonging to the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, which she used while in prison in England,

with many things written with her own hand upon the margins and blank pages; an English Chronicle, and some other books, with the names of James (,) Charles (,) and O. Cromwell written on their first and last blank leaves. There was another name, which I took to be *Edvardus*, and supposed to be that of Edward the Sixth. But Mr. Dubrowsky said it was *Ricardus;* and upon my asking him which of the Richards, he answered, Richard *the Fourth*—which gave me no very high opinion of his antiquarian knowledge. There was a small Latin Bible, written upon a soft and beautiful kind of vellum, which he pretended was human skin. I asked him when and where the *manufactory* of this material, in such a manner, had existed; which, however, he could not tell me. He only said it was done by the monks of the middle ages, and must be the skins of infants who had died without baptism. I have yet some doubts with regard to the fact, though it is obviously a kind of vellum far more thin and delicate than that of a calf. There was a collection of letters written by Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth of England, James the First, and others, which I had not time to examine; a manuscript collection of poetry addressed to Louis the Twelfth of France and Anne de Bretagne, his Queen, with illuminated pictures between many of the leaves, two of which Mr. Dubrowsky says are by the hand of Raphael Sanzio. They are allegories, and very beautifully done. There were many other curiosities of the same kind, but it grew late and dark, and we were obliged to go away. I asked Mr. Dubrowsky's permission to call upon him again, to which he gave me an earnest invitation. He was an amateur of these curiosities, and formed a large collection of them, which the Emperor Paul purchased of him entire for seventy thousand roubles, and appointed him the keeper of them, as Librarian.

14th. This forenoon Mr. Fisher called upon me with a collection of Siberian minerals worked into knife-handles—six dozen of them—which have been purchased, he thinks extremely cheap, for fifteen hundred roubles. While he was here, Count Bussche came in, and sat with me more than an hour. In the evening we went to the ball at Count and Countess Besborodko's. We went about ten at night, and came home about one in the

morning. There were about five hundred persons there. The house is one of the largest, most magnificent, and most superbly furnished in St. Petersburg, but has not been opened to company since the death of Prince Besborodko, the Count's elder brother, by whom it was built and furnished. He was at one time Chancellor, but has been dead these ten or twelve years. Three-fourths of the company, or more, were totally unknown to the inviters. There was a gallery of pictures, many of them by great masters, and nearly equal to that of Count Strogonoff; antique busts and statues—one, particularly, of a Cupid standing with his hand raised to his mouth, and the finger extended, to mark an intention to surprise, and the other hand slily drawing out an arrow from the quiver under him; Japan porcelain, very rare; a splendid dining-hall, with tables laid in the centre and round the sides for about two hundred persons, all served in solid plate; other halls, with tables laid and served in the same manner; a hall where part of the company were seated at cards, hung round with the finest Gobelin tapestry; three small apartments, being a bed-chamber, dressing-room, and boudoir, furnished with most of the furniture of the late Queen of France at the Grand Trianon; Sèvres porcelain coffee-services and vases; bronzes of the most exquisite workmanship; a barrel clock studded with diamonds; a toilet service of solid gold; and last, but chiefest to my value, a miniature picture of Peter the Great, painted from the life, when he was in France, which Count Kotschubey showed me. Count and Countess Kotschubey did the honors in part. The lady of the house speaks only Russian; her husband very little French. The bride or her husband, Prince Labanoff, I did not even see. The Grand Chamberlain Narishkin told me that if that house and all those fine things belonged to him, he would have taken care to show them to advantage, and the furniture would not be in so good a state of preservation. Much of it, indeed, was as old-fashioned as it was rich. The supper was served about three in the morning. Two hundred and sixty persons sat down to it. About half the company had come away as we did. The ball finished about six in the morning. I was in bed about two.

16th. Dined at the French Ambassador's, with a company of

about thirty persons, among whom were Count Besborodko, the father of the newly-married bride for whom the ball was given, and Prince Labanoff, the father of the bridegroom; Admiral Siniavin, Count Nesselrode, late Secretary of the Russian Embassy at Paris, and now one of the Emperor's particular secretaries, Count Romanzoff, and most of the foreign Ministers were there. I sat at table between Count Bussche, the Westphalian Minister, and Count Besborodko, with both of whom I had much conversation. Baron Armfeldt, now a Russian officer, and President of the Commission for the affairs of Finland, was also of the company. I had seen him at Berlin, in 1797 and 1798, in a state of banishment, and with a very alarming, and almost despairing, condition of health. He is now robust and healthy, and, as a Russian nobleman, was seated at the Ambassador's left hand at table, Count Romanzoff being at his right. The Count, as usual, enquired of me whether I had any late news from America, and what were the prospects of our relations with England. I said I thought they were less warlike than they had some time since appeared. He said he thought so too—particularly as the American Government had declared they had given no orders which could have occasioned the rencounter between the two ships of war, and had put Commodore Rodgers upon trial.

19th. Before dinner, walked with Charles over to the Wasily Ostrow. We met Mr. Harris, Mr. Lebzeltern, Mr. Salters, and lastly the Emperor. Mr. Salters walked with us to the extremity of the quay in front of the Exchange, which was too far for Charles. We met the Emperor as we were returning, on the boulevard of the Admiralty. He accosted me by saying, "Vous voilà en société aujourd'hui;" and then asked me if *that* (pointing to Charles) was his old acquaintance. I said it was, upon which he stooped and asked Charles, in English, if he spake English. Charles was too much intimidated to answer him at all, upon which he asked me what language Charles spoke. I told him a little English, a little French, a little German, and even a little Russian. "Ah!" said he, "mais c'est un jeune homme très-éclairé." But which of these languages did he speak best? I answered that I believed it was the German.

"How happened that?" "He had a German woman who had him under her care." "I thought," said he, "that it was the American young woman, celebrated for her beauty, whom I once saw, and who I heard had been alarmed, as if young girls were liable to be dreadfully treated in this country." I said, laughing, that she had entirely recovered from all alarms of this kind. He said, yes, he supposed she had found that nobody would hurt her here, and that she might go about in perfect security. Then, changing the subject, he made some remarks upon the weather, which is very dull, but mild. On my remarking that the sun had appeared a few minutes before, and led me to expect a change, he shook his head, and said no—he thought there would be no change until the next change of the moon: so that his Majesty is a *lunarian*.

22d. Walked again, about an hour before dinner, upon the quay, and met a numerous company of walkers; among them was the Emperor, who told me that he had made the acquaintance of a countryman of mine, a Mr. Fisher. I told him that Mr. Fisher had mentioned to me his having had the honor of seeing his Majesty. "So you know him, then?" said he. "Yes, Sire, intimately." "From what part of America does he come?" "From Philadelphia." "He speaks French very well." "Tolerably well, Sire." "Is the French language very common in your country?" "Not very common, and not at all so except in the commercial cities." "In England I have heard that the French is scarcely ever spoken, and in Germany it is extremely rare among the common people. But you, I suppose, have people of almost all nations mixed together." "Of most European nations, Sire. But chiefly Germans and Irish people; a few French, but altogether fewer than is generally supposed." "And do they all amalgamate well together?" "Very well, Sire, in a length of time." "And does it not sometimes produce difficulties or confusion at the elections for your assembly?" "None that are of material consequence." "And if they are elected, how do they express themselves?" "They sometimes make speeches in English, and often speak very well, only their pronunciation is a little laughed at. But one of our Ministers, for instance, was a German, and was many years a member

of Congress, where he made speeches as well as any other member."

December 9th. I walked only once this day, and that was between two and four in the afternoon. I first met General Pardo, who told me that, from a particular source of information that he had, he doubted whether the peace with Turkey would come to a conclusion. Afterwards I met the Emperor on the Fontanka, who, on meeting me, said, "Monsieur Adams, j'ai l'honneur de vous présenter mes respects"—a mode of salutation which proved him to be in good humor and spirits. He proceeded, as usual, to remark upon the weather—this day it was fine, but that for some time past it had been like the climate of Portugal at this season. "And then," said he, "we have two comets at once." I said I had seen some such intimation in the newspapers, but had not seen the second comet. "Oh, that," said he, "is certain—c'est positif. But, furthermore, I hear that one of the fixed stars, namely, Sirius, has sunk one degree in the firmament; but for this I will give you my authority—c'est Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de France." I said this was extraordinary news indeed. "C'est un bouleversement général du ciel," said he. "But," said I, "as it is generally understood that one comet portends great disasters, it is to be hoped that two must signify some great happiness to the world." "Or at least," said he, "that their mischief will operate mutually against each other, and by reciprocal counteraction destroy the evil efficacy of both." "I congratulate his Majesty on his happy solution of the portentous knot." He laughed, and said, "Il y a moyen d'expliquer toutes ces choses là."

20th. In my second walk before dinner I met the Emperor, who asked me if it was now cold enough for me. I answered him, very reasonably cold, though I had heard that the comet had been warming us for some months. He said that opinion would not answer now (the thermometer was at about fourteen of Fahrenheit). I asked him if his Majesty had any news from the fixed stars. He laughed, and said, none since the information given him by the French Ambassador, who had told him that some astronomer had announced the fall of Sirius one degree. But General Pardo, who was himself a learned astrono-

mer, had told him that even if the fact were so, it could not have been discovered here, because the fixed stars have no parallax, and the variation of a degree in the position of them would not be perceptible to us. He was not astronomer enough to know whether this was correct. I said, nor I; but I had a prepossession against making a wandering star of Sirius; his movements had hitherto been so long regular, as well as the whole government of the heavenly bodies, that I did not readily credit their now beginning to change their character. He said he believed the best way was to let the heavens take their own course, without meddling with their management.

21st. Read the tenth Philippic, which is little more than a repetition of the eighth, superadding a violent invective against Aristodemus at the close. I cannot believe that these Philippics were all delivered as they are now published. The repetition of whole pages in the same identical words, twice or three times over, at assemblies held within one or two years of each other, is neither consonant to the perfection of the orator's compositions, the greatness of his powers, nor the fastidious delicacy of an Athenian audience. But they give rise to another scruple in my mind. Is it an indication of perfect compositions, that whole pages may be transported from one discourse to another, and be equally suitable for either? Blair says that Demosthenes never recurred to the loci communes. But the usurpations of Philip are the perpetual commonplace of all the Philippics, and you scarcely ever can discover the precise object of the deliberation on any one of the specific occasions of the discourses. In the tenth Philippic he argues in favor of the theatrical distributions, which in the third and fourth he had urged to have appropriated to maintain the troops—a remarkable example of compliance with popular prejudices and passions. Philip's letter to the Senate and people of Athens is well written; with much moderation and dignity of expression, and with provoking coolness, he details all his causes of complaint against them; and in many particulars he appears to have reason and justice on his side. In all great human controversies the better side may be liable to the reproach of subordinate wrongs more than their adversary. The Athenians were not altogether blameless

in their proceedings towards Philip. But their faults were all of petty extent, and in the nature of defence. Philip's wrong was enormous; it was the design of subjugating to himself all Greece. He winds his web round them like a spider round a fly. When I read those noble sentiments of Demosthenes in which he compares the fortune of Athens with that of Philip, and prefers it upon the principle that truth and justice *must* be favored by Heaven; when he contends that success and prosperity founded on fraud and treachery *must* be short-lived, I cannot avoid a feeling of sorrow that these maxims were not sanctioned by the event—that the triumph of fraud and treachery was complete, and that liberty sunk under the genius and industry of the tyrant. I remark, as an item in estimating the oratorical powers of Demosthenes, that there is nothing like learning in his orations. There is nothing that discovers a cultivated mind. There is little of philosophy, no indulgence to the imagination, no wit or humor, no attempt at ridicule; he is sufficiently figurative, but all his figures are taken from familiar objects. His eloquence is characteristic of democracy, as that of Cicero is of aristocracy. It is the Doric to the Corinthian pillar.

24th. The Emperor Alexander's birthday. There was a parade in the morning, but, as there was a steady fall of snow, I did not go out. The Court was announced as usual for noon. I went a little before one, entering at the Hermitage, as had been requested. The imperial family were already at the mass, and the Corps Diplomatique had gone into the Hall of the Throne. It was, however, near two before the Emperor came in, as there is always a Te Deum as well as a mass. Both the Empresses were dressed with extraordinary magnificence and an unusual profusion of diamonds and other precious stones —the Empress-mother especially. The circle was as short as ever—if anything, shorter. The Emperor and Empresses said very few words to the Ambassador and each of the Ministers. The Emperor noticed that I had at last left off my wig. I said I had considered his Majesty's example as a permission, and accordingly followed it. He said it was not so showy, but more convenient, to go without it. Between eight and nine in the evening I went with the ladies again to the palace and

attended the ball given by the Empress-mother. It was similar to those of the last two years on the same occasion, but the supper was more magnificent, being served in one of the largest halls of the palace. The Empress-mother, who does the honors of her own house, was, as usual, remarkably attentive to her guests, and spoke several times to the foreign Ministers, before, at, and after supper. The Emperor asked me whether dancing was not practised in America. "Very much, Sire." "Well, why do you not dance here?" "Because I have given it up. I am too old for dancing. Does your Majesty dance?" "No; I say, like you, I am too old." The Empress was unwell, and obliged to retire immediately after supper. About half-past one the Emperor came up and said, "Je crois qu'il est temps de sonner la retraite," and, with his mother, left the ball-room. We got home a little after two.

January 4th, 1812. Mr. Raimbert also paid me a morning visit, and brought with him a present of porcelain for my wife and for Charles, and another for myself, of which he requested our acceptance. I gave him many thanks for us all, and assured him that, being fully sensible of his kindness and attention, I should feel an additional obligation to him if he would take them back—it being a principle which I had found it necessary to adopt from the first day that I became a public man, never to accept for myself or my family, while I hold any public office, a present of more than trifling value from any person; that this principle was not only the result of my own sense of propriety, but was altogether conformable to the general sentiment of my country, which was more punctilious on this subject than any European nation, and which was peculiarly strict with regard to their Ministers abroad. Mr. Raimbert accordingly took the things home with him again. He appeared to feel a little mortification, but he expressed his approbation of my motive. The refusal of presents is one of the occasions on which I have found it most difficult, ever since I have been in the public service, to act with perfect propriety; and that difficulty becomes not a little aggravated when they are offered to my family and not to myself. Were it possible for me to prevent it, not the value of a dollar should be offered by anybody

to any of us; but those who forbear presenting anything to me sometimes address themselves where refusal may not be thought my duty; and those who begin with trifles, which it would be affectation rather than virtue to reject, rise gradually to articles of cost and value, which render it indispensable to recur to the standard of spotless integrity. I have heretofore accepted from Mr. Raimbert presents of fruit and other small things, which it would have been ridiculous to reject on the ground of a scruple, and which I could not refuse on any other. But this time the gift would have been of a value which I could not have received without feeling uneasy for it hereafter. The perfect line between self-denial and self-indulgence may not always be clear, but the principle of temperance has self-denial for its essence, and even excess on that side is better than the slightest deviation on the other. I dined at the French Ambassador's, with a company of about fifty persons—the common diplomatic company. My next neighbors at table were Count Bussche and the Grand Veneur Narishkin. Count Romanzoff told me that he had received a courier from Paris, and that there were two letters for me, which, if I had not already received, would be sent me this evening; that he had the papers containing President Madison's message, which recommended serious and energetic measures, but complained alike against both France and England. It also mentioned Russia; but in terms peculiarly gratifying to him. I came home immediately after dinner was over, but was disappointed in the expectation of receiving the letters which the Count had promised me.

12th. Conversation with General Watzdorf on the subject of the Bible. The other day, at the Chevalier de Bray's, in speaking of Chateaubriand's Itinéraire, the Chevalier had told me that he had been more interested in his account of Athens than in that of Jerusalem, and I had expressed a preference on the other side. The Chevalier had then extended his observation to the two nations, and said he thought the Greeks a more interesting people of antiquity than the Hebrews. I had taken the other side of that question too, and said, without intending to derogate in the least from the merits of the Greeks, I thought

that the Hebrews, whether historically or philosophically considered, were the most interesting people of antiquity. This had led us into a considerable discussion of the subject, and the Chevalier had mentioned the conversation to General Watzdorf, who said he was on my side of the question generally, but he believed that the Greeks had excelled in the Arts, especially in eloquence. We had much conversation on this, in which I found that the General was more acquainted with the Scriptures than Mr. de Bray; and he has naturally founded on this better acquaintance a higher opinion of them and of the nation which produced them. For, setting prejudices and all party spirit aside, I believe that the respect and veneration of any person for the Bible will increase in proportion to the intimacy of his acquaintance with its contents.

25th. At twelve o'clock I went with Mr. Smith to the Winter Palace, expecting an ordinary circle on account of the Empress's birthday, instead of which we were regaled with the most unpleasant and dangerous part of the ceremony, which had been postponed from the sixth, and which I had flattered myself we should escape this year. We were introduced first to the Hermitage, by the door from the Grande Millionne, and soon after were conducted to the Great Hall upon the quay to witness the filing off of the troops before the Emperor. The two Empresses came sufficiently muffled up in furs, and went out upon the balcony. Réaumur's thermometer was from ten to twelve degrees below zero—the precise degree of cold which was alleged last week for omitting the parade and the Court. It was indispensable to follow them out upon the balcony, bareheaded, without pelisse, with silk stockings and thin shoes. They both immediately and strongly recommended to us to go into the hall, and after a very few minutes I took them at their word; not, however, until I had been thoroughly chilled by the zephyr from the quay. The troops were more than an hour filing off; and Count Maistre and the Chevalier Bezerra stood it out almost the whole time. The other members of the Corps Diplomatique all withdrew into the hall, which was itself abundantly cold. The French Ambassador, who has been very ill, and several days confined even to his bed, was out on horse-

back in the suite of the Emperor. He came up, however, before the troops had all passed, and in time to make his compliments to the two Empresses. The true courtiers stuck to the balcony at the risk of their lives, but I thought my privilege as a republican would be an apology for me, and that I should be doubly ridiculous to stand there, cap in hand, shrugging my shoulders before the two Empresses, and my teeth chattering and my limbs shivering with cold. About three o'clock we were released, and I came home.

February 4th. At noon I called upon Count Romanzoff, according to his appointment. He apologized to me for receiving me in his full dress, which he said was occasioned by his having just received a deputation of Cabardinians; and I excused myself for *not* being in full dress—at which he took no displeasure. I began by informing him, with my thanks to him for the packets which he had sent me, brought by the courier from Paris, that I had received in them dispatches from the Secretary of State, and a letter personally from the President of the United States; that the President, according to the request which my inability to return to the United States last summer had made necessary on my part, had nominated another person to the judicial office which had been previously designated for me, and had instructed me to remain here: a circumstance which I thought it proper to communicate to this Government; which was one of my motives in requesting the conference with him.

The Count very civilly expressed his satisfaction at this arrangement, with which he said he was the more gratified as he had seen paragraphs in the English and German gazettes stating that I was to be removed to England. He had mentioned it to the Emperor, and had thought it probable, as there appeared a manifestation of conciliatory dispositions towards the United States.

I told him that the paragraphs in the English newspapers were probably taken from some of the American papers, where it was much the fashion to announce appointments by anticipation, which never came to be realized; that I had not the slightest insinuation of an intention of the President to remove me

to England, but from the tenor of my dispatches I had every reason to believe that no appointment of a Minister would be made unless England should make further and far more important advances towards conciliation than she had yet made or appeared disposed to make. He said that, on the other hand, it was understood at Paris that in France a better understanding with America was intended, and even professed; that the entire revocation of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, so far as concerned the United States, was confirmed, and that with regard to American vessels which should arrive in France there would be little or no difficulty made as to whence they came, or as to the nature of their cargoes; that in the general view of the Russian policy this was very agreeable to him, because it showed something like a relaxation in favor of commerce; but he referred me to our former conversations, in which he had given me his opinion upon the character of the Emperor Napoleon. He did not think the permanency of *anything* to which he should assent concerning commerce could be relied upon: every resolution, every act, was the result of an impulse of the moment, the effect of an occasional impression. To-day the impression was of one sort, and the measure corresponded with it; to-morrow the impression would be of an opposite nature, and the measure would follow that too. To make them consistent was not in the nature of the man. He never looked at commerce with commercial eyes; he never considered that commerce was an interest in which all mankind were concerned; he saw in it nothing but the trade of a certain class of individuals. "But in truth," said the Count, "commerce is the concern of us all. The merchants are, indeed, only a class of individuals, bearing a small proportion to the mass of the people; but commerce is the exchange of mutual superfluities for mutual wants—is the very chain of human association; it is the foundation of all the useful and pacific intercourse between nations; it is a primary necessity to all classes of people. The Emperor Napoleon will never see it in this light, and so his commercial regulations and promises will never be systematic or consistent —you can place little dependence upon them."

I said that his present measures appeared obviously dictated

by a political interest. As he saw the situation in which the English Government had chosen to place themselves with respect to America, he was taking advantage of it, by assuming a course of an opposite character; and I believed the British Government alone could prevent his succeeding in it completely. And in order to defeat him they must adopt measures to which they did not appear at all inclined, and of which I had little hope.

He said that he should not dissemble to me, that he had seen the English newspapers to the seventh of January, which had been sent to him from Stockholm; that the English Prince Regent's speech at the opening of the session of Parliament was in them; that it spoke of the King's health; said nothing at all about the north of Europe; mentioned that the affair of the Chesapeake frigate had been amicably arranged with the United States; that several other topics remained in discussion with them, upon which the most conciliatory disposition was entertained by him.

I observed that the profession of conciliatory dispositions had always been sufficiently made by the British Government, but they had been so long the only things we had experienced from England that were conciliatory, that now something more would be necessary to produce the effect; and of this, I was sorry to say, I could scarcely discover any prospect.

The Count said there were some intimations that a messenger had been sent over from France to England. It was reported that he was charged with overtures for a pacific negotiation. But that might perhaps be an ostensible measure, to excite the opinion here of a negotiation between France and England—which, in the great and extraordinary armaments said to be now making in France and destined against Russia, might be thought calculated to produce a certain effect here.

I said that as to negotiations between France and England, I did not much believe in them, or in their success, if really attempted; but that I had heard there were prospects of war between France and Russia, which I lamented. He had mentioned the Emperor Napoleon (the print of him, in all his imperial accoutrements as Napoléon le Grand, was hanging at the

side of the wall, over the sofa upon which we were sitting), and how much was it to be wished that it were possible the *will* of peace and tranquillity could be inspired into his heart. The world might then be allowed to enjoy a little peace.

The Count shook his head, and said, "No; it is impossible. Tranquillity is not in his nature. I can tell you, in confidence, that he once told me so himself. I was speaking to him about Spain and Portugal, and he said to me, 'I must always be *going*. After the Peace of Tilsit, where could I go but to Spain? I went to Spain because I could not go anywhere else.' And this," said the Count, "was all that he had to say in justification of his having gone into Spain and Portugal. And now, as perhaps there he is not quite satisfied with his going, he may intend to turn against us, from the same want of any other place where to go."

I said that one would think Spain and Portugal still furnished, and were likely long to furnish him quite room enough to go in, without making it necessary to gratify his passion in another quarter.

The Count replied that there was no political consideration whatever upon which he founded a hope that peace might yet be preserved; but there was a consideration of a different nature which might have its weight, and upon the effect of which he still rested some expectation. It was the scarcity of grain. He understood it was considerable at Paris.

I said I had heard the same, and that the price of wheat and flour had much advanced, though not that of bread, which the Government kept down by payments of their own to the bakers.

He said the scarcity was so great that there had been recently several riots at the doors of the bakers, both at Paris and Lyons. And as large armies could not be put in motion without very large supplies of such provisions, he still hoped that as the months of April and May should come on, the inconvenience and difficulty of procuring such supplies for these armies would ultimately arrest their march; "for which, however," added the Count, "the circumstances have rendered it proper for us to place ourselves in a state of preparation, as we have accordingly done."

I then passed to another subject, observing that it ought perhaps to have been the first with which I should have commenced—the removal of Count Pahlen from the Russian Mission in the United States to that of Brazil. I observed that my dispatches from the Secretary of State made it my duty to express to the Emperor the sentiments entertained by my Government, and their strong sense of the friendly policy constantly pursued by his Majesty towards them, and I had a letter from the President himself mentioning that Count Pahlen had taken leave, and speaking in terms of the highest satisfaction of his deportment during the whole period of his mission—with the assurance that he had conciliated by it the universal esteem and regard of all who knew him; that it gave me peculiar pleasure to communicate to him this information, as I was persuaded it must be pleasing to the Emperor.

He said it certainly would, and that such a testimonial would contribute to raise yet higher the Emperor's good opinion of that officer; that his letters had constantly spoken in the highest terms of the treatment that he had received from all classes of people in America; and that he would quit the country with the warmest regard for it.

I observed that his mission to Brazil would place him in an advantageous situation for observation, not only in regard to that country itself, but to the scenes which were passing in the other parts of South America, particularly the Spanish provinces.

He asked me whether our Government had taken any measures respecting them, and in what light they were considered by us; and whether they had any Ministers in the United States.

I said I was informed by my dispatches that there were deputies at the seat of our Government from the province of Venezuela; that the Government of the United States considered with favorable sentiments the change which was taking place in those provinces, believing that it would prove generally advantageous to the interests of mankind; and that I readily confided to him those views of my Government, because from former conversations that I had held with him, and from other

circumstances of which I had heard, I thought there was the most perfect coincidence between his views on this subject and those of my Government.

He said they were the same. There was only one doubt left on his mind, which gave him some concern. The people of those provinces had been kept in such a state of grievous oppression, that he was afraid they would, in accomplishing their emancipation, exhibit examples of that sort of violence, and those scenes of cruelty, which experience had proved to be too common in such revolutions. He hoped, however, it might be otherwise. He had been for opening a free communication between them and this country, which would have implied a recognition of their new state, and he had made a proposition to that effect (in the Imperial Council); "mais en cela j'ai échoué. The apprehension of those disorders to which I have alluded prevented my success. *On pourra cependant revenir sur cet objet.*"

8th. I dined at Mr. Laval's with a petit comité of about twenty persons, with about half of whom I was unacquainted. General Pardo came with Mr. Ballin de Ballu, a great Greek scholar, after we had sat down to table. Madame de Laval's mother, Princess Kazitzky, and her sister, Princess Beloselsky, were there. Count Maistre, his brother and son, were also of the company. Mr. Laval's antiques and his pictures were amusing. The statues are all mutilated, and restored—some well, others indifferently. There are busts of Cicero, Germanicus in basalt, and the Emperor Balbinus, of the natural size; a colossal one, said to be of Diana, and several smaller than life; a conqueror at the Olympic games; a Sabina; two other Roman ladies; a Bacchus and Ariadne upon one stone, Janus-faced; a Pluto seated in his chair; a Terminus; a rostral column surmounted by a Victory; a Quadriga, without reins or traces; a suit of armor sculptured in porphyry; a Roman Consul, remarkable for the drapery of his robe; a basso-rilievo, much in the style of the tomb in Count Strogonoff's garden—the subject said to be from Homer—Nestor falling from his horse, and the Greeks coming to his assistance; but I think them mistaken in this; a sarcophagus, or votive altar, inscribed to

Julia, the daughter of Augustus, with various sculptures on all its sides; and various other articles, of which I took less notice. The pictures are most of them excellent, but, excepting three or four, I had seen them all before. The David with the head of Goliath, by Guido, struck me more this time than when I saw it last. The Salmacis and Hermaphroditus wading through the water, by Albano, and a Holy Family, by Fra Bartolommeo, were new to me. These curiosities furnish one large saloon. The rest of the house, though fitted up with equal magnificence, had no peculiar recommendation to my taste. It is merely the ordinary princely style.

12th. I dined at the French Ambassador's with a company of twenty persons, the Ministers of the Diplomatic Corps. It was a parting dinner to Count Schenk. Mr. Jouffroy spoke of an ineffectual attempt he had made to obtain the admission of Silesian linens here for re-exportation to America, and of which he was instructed to give me information, as a matter in which I had taken some step—but this was a mistake. The Chevalier Brancia told me that he had received official communications of the fray and duel between Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian Minister, and the Baron de Durand, the French Minister, at Naples; and the other duel at the same time, between Mr. Benkendorf, the Secretary of the Russian Legation, and the King's (Joachim Murat's) Grand Écuyer; and he related to me the circumstances as he was ordered to represent them, much to the disadvantage of Prince Dolgorouki. He added that he would call upon me in a few days and show me the representations that he should officially make here on the subject.

The Ambassador conversed quite freely with me on the state of affairs; told me of the occupation by French troops of Swedish Pomerania and the incorporation of the Swedish garrison into the French army, which, he said, laughing, was following the example of Frederic II.; and of the Swedish counter-measure of confiscating debts due to French subjects, including their loans in Holland. He spoke with contempt of the Prince Royal's (Bernadotte's) late report to the King; said he hoped people would not now charge them (nous autres—the French) with having fixed the election of Prince Royal upon him; said

he supposed he was afraid of the nation, but then he ought to have bargained with them, and have refused to accept if they would not honestly and faithfully come into the Continental system. He also said he did not yet despair of preserving peace between France and Russia, but he should, unless something was very soon done. He wished they had sent Nesselrode. He had not urged it, for it was a proposition of their own. But now they said it would look like making advances. What then? Prince Kurakin was sick. Nesselrode had been the Secretary of the Embassy. Now he was the Emperor's Secretary. They had given him "un galon de plus;" but what did that signify? why not send him? he might be the more acceptable for the added lace. Certain it was that something must be done, and that very soon, or the worst might happen.

I had much conversation with General Pardo too; but that was upon Homer, Demosthenes, and Cicero. He insists that the Iliad and Odyssey are not works of the same author, and that the last five books of the Iliad are not of the same hand as the rest.

18th. Went to dinner at the Chevalier de Bray's. Mr. Laval and Mr. Harris dined there, and a professor of the University at Dorpat, with whom I had much conversation respecting that institution. Mr. Laval had got a small silver coin, or medal, of Balbinus, given him by a friend, and perfectly resembling his bust, with which he was in ecstasies of delight. He had also a copper coin with the head of Augustus Cæsar, resembling, though not so strongly, another of his busts. The Chevalier de Bray gave me a copy of his Tour in the Tyrol, of his own edition, which, he told me, was not so good as the edition printed at Paris.

I spent an hour with the Chevalier and Madame Bezerra, then half an hour at home, and finally about two hours at the French Ambassador's ball, where I conversed with several persons, but particularly with General Pardo, who made very light of the surrender of Valencia and General Blake with his army. Pardo is one of the first classical scholars in Europe—a military man, thoroughly versed in the science of war, with a fine taste for the arts, a brilliant imagination, much eloquence in conversa-

tion, and withal the weakest head, the most abandoned to his feelings, and the memory the most treacherous to itself that I ever knew. He had often spoken to me of Blake as a sort of military prodigy. To-night he told me that he knew him perfectly well; that *he* (Pardo) had formed him; that he was an excellent garçon, but no general. His heroes now are Balasteros, L'Empecinada, Mina, and Mendizabal. He considers the patriotic cause as so firmly established that he makes no scruple to speak of it as his own. He says, *we* shall be successful; *we* have such and such places in our power; *we* have defeated Victor at Tarifa—meaning by *we* the Spaniards in arms against King Joseph, whose commission and credentials are his only acknowledged titles at this Court, and by whom he has been loaded with dignities and offices, not to forget a *blushing* riband which the General takes no displeasure in wearing.

Count St. Julien was looking through his glass at the dancers and lamenting that the sex in Russia was not handsome—Mogul faces—nez camus—et des bouches qui se moquent des oreilles. Oh, at Vienna not a guingette of chambermaids but would show more handsome women than all Petersburg could produce. The Chevalier Brancia told me that he had called on me this morning to show me his correspondence respecting the affair of Prince Dolgorouki at Naples; and he promised to call again. I came home about one in the morning.

22d. The question of this day was to ascertain the extent of the earth's circumference. The only English book I have at hand to consult in this case is Morse's Geography. There I find it stated at 25,038 miles, which, divided by 360, makes the degree = 69.55 miles. But by the admeasurement of the meridian between Dunkirk and Montjouy, the quarter of the earth's circumference was definitively settled to be 5,130,740 French toises (toises de Pérou), the ten-millionth part of which is the *mètre* of the new French system. Taking, then, the English foot as .9386 of the French Pied du Roi, the circumference of the earth is = 131,193,011 English feet, or 24,847.25 statute miles, and gives 69.02 to a degree. The quarter of the circumference is 32,798,252.7 English feet, and the ten-millionth part of it is 3 feet 3 inches 358 tenths of an inch.

23d. I consulted Borel's tables of the Russian weights, measures, and coins, to see how he states the metre. He has the arsheen right at 28 English inches, but he makes 71.19 metres = 100 arsheens, and 140.48 arsheens = 100 metres; the first of which makes the metre = 39.331 English inches, and the second, 39.334. This difference in the fraction is itself considerable, and would amount to five inches in a mile. But the metre, as I have found it, is $\frac{25}{1000}$ or $\frac{1}{40}$ of an inch longer than either of these measures gives it; and $\frac{1}{25}$ of an inch added to the shortest of these would only make the measure as given by Webster. This would make a difference of at least five feet in a mile. I drew diagrams of the French demilitre and of the décilitre, according to the dimensions prescribed by the French law. The capacity of the first is 30.509 cubic inches, and of the second, 6.1 cubic inches. I was then curious to compare them with the capacities of our glasses and bottles in common use. I measured the dimensions of a tumbler and calculated its contents, after which I adjourned this pursuit until to-morrow.

25th. I was disappointed in my expectation of having time this day to write. I began to read regularly through Paucton's Metrology. He says that what first turned his attention to the subject was a passion for the improvement of agriculture, which he resolved to study in books. He soon found that he could understand nothing in them without accurate ideas of weights and measures. The study of these took place of his first pursuit—the accessory became the principal. He postponed, probably forever, his agricultural enquiries, and produced his Metrology. This is too much the progress of all my studies; but I shall never produce a Metrology.

26th. In the evening I read further in Paucton, and find in him a strong recommendation of the use of decimal fractions and logarithms for the facility of practical calculations. A familiar and ready use of logarithms is one of the things that I have neglected to acquire, and I have not been aware with how much convenience they may be applied to the ordinary purposes of business. I am awkward in the management of them.

29th. I had heard it said by Dr. Galloway that in cold and calm weather here the smoke from the chimneys, instead of

ascending, was often depressed, and settled over the city; and I witnessed this effect in my walk before breakfast this day. The atmosphere was perfectly clear until the body of smoke, formed from the fires in the city, had settled together, constituting a thick fog, which obscured the sun totally, and continued three or four hours. It was not entirely dissipated until past noon.

March 3d. In my second walk before dinner, I met the Emperor, who said he had not seen me for a long time, and he supposed we walked at different hours. I told him that I had adopted the practice of walking in the morning early, and sometimes saw his Majesty's window open in very cold weather. He said that he always made it a rule to rise in the morning and dress with his window open. I asked if he did not suffer from the cold. He said, on the contrary, he found it inured him better than anything to the cold; that in the time of the Empress Catherine it had been very much the usage to be shut up and confined in very hot apartments, and in that of the late Emperor, on the contrary, to be continually out at the parades; and there were not, as at present, large buildings where the exercises were held. He had then worn a flannel waistcoat, but he found it irritated and fretted the skin so much, and made him so delicate, that he could not endure it. A physician therefore advised him to leave it off, and told him that either he would die under the operation of the change, or would have his health much better. He left off therefore the maudite veste de flannelle; he did not die, but has had his health much better, and been wholly free from certain rheumatic complaints that he had been subject to before. "You are not of my opinion," said he, "about flannel?" I said that I had so long been in the custom of wearing it in winter, that I believed if I should leave it off I should die under the operation. "But," said he, "there are now many physicians here who think that flannel is a bad thing for wear."

6th. The invitation to the examination of the young ladies of noble families at the Convent was with notice to begin at nine o'clock in the morning. I went with Mr. Smith before ten, and found they had already begun. The examination was then

in Geometry, after which followed Experimental Philosophy, French Rhetoric and Literature, German language. Then the company were introduced into another hall, where were the samples of drawing, painting, needle-work, embroidery, and artificial flowers worked by the young ladies. Then we returned to the examination hall, and the musical performances commenced, after which succeeded the dancing, and the whole concluded about four o'clock. Part of the company then went into another apartment, where a collation was provided, and the young ladies presented the plates round to the guests. The examinations were precisely the same as at the institution of St. Catherine last year, and chiefly, if not altogether, by the same masters. The music, especially the singing, I thought better now than then; the dancing and the works of art not so good; the geometry, physics, literature, and languages much the same—lessons learnt by heart and generally well repeated. All spoke French well, and with evident facility. Several compositions were distributed, of which I received three—two of them, however, by the same person: one a letter to a friend, with topics of consolation upon the loss of an aunt and her fortune; one a sentimental eulogy of benevolence; and one a short argument upon the existence of Deity, founded on the visible things of creation. The handwriting very good and entirely formed; the style correct and easy—they are in the French language. The number of young ladies who quit the school and whose names were on the programme of the exhibition was one hundred and four. There is also a certain number of *demoiselles bourgeoises*, that is, not of noble families, educated at this same seminary; but their examination is to be to-morrow, and the foreign Ministers are not invited to attend it. They are educated nearly in the same manner, with the omission of logic, geometry, and experimental philosophy. It was observed now, as well as last year, that there were very few handsome girls among them, and Count St. Julien, next to whom I sat, remarked that they had all ignoble countenances. But, he said, there was no nobility in this country; that as the Government was a mere despotism, every man was all or nothing, as the sovereign smiled or frowned. Birth was nothing. But, as he

came from the Court of Vienna, where birth was in high estimation, it was natural for him to entertain different opinions. This produced a conversation between us upon noble blood and noble faces, in which I did not much indulge the noble Maltese Commander's pride of birth, and in which he indulged himself with it to his own satisfaction, acknowledging at last that there was too much truth in the reasons which I assigned to him for not thinking that the alliance between noble blood and noble countenances was universal or even general in any part of Europe. There were some Cabardinians, Tartars, there in the dresses of their country—two with large white turbans, and the rest with sharp-pointed velvet caps, like those in Chinese pictures —Georgians, Circassians, Mingrelians, Turks, and so forth, as usual.

9th. I called upon the General of the Jesuits, Brzozowsky, to deliver him a letter I had received for him from New York—from one of the fathers he sent out last summer. I found the old father reading his breviary, and he made me excuses for asking me to wait until he had finished, which he did in a few minutes. I told him that Father Malon, who enclosed to me the letter for him, had also written to me mentioning that they had commenced a school but were in great want of more teachers. The General answered that he could not supply them; that from all quarters he was called upon for fathers, and had none to spare. The ecclesiastical life was now pursued by very few persons; the military career was the only one in favor. He spoke to me about Waldstein, saying he had heard I had been robbed by a servant, and asked if he was a Russian. I said, a Livonian. "Ah!" said he; "and so a Lutheran!" But observing, I suppose, that I was not pleased with the remark by my looks, he added that it would have given him great pain if he had been a Catholic, because those who were Catholics ought to prove themselves worthy of their religion. It was evident, however, that the old man thinks a man's being a Protestant is a solution for every enormity committed by him. Madame de Bray, the other day, attributed it all to Waldstein's being an *affranchi*. "That," said she, "is the consequence of giving those people their freedom." Madame de Bray is the daughter of a Livonian

nobleman, who probably relishes evidence against the emancipation of his peasants, as the Jesuit is a Catholic churchman who thinks Luther the root of all evil. Such is the mode of reasoning among men and women.

12th. The Chevalier Brancia called on me this morning and read to me all the official correspondence that has passed both at Naples and here respecting the duel between Prince Dolgorouki and Baron Durand, the Russian and French Ministers at Naples, and he told me what he had done here on the occasion. It was at the Diplomatic Circle on New Year's day. The Neapolitan Minister of Foreign Affairs relates the transaction in an instruction to Mr. Brancia. That on the New Year's day, when the Corps Diplomatique was passing from the Salle des Ambassadeurs to the Salle du Trône, preceded by the Maître des Cérémonies, Prince Dolgorouki and Baron Durand were going first, side by side, and the Prince having the right hand when they came to the door of the Salle du Trône, before the Grand Maître des Cérémonies had taken the King (Murat's) orders to introduce them, and before the doorkeeper had opened the door, the Prince pushed it open and entered, which Baron Durand attempting to prevent, the Prince, in presence of the King, struggled to keep his place, and laid his hand upon his sword. He maintained his place. The King had presence of mind to avoid manifesting his indignation at this indecent scene, but, addressing both the Ministers, said that he could only ascribe what had passed to their eagerness each to be the first to present his felicitations to him; and then conversed with them both on other topics; but as soon as the levee was over he expressed his displeasure in the most energetic manner, and directed depositions to be taken, and enquiries of the other members of the Diplomatic Corps who had been present to be made, concerning the facts; and finding them attested to be as above stated, although he had been on all other occasions perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Prince Dolgorouki, he could not overlook a proceeding so offensive, and had forbidden Prince Dolgorouki's appearance at Court until the Emperor's orders could be taken. The letter then instructed Brancia to demand the Prince's recall. He omitted reading the instructions. With

it were enclosed the depositions to the facts, and the correspondence between the Neapolitan Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prince Dolgorouki upon the subject—the former stating to the Prince the King's displeasure at the scene that had taken place, observing that if the King had not assigned to the foreign Ministers their respective ranks of precedence, he had a right to treat as a family representative the Minister of his august brother, the Emperor of the French, and that he could not but express his resentment at an insult offered to him; that the King, therefore, had determined to demand of the Emperor the Prince's recall, and in the mean time had directed the Minister to signify to the Prince that it would be proper to abstain from attendance at Court.

The Prince, in his answer, expresses his great regret that the King should have taken displeasure at anything in his conduct; says that he was bound not to submit to any pretension of precedence by the French Minister, and appeals to the express letter of an article in the Treaty of Tilsit, stipulating the most perfect reciprocity between the two powers; that he, the Prince, having been at the right hand, and having on a former occasion declared his intention to take his precedence of the French Minister in turn, had advanced up to the door of the hall, when the French Minister had thrown himself in his way, attempted to seize the handle of the door-latch and to stop his passage, saying, "Ah! pour cela—cela ne sera pas;" that he therefore was the cause of the struggle, in which the Prince necessarily was drawn to keep his place, and that if he had laid his hand on his sword it was merely to disengage it from between his legs; that as to precedence on the principle of family representation, it was allowable only to Ambassadors, and could not be pretended to by Ministers of the second order.

On receiving these papers, Mr. Brancia requested an interview with Count Romanzoff; which he deferred one day later than usual, and in the mean time received a courier from Naples with Prince Dolgorouki's own account of the transaction. On this, he sent Mr. Brancia a note before the Conference, stating that the Emperor had learnt with much concern the dispute which had happened between Prince Dolgorouki and the French

Minister at Naples, and regretted that the King of Naples had thought proper, instead of simply asking his recall, to forbid his appearance at Court; that the Emperor might have used *reprisals*, but that, consulting only his magnanimity and his amicable dispositions towards the King of the Two Sicilies, he had resolved to continue his friendly relations with him as before; and he, the Count, was ordered to declare to Mr. Brancia that he should continue to be received and treated at Court as he had been heretofore, and as if the unfortunate occurrences at Naples had never happened.

When the interview took place, Brancia found Count Romanzoff still dwelling upon Prince Dolgorouki's exclusion from the Neapolitan Court, and expressing himself concerning it with some ill humor. He thought it therefore necessary to answer the Count's note, stating to him that it was not on account of the duel (the Count had spoken of that as the occasion of what had happened), but of the outrage committed in the King's presence, that the measure had been taken of interdicting the Court to Prince Dolgorouki, and quoting a passage from Vattel as authority for interdicting the Court to an offending foreign Minister, or even ordering him away from the country. After this, Count Romanzoff sent for Brancia again, and told him that his note had been laid before the Emperor, who had weighed the observations contained in it, and, recognizing that there was solidity in them, he had given orders that Prince Dolgorouki should be recalled, and had appointed Baron Budberg to reside at Naples in his stead as Chargé d'Affaires—and thus this matter is terminated. The duels were both subsequent to the interdiction of the Court to Prince Dolgorouki. The day afterwards, Baron Durand sent Prince Dolgorouki a challenge; the Prince answered him that while invested with a diplomatic character he did not think it proper to fight, but that he had already written home, offering his resignation to the Emperor, which he had no doubt would be accepted, when he should readily meet the Baron. The Baron replied that the Prince's excuse for not fighting was not sufficient; that as they were *both* diplomatic characters, that circumstance took away the impropriety of a meeting between them in single combat, upon which he

again insisted. The Prince then yielded. They fought, and were both slightly wounded. A French General there at the time likewise sent a challenge to Prince Dolgorouki, to which Mr. Benkendorf, the Secretary of the Russian Legation, answered that Prince Dolgorouki could not be expected to fight all the Frenchmen at Naples, but if the General was very desirous of a duel, he, Benkendorf, was ready to meet him in the Prince's stead. They fought accordingly, and they, too, were both wounded. The two duels were on the same day. Benkendorf has since had the Order of St. Wladimir conferred upon him by the Emperor.

13th. This morning I finished the perusal of the German Bible, which I began 20th June last. There are many differences of translation from either the English or the French translation—some of which I have compared in the three versions. Many passages, obscure and even unintelligible to me in the English, are clear in the French and German. Of the three, the German, I think, has the fewest of these obscurities. But the eloquence of St. Paul strikes me as more elevated and sublime in the English than in either of the others. In the German New Testament there is a transposition in the arrangement of the books, the Epistle to the Hebrews being separated from the rest of St. Paul's, and placed after those of Peter and John. There is a difficulty which obviously often embarrassed all the translators: it was how to render the significant proper names which abound in the Bible. For instance, in the text where Adam says to Eve in the English Bible that Eve "shall be called *woman*, because she was taken out of man," the name does not correspond with the reason assigned for giving it—Gen. ii. 23. The French Bible has it, "on la nommera Hommesse, car elle a été prise de l'homme." The name and the reason here correspond; but Hommesse is not the French word for woman—there is no such word in the language. The German Bible resorts to the same expedient of coining a word, and says, she shall be called Männin. If the English translators had taken the same liberty they would have called her Manness. In expressions of this sort, the English translators, whenever they can, retain the very Hebrew word, and sometimes they

give as proper names words which the other translators render as things. The more I read the Bible the more I feel that it ought to be accompanied with critical and explanatory notes. There are commentators and expositors enough, but they are too voluminous, and almost universally sectaries, whose labors are devoted not to exposition but controversy. The German Bible has one very useful kind of annotation. It is, that after every verse throughout the book all the other verses having reference to it are marked down. This is peculiarly convenient for consulting the mutual references between the Old and the New Testament—the prophecies and their fulfilment. The German New Testament also, besides the division of the books into chapters, marks the festivals at which particular Epistles and Gospels are to be read at the passages themselves. There is at the commencement both of the French and German Bibles an excellent discourse upon the manner and dispositions in which the Scriptures should be read. That of the German Bible is the best.

19th. Walked upon the quay, and met the Emperor. He told me he had seen one of our Americans this morning who must have very strong military propensities, for he had gone out when there were at least fifteen degrees of frost to see one of the regiments march, which were leaving the city. He meant Mr. Fisher. I said perhaps he had some acquaintance among the officers. "No; not in that regiment. But he is acquainted with Mr. Fenshaw, who belongs to the regiment that will go next Saturday. And so it is," continued his Majesty, "after all, that war is coming which I have done so much to avoid—everything. I have done everything to prevent this struggle (cette lutte), but thus it ends." "But," said I, "are all hopes vanished of still preserving the peace?" "At all events," said he, "we shall not begin the war; my will is yet to prevent it; but we expect to be attacked." "Then," said I, "as your Majesty has determined not to commence, I would fain hope it may still pass over without a war." "I wish it may," said he. "Mais tous les indices sont à la guerre. Et puis—IL avance toujours. Il a commencé par prendre la Poméranie Suédoise—voilà qu'à présent il vient d'occuper *la Prusse*—il ne peut pas beaucoup

plus avancer sans nous attaquer." I said it was to be hoped he would stop somewhere. "Oh! oui—j'espère bien qu'il ne viendra pas jusqu'ici." Seven or eight regiments have already marched from St. Petersburg within the last three weeks for the frontiers, and others are following twice or three times each week.

Paucton and the Métrologie primitive still engross all my leisure. I have been for years uncertain of the exact comparison between the length of the French and English foot; which is yet essential to ascertain that of all the new French weights, measures, and coins. I have at last found that in the Philosophical Transactions of the year 1768, a Mr. Bird gives the English foot as equal to 135.1161154 lines and decimals of the pied de la toise du Pérou, the identical measure by which the metre of the new French system was compared when finally established. I shall therefore in future take this proportion as the standard, though Paucton, Ricard, and Dubost make the English foot three ten-thousandths longer—Bird's calculation being carried to seven decimals of a line, and referring expressly to the toise du Pérou. The difference between the two calculations, trifling as it seems, produces one of eleven feet in a myriamètre, and nearly two feet upon an English mile. On the circumference of the earth it amounts to a difference of nearly ten miles.

20th. I took this morning a longer walk than usual, for the purpose of measuring by the number of my paces and by the time taken to walk it the difference between the first and second werst column on the Czarskozelo road. I found it, as on a former occasion, thirteen hundred and sixty-six paces; but I walked it in eleven minutes, the cold having quickened my step. Paucton states the pace of a man five feet two and a half inches, French, tall, to be two and a third feet, or twenty-eight inches pied du Roi, and at the rate of one hundred and twenty-one in a minute. My own height is five feet seven inches, English—about half an inch higher than Paucton's standard; and I have found, by experiments frequently repeated, that my ordinary pace is two feet six inches and eighty-eight one-hundredths of an inch, or about twenty-nine French inches, and that in my ordinary pace I walk one hundred and twenty steps to a minute.

My height thus exceeds that of Paucton about one hundred and twentieth, and my gait advances upon his about one-fortieth. But I have never had an opportunity of comparing my step by a distance regularly measured, and I know the mile-stones and werst-stones have been carelessly placed.

25th. Paucton and Callet still absorb all the time that has no indispensable occupation, and even encroach much upon that which ought to have one. Paucton engages my curiosity more and more; but since I have detected him in a considerable error in his estimation of the English foot, my confidence in his calculations generally has been a little shaken. One strongly-marked character of his book is singularity, and his method is not that of mathematical precision. He is much addicted to digression, and sometimes turns to subjects the connection of which with that of his work is not easily traced. He has, for instance, a chapter to prove that the American continent was known to the ancients. What concern has this with weights and measures? I have not yet found sufficient proof of what he affirms as his fundamental position, that the geometric foot of the ancients was the standard of all their weights, measures, and coins, and that it was originally one four-hundred-thousandth part of a degree of the meridian. He affirms also that all the measures of distance were formed upon the proportions of limbs of a man of middling stature. He does not give his authorities in proof, nor does he reconcile together his two principles. For what need was there of the degree, if the proportions of the human form were the standard? and what need of the proportions, if the degree gave the measure? There is frequent reference to the measures mentioned in the Bible, and an estimate of them all compared with the old French measures.

April 5th. I read this day the remaining chapters of the first part of Watts's Improvement of the Mind. The seventeenth chapter, on improving the memory, is precisely the subject of one of my lectures, and contains so many of the same thoughts that any impartial reader of my lecture would certainly suspect me of having borrowed freely from the Doctor. I never read that chapter of his book until this day. Almost all his observa-

tions are just, but there is occasionally an ejaculation of piety which he might as well have omitted. His argument against Shaftesbury's test of ridicule as applicable to sacred subjects is decisive, and his comparison of the principle with that of persecution is very just and ingenious. The chapter on the sciences and their use in the professions is full of sound sense and solid instruction. The caution against wasting time upon studies very laudable in themselves, but which cannot be pursued without encroaching upon necessary occupations, I feel at this moment with peculiar force. If I do not profit by the advice, my fault will be the greater. The recommendation of poetry has the warm sensibility of a poet. The opinion that epic poetry would have been more perfect if interspersed with elegiac and lyric odes may be controverted; but that it would have rendered the poems of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and Milton more interesting I do fully believe. The advice to young men of a lively genius and a poetical turn to write poetry if they cannot possibly help it, has some pretension to pleasantry. I read also the sermons 14 and 15, vol. v., of the English Preacher—on Subjection to Civil Authority, and on the Crown of Righteousness for Christian Fortitude. This morning I read from Leviticus xx. to xxv., and particularly fixed my attention upon chap. xxiii., containing the directions for the several feast-days prescribed to the Jews. They were: the Sabbath—every seventh day throughout the year; the Passover; the feast of unleavened bread, which was the day after—when the first fruits of the harvest, a wheat-sheaf, was offered, and unleavened bread was to be eaten seven days; the Pentecost, fifty days after, when loaves of bread from the new harvest were offered; the feast of trumpets, the first day of the seventh month, when the beginning of the civil year was proclaimed; the feast of atonement or expiation, when the scape-goat Azazel was sent abroad—the tenth day of the seventh month; and the feast of tabernacles, beginning the fifteenth of the seventh month, and lasting seven days, during which the people were to dwell in booths. The Sabbath has been adopted (only with the change of a day) by all Christians; the Passover and Pentecost by almost all. The three others have been considered as abolished

by the Christian dispensation. The Jubilee was proclaimed on the expiation day every fiftieth year. The Jubilee was an excellent institution, which operated at once as an agrarian law and a law against slavery. The tenure of lands was equivalent at most to a lease of fifty years; nor could the service of a Hebrew be engaged for a longer time. The precept to let the lands lie fallow every seventh year, and again on the year of Jubilee, is more difficult to account for, and in mere human institutions could not be admitted. I do not recollect that in the subsequent history of the nation there is any notice of its effects.

9th. In my walk before dinner I met the Emperor, who spoke to me of nothing but the weather—said we should have a very late spring, which would appear still later from the earliness of that of last year; that the floods would be extraordinarily high when the rivers would break up, the late snows having been so considerable. It had been snowing all the morning. The Emperor is to leave his capital in two days, to join his army. His manner to-day was graver and less cheerful than I have usually seen him.

12th. I finished reading the second part of Watts's Improvement of the Mind, and began his discourse upon the education of children and youth. The second part is on the communication of useful knowledge; much shorter than the first, and not equal to it. Watts was a dissenting clergyman. He is cautious never to say anything that could give offence to the established Church, but he indulges his passion with so much the more freedom against the Catholics. With transubstantiation it seems as if he never would finish. He insists strongly upon the distinction between things *above reason*, which, as mysteries of religion, may and ought to be believed, and things contrary to reason, which he says must be false; but I doubt whether this distinction will avail for the maintenance of any religious creed. For any part of the Christian faith I am persuaded it will not. The Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the whole doctrine of atonement, all miracles, the Immaculate Conception of Jesus, and a devil maintaining war against Omnipotence, appear to me all as contrary to human reason as the *Real Presence* of the Eucharist. Religion, as it appears to me, is one of the *wants* of human

nature—an appetite which must be indulged, since without its gratification human existence would be a burden rather than a blessing. Reason may serve as a guard and check upon the religious appetite, as well as upon our bodily necessities, to prevent its leading us into pernicious excesses. But it is presumption in human reason to set itself up as the umpire of our faith. My own reason is as fallible as that of the Pope, and probably much more so than the collective reason of an ecclesiastical Council. I cannot reject a doctrine merely because my reason will not sanction it. I must appeal to a higher tribunal, and believe what I want to believe, am taught to believe, and may believe, without injury to myself or others. The argumentum ex absurdo is conclusive only upon subjects of a finite nature; excellent for mathematics and geometry, but incompetent for infinity. It is not the absurdity of the doctrine of transubstantiation that proves its error, but, as I conceive, it is its pernicious tendencies to enslave the human mind, to subject it to the arbitrary dominion of the priesthood—weak, corrupt, and fallible men like ourselves. Could I once bring myself to believe that by a special power from heaven a priest can turn a wafer into a God, and a cup of wine into the blood of my Redeemer, the next and natural step would be to believe that my eternal weal or woe depended upon the fiat of the same priest—that the keys of heaven were in his hands to lock and unlock at his pleasure, and that the happiness or misery of my existence in the world to come depended upon the chance of propitiating not the Deity, but His minister. All these tenets of the Romish Church are streams from the fountain of transubstantiation. The doctrine is pernicious—one motive for disbelieving it. Then I may examine it by the test of reason. The doctrine is not necessary for the general system of Christianity. It is countenanced by *the letter* of Christ's words: Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19. (In St. John's Gospel it is not at all mentioned as an occurrence at the last supper, but with much more detail upon another occasion: John vi. 26–66.) And it appears that the words, when spoken even by himself, shocked his disciples so much that many of them, from that time, walked no more with him, though he told them, by way of explanation,

that "his words were spirit;" that is, as I believe, that they were to be understood in a spiritual or figurative sense. This of itself is sufficient to settle the question in my mind. If the words were figurative, there is no real presence. If they were not, if he performed a miracle, and the bread and wine of the last supper were really his flesh and his blood, it does not follow that the same miracle can be repeated by every priest at every commemoration of that event. He promises no such thing. I trace the doctrine therefore directly to priestcraft—to the obvious purpose of the priests to establish their dominion over the minds of men under the mask of holy mystery. I see that by the history of Christianity such has been its effect; that its consequences have been anti-Christian in the highest degree; and that it is a mystery above, but not contrary to, my reason why Divine Providence has permitted the weakness and folly of men to turn the very words of Christ to such dreadful abuses. Such is my opinion of transubstantiation. Its abstract inconsistency with my reason is not my principal ground for disbelieving it. The Doctor's remarks upon preaching are, as his editors remark, partly out of date. There is some satirical humor in them. His principles respecting the influence of human authority are a little embarrassed about the settlement of a difficult boundary. The chapters on writing books for the public, and on writing and reading controversies, are mere loose thoughts, scarcely skimming the surface. But the active, thinking, and judicious mind appears in them all.

18th. I called upon the French Ambassador, and conversed with him about an hour. He was not sparing in his observations upon the impolicy of the Russian Cabinet in *accepting* a Prussian province at the Peace of Tilsit—a province taken from their own allies. He thought it equally impolitic in the last peace between France and Austria that Russia had *accepted* the 400,000 souls in Gallicia by a cession from Austria. Russia, he said, was always temporizing; always on the watch for expedients; never ready to take a decisive part. If Russia had seriously and energetically threatened Austria, she would have prevented the last war between Austria and France. If she had now seriously threatened Sweden, there would not have been

the danger of the present war. When several powers were engaged in a common cause, they must be responsible for one another. He did not know for what Russia was going to war. They said it was not for the Duchy of Oldenburg. Count Romanzoff was certainly desirous of peace; but they would not give any explanations. The Emperor Alexander had declared he would send Count Nesselrode to Paris. It had not been asked of him; it was his own determination. Nesselrode had merely been a Secretary of Embassy. He was to have returned to Paris in the same capacity. It had been announced to all Europe that he was to be sent; yet he had not been sent. Czernicheff had been sent here with a letter from the Emperor Napoleon himself. This letter, it was admitted, manifested pacific, at least, if not amicable, dispositions; yet five or six weeks had been suffered to pass before any answer to it had been sent. As to Austria, he himself had witnessed how they felt towards Russia. He had been at Vienna at the time of the marriage. He arrived there five days before the Prince of Neufchâtel. From the moment of his arrival, Count Schuvaloff, who was then the Russian Envoy, was deserted—nobody would go near him. But he, Lauriston, walked about with him arm in arm, to get him better treatment. The Austrian officers all told him they hoped soon to have, in concert with France, a war against Russia. In Prussia, too, they talked to him about Russia's having accepted, at Tilsit, one of their provinces, taken from their own *ally*. How could Russia expect friends in those quarters? I mentioned to him the Duke of Bassano's late report to the Emperor Napoleon, and told him that the British Ministry now adhered to their Orders in Council only, as I believed, because they thought they would produce this war between France and Russia. He said that as to the *principle* in the Duke of Bassano's report, that vessels navigating under an enemy's convoy must be considered as enemies, there could be no doubt of that. But, then, circumstances were to be taken into consideration; the necessity of having some trade; the impossibility of having any if all convoyed vessels were excluded: all this was ground for discussion, explanation, negotiation, and that was what Russia now withheld.

19th. I finished reading Watts's discourse on the education of children and youth. He gives a contrasted description of the excessive rigor and severity with which children had been usually brought up about a century before he wrote, and of the most profuse and unlimited liberty indulged to children in his age. Watts died before the middle of the last century, and this discourse must have been written some years before his death. The indulgence of fashionable education has become much more profuse and unlimited than it was when he complained of it as excessive, and it is much to be wished it were turned again towards rigor—not perhaps to the extreme of the seventeenth century, but to much more than I am able to practise. Watts himself inclines to the system of severity, and from my own experience I concur altogether in the opinion with him. The sections upon self-government, on collecting rules of prudence, and on the sports and diversions of children. He undervalues, I think, the languages, both ancient and modern. But the course of my life has probably led me to overrate them. He prohibits plays, masquerades, assemblies, and the gaming-table, all of which, except the last, have now acquired such an ascendency that no writer upon education would venture to proscribe them. Gaming, as a positive vice, must always be forbidden by prudent instructors, and avoided by prudent men. The directions for the education of daughters are very good in themselves, but not suitable to the spirit of the present age.

20th. I had received last evening a note from Count Romanzoff, requesting me to call upon him at eleven o'clock this morning. I accordingly went. Count Czernicheff was with him, and I was requested to wait a few minutes. Czernicheff soon after passed through the antechamber where I waited, and, as he passed, stopped to ask me if I was not about to dispatch a courier to Paris. I suppose he knew Mr. John A. Smith had come as a courier, and, expecting I should send him back, wished to send something. There were some books lying in the chairs: a Projet pour un Code de Commerce, by Bouchet; a manuscript, as I conjecture, and, from its folio form and magnificent red morocco binding, I conclude, a present from the author; also two sets of Mr. Rayneval's book, De la

Liberté des Mers. The Chancellor came in after a very few minutes, and told me that the Emperor had fixed upon to-morrow for his departure, that he himself should be very soon afterwards obliged to follow him, and, as there might perhaps be before his return some discussions in which the interests of the United States as well as those of Russia might be involved, from his wish to defend and support both, he wished to know, as far as I was informed and might think proper to confide in him, what was the precise state of the relations between the United States and France or England, or both; and he had been the more desirous of this information before he should go, as he knew the courier I had expected from Paris was now arrived; that some time ago Prince Kurakin had written that there was to be a treaty between France and the United States, and that arrangements favorable to America had actually been settled in France, but lately there seemed again to be some uncertainty upon the subject, and he had seen in one of the best journaux de l'Empire an article, dated at Baltimore, which seemed to hold out an angry and irritated language towards the United States.

I told him that since my last conversation with him I had received no communication from my own Government of a more recent date than I had then; nor had I any information from which I could infer that any change had occurred in the state of our political relations from that in which I had then suggested to him; that with regard to France, all that I could say, from the letters I had received from Mr. Barlow, was, that no definitive arrangement had yet been agreed upon; and with respect to England, none had taken, nor, as I believed, was likely to take place. I had heard that late English newspapers contained articles of intelligence from New York to the 14th February, and that they said Mr. Foster, the British Minister, was in negotiation with our Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe, and it was expected that a treaty would be concluded. I could say nothing on this subject from my own Government, but my own opinion was that no such treaty could be concluded. I was perfectly sure it could not, unless the revocation of the British Orders in Council should be one of its explicit conditions. If

Mr. Foster is authorized to stipulate for the revocation of the Orders, a treaty is possible.

The Count asked how I thought France in that case would take it. I said I did not know, but I believed the American Government would not enquire whether France would take it well or ill. It was the right of the United States as a neutral nation to trade with France that the American Government was bound to protect. It was denied them by the British Orders in Council, and unless restored by the revocation of those Orders, I had no doubt but the United States would vindicate it by war. But I did not anticipate a declaration of war by the United States at present. The measures that had been taken this winter were measures of preparation. Upon the ocean we could do nothing. If hostilities were to commence there, they must come from the part of England, and not from ours. To attack the British upon our continent we must be prepared. A bill for raising twenty-five thousand men had been passed by Congress. They must be raised by voluntary enlistment, for we had no system of conscription. It was a difficult and slow work to raise, organize, and discipline twenty-five thousand men. I did not think it could be done in less time than the present year, nor should we commit the folly of commencing or declaring war before we could do something to maintain it. But unless the Orders in Council were revoked, a war eventually must be their result.

Did I think it probable they would be revoked?

No. Every present prospect was to the contrary. I thought their existence now depended solely upon that of Mr. Perceval as Prime Minister in England.

Did I think Mr. Perceval would remain Prime Minister?

I believed he would.

Was it not probable that the Marquis of Wellesley would come in again, after the Catholic question shall be disposed of?

I thought not.

But how was it possible that the English Regent should be so fascinated (said the Count) by Mr. Perceval, un homme, à ce qu'il me paraît, assez médiocre, in preference to Wellesley, whose career has been so much more brilliant, and who appears to have

rendered real services to the nation? a man especially so important to the affairs in Spain?

I said I had my suspicions that the Catholic question was little more than the ostensible cause of Lord Wellesley's retirement, and that a much more efficacious real cause was the state itself of affairs in Spain.

But how so?

There was a good deal of misunderstanding between the British Government and that of the Spaniards at Cadiz. It had already proceeded so far that the English had threatened to abandon them. Lord Wellesley must before this time have strong misgivings about the ultimate issue of their cause in Spain. He may be glad to retire from his particular stake upon it while it has yet the show of being unimpaired.

The Count said he thought it very probable, and that the motive would be a very rational one.

I then asked him if he expected very soon to leave the city.

Very shortly—within two or three days. The Emperor had finally resolved to go and review the situation of his army on the frontiers. He should very shortly send me a written notice that during his absence the business of the Department of Foreign Affairs would again be entrusted to Count Soltykoff, as it had been heretofore—a person of great merit, and very deserving of the choice the Emperor had fixed upon him.

I said that I could not but regret his, the Chancellor's, own absence, and wish that it might be short; but that if that must be, it would have been impossible for any appointment of the Emperor's choice to have fallen upon a person whom I esteemed and respected more than Count Soltykoff, or with whom it would be more agreeable to me to have the usual official relations.

He said that his own departure was necessary, though he regretted it much, and he intimated that his advice had been not to go. But the Emperor had decided otherwise. The forces which were assembled on the frontiers were immense, on both sides. There was in history scarcely anything like it. It was like romance. What it would come to he knew not. That perpetual restlessness and agitation of the Emperor Napo-

leon was such that it was impossible to say how it would terminate; and the most extraordinary of all was that there was no cause of war. On the part of this country the affair of the Duchy of Oldenburg was the only object. Russia had made a declaration in that case reserving her rights, but in that very declaration had explicitly stated that she did not consider it as a cause for renouncing the alliance, or for changing the course of her policy.

I said that from the late report of the Duke of Bassano to the Emperor Napoleon it would seem that the principles assumed by France went to a total exclusion of all commerce from the country of her friends, as the English Orders of Council went to a total exclusion of all commerce from France itself.

"But," said the Count, "a total exclusion of all commerce is impossible. You might as well set up a total exclusion of all air to breathe, or all food to subsist upon, from a whole nation, as a total exclusion of commerce. You must have commerce in some shape—either lawful and regular, or by contraband and licenses. The system of licenses is founded upon falsehood and immorality. A sovereign who countenances such vices is no longer a sovereign. It is a virtual abdication of his authority. He is a sovereign for that very purpose, to maintain justice and morality; and to give his sanction to falsehood and injustice is, in substance, ceasing to reign. I urged this very argument to the Emperor in a case of individual concernment, but which, in principle, I consider as exactly resembling this practice of navigating by licenses. On that occasion the Emperor did me signal justice. The person particularly interested was incensed against me to extreme bitterness, but, as he appears now altogether to have forgotten it and treats me in a friendly manner, I can without impropriety mention his name. It is Count Alexis Razumofsky." (N. B. This man is the Minister of Public Instruction, the superintendent of the schools, universities, and scientific academies throughout the empire.)

22d. When I returned home, I found an official notification from Count Romanzoff that he was going away to accompany the Emperor, who was going for the *ordinary* review of his troops and the inspection of some of his provinces, and that in

the interval Count Alexander Soltykoff was charged with the direction of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Bezerra and Count Löwenhielm were commenting on the phrase that the Emperor was going for the *ordinary* review of his troops. Löwenhielm asked me what could be the motive of a great Court to lie for nothing. I told him it was the power of *habit;* the Count had just observed that he was much attached to regular habits, and that it was better to have bad habits than none at all.

23d. I walked twice the round through the Newsky Perspective, down the Fontanka, and along the quay of the Neva—before and after dinner. In the morning I met the French Ambassador, who turned and walked with me, and with whom I had a long and free conversation upon political subjects. He does not yet talk of leaving the city. Prevost goes as a courier tomorrow, and next week he sends another. He told me that Count Romanzoff had assured him the Emperor was gone pour empêcher ses généraux de faire des sottises—that is, by committing any imprudence which might provoke a commencement of hostilities. I said it was strange that such a war should begin while both parties were protesting there was no cause of war between them. He said that the chances undoubtedly were high that the war would break out, but he could not abandon all hope that some arrangement might be concluded; that he was sure at least the Emperor Napoleon would not leave Paris until the last of April; but the greatest danger of war arose from the obstinate refusal here to come to any explanations. I told him that the principles asserted in the Duke of Bassano's late report to the Emperor Napoleon were such that, if pursued in their rigor, they must produce war. Their effect would be the total annihilation of the trade to the Baltic—Swedish and Russian. This it was impossible they should agree to. Neither of the Governments could accomplish it. No Government could accomplish it. France and England were perfectly agreed in the theory of excluding all commerce between each other, and yet both were compelled to admit it again by the means of licenses. He said therefore it was that Russia ought to come into some explanations on the subject. The principle undoubtedly was as laid down by the

Duke of Bassano. But Russia might insist upon exceptions and relaxations which she might show to be necessary. So might Sweden. France would no doubt accede to such of these as should be reasonable. The object merely was to discuss, and not substitute obstinacy or temper in the place of reason. He told me the adventure of Longuerue, whom he sent off as a courier, and who, on the last stage before he arrived at Riga, fired pistols at two carriages successively, which were going the same way, and the drivers of which attempted to pass him. The first was a merchant, Mr. Amburger, and it was said one of his horses was wounded. The second was a courier of the Russian Government, who pushed on in spite of the pistol-shot, which Longuerue said he had fired in the air. The courier, however, had complained of him at Riga, and Longuerue, on his arrival, went to the Governor, Prince Labanoff. He said, to justify himself, that by the usage, nobody could pass by a courier. This was, to be sure, the usage in France, but it did not follow it was the usage here. Prince Labanoff hesitated for a moment whether he should not stop Longuerue, but he did not, and the Emperor, who knew it would mortify him (the Ambassador), had forbidden that any notice should be taken of it to him. So that for more than a week the Ambassador had disbelieved the whole story. It had mortified him beyond all expression. He had not only utterly disavowed Longuerue's conduct, but had declared that it was in direct opposition to his instructions, which were that he should conduct himself with peculiar reserve and discretion upon the road. He had sent Longuerue off by the Emperor's knowledge and approbation, immediately after a long consultation the Emperor had had with him, and for the purpose of reporting it to his Government; and he was the more vexed at Longuerue's foolish adventure, because it had placed him, the Ambassador (Longuerue is his nephew), under the appearance of owing obligations to them here. I told him I had heard so many reports about Longuerue's being arrested on his way, &c., that I had disbelieved them all. We also talked about Sweden, and I told him that there was but one way of explaining her present situation and accounting for her conduct, to my mind. When I saw a French-

man, a French General, a family relation of the Emperor Napoleon, taking such a decisive part against France, the only possible way of explaining it was by observing the harshness with which France treated every foreign nation negotiating with her. The total disregard to their interests and feelings, the perpetual sentiment of her own strength to which she resorted, left it impossible for any person in another Government to be her friend. She did so everywhere. We had experience of it in our own country. He said the *subjects* were treated no better than foreigners. But I must own the Prince of Ponte Corvo, or Prince Royal of Sweden, was un peu Bouillon too—un peu *Bouillon* (he did not say Brouillon), and his adventure at Vienna was a proof of it. That, I told him, *they* ought not to reproach him with. "Why not?" said he. "It was a great indiscretion, an imprudence, and has always been so considered in France, as well as elsewhere. Supposing I should do such a thing here now, what would you call it?" "I certainly should not consider it as very prudent." "Well," said he, "Bernadotte had no instructions for what he did at Vienna. He did it of his own head, and it is a proof that he is un peu Bouillon." The Ambassador took in perfect good humor all the remarks I made upon the harshness of the French negotiations, though I expressed myself in terms as strong as could, with decorum, be used; we parted very amicably.

25th. When I finally found out Mr. Severin's, I spent about two hours with him, examining his collection of Russian coins. He has them from the time of Peter the Great's grandfather, and a great variety of them. He has also a large collection of foreign coins, which were packed up, as he is about to remove into another house. I therefore could not see them. He showed me, however, his Cromwell's guinea,[1] which looks perfectly new, and has a head of the Protector extremely well executed and a great likeness. The greatest curiosities of his Russian coins are the roubles with the heads of Peter and Ivan on one side,

[1] Scarcely the right name for this very fine twenty-shilling piece. Those of the same sort struck previous to that period had been called either sovereigns or units. It has been doubted whether it was ever issued as coin. The guinea came in with Charles II., in 1663.

and Sophia holding the sceptre on the other, and a rouble of Peter III., with a head of Catherine II. struck over that of Peter, whose profile is still discernible upon it. He has a Bank of England dollar with similar remnants of the Spanish coinage upon it. He has a rouble with the head of Paul, which he suppressed because he found it too ugly; and seven different samples of the present Emperor's head which he never would approve—perhaps because none of them are handsome enough. There is not indeed among them one that can be called a favorable likeness. He has also a rouble and half-imperial of Elizabeth, which she suppressed because her head was so ill executed upon it. Mr. Severin invited me to come again and see other parts of his collection next Friday, which I promised to do.

29th. I had never regularly read through myself before the twelve books of this fabulist,[1] whom the French critics extol as the most perfect writer of fables of any age or nation. There is a mixture of careless simplicity and rude sagacity, of indulgent good-humor and sly severity, of vulgar phraseology and elevated poetical beauty, which perhaps no other fabulist possesses in so high a degree, and which is peculiarly adapted to this particular species of writing. His versification is negligent, and seldom harmonious. But that also is excusable for these popular, unpretending stories written for children and for the ignorant. He has no merit of invention, for he took his subjects from anybody—even from the Duke de Bourgogne, a child of eight years old. The point in which he appears most deficient is precisely that which I deem the most essential. I mean the morality. It is either the old and hackneyed moral of his predecessors from whom he takes the story, or a half-indulged and half-suppressed satire upon kings, nobles, and priests (which I believe more than anything else has contributed to his *excessive* reputation in France), or frequent repetition of commonplace axioms, or inconsistencies with himself, or finally, and worst of all, questionable or false principles. Examples of all these defects might easily be adduced, nor would the number be small of feeble and insignificant conclusions, not worthy of a story built upon them. La Fontaine, in

[1] La Fontaine.

short, teaches very little virtue of any kind, and perhaps more vice than virtue. Of elevated or heroic virtue he seems not to have had a conception. His great merit is as a story-teller, and not as a moralist. The Two Pigeons, for instance, has a false moral. Its doctrine is, Never travel for improvement, because you may meet with disasters, and may be separated from your friend or lover. But it is full of charming strokes of tenderness and affection—not conjugal affection, for the pigeons are brothers; nor yet fraternal affection, for the poet himself applies his moral to *happy lovers*—boasts how much he has loved once, and laments that he is too old to love again. It is therefore licentious love that he substantially recommends; and he has expressly and unnaturally avoided to make his pigeons *mates*, lest it should be mistaken for a case of marriage. He was tormented, it is said, by a termagant wife, and he expressly disavows all respect for marriage. He disavows, too, paternal affection, and, according to an anecdote related of him, did not know his own son when introduced to him at twenty-five years of age. He is said to have died profoundly penitent for his tales, which are indeed much more grossly licentious than his fables, but which perhaps do not show more moral laxity of mind. His flattery of Louis XIV., of the Dauphin, the Duke de Bourgogne, the Prince de Conti, and even of Madame de Montespan, may be excused, for when you are obliged to say, "Let Horace blush, and Virgil too," it would be requiring too much of La Fontaine not to let him pass in the throng. On the whole, therefore, La Fontaine is the first of story-tellers, but not of fabulists. As to his famous Two Pigeons, Moore's Sparrow and Dove may be placed in opposition to it, and in my estimation would bear the palm from it in every respect.

May 2d. Two sailors came to me who had belonged to two of the vessels which came last summer under false American colors and have been seized by the Government here. It appears that the vessels, all excepting one, are to be restored as English property to their real owners. The captains want to ship men again, and one of these sailors, who is unwilling to ship again in a vessel which he now knows to be no American, complained that he was threatened with being turned out of his

lodgings if he refused to ship with some of these impostors. Mr. Harris came in while they were here, and thought this man turbulent and unreasonable.

14th. In the morning I met and walked with the French Ambassador, and had much conversation with him. He still professes to hope that the war will not commence at present. But since the Emperor's departure he is in a manner left here with nothing to do. He says if Nesselrode had been sent to Paris there would have been no war this year. But I asked him whether the late trial at Paris, in which Nesselrode's name was a little involved, would not have hurt him. He said no; the matter would not have been made so public. Czernicheff was the only person who in that matter could have been peculiarly obnoxious, and it would have been enough to have ordered him away from France. The Ambassador, however, now speaks with some appearance of dissatisfaction of what is done here—dwells upon trifles—complains that Count Romanzoff is slow and irresolute—talks of offensive publications in the Journal du Nord. He hinted that he had complained of them to Count Soltykoff, who had answered him by referring to the like publications offensive to Russia in the French gazettes. "Oh, you recriminate, do you? Well, I despise les folliculaires too much to say any more about it." He adds that he goes into no society; visits nowhere—because he finds everybody so shy of him that he perceives his presence is irksome. He finds his situation, therefore, extremely insipid.

15th. On returning home this evening, I found Count St. Julien upon a visit. He persists in his opinion that the scarcity will prevent the war. The Count was perfectly good-humored, and avowed his prejudices against the class of merchants without reserve. He says they are the cause of all these wars, without ever taking part in them or suffering from them—they fatten and grow rich upon the misery and blood of nations; that they have no country but their counting-house, no God but gain; that they will traffic with the enemy of their nation as readily as with their friends, and supply him with provisions, ammunition, arms, anything that he wants, to destroy their own countrymen. He was a nobleman, and it was natural

he should not like merchants. It was the *caste* of society that he esteemed and respected the least of all. He was a military man, and there was a natural antipathy between the soldier and the pedlar. He had ransomed some towns and burnt some villages in the course of his profession; but there was a reason of public necessity for it. But the merchants burnt and destroyed by little and little. They consumed by defrauding on all sides. It was nothing to them who was victorious or who vanquished. They made their profit with equal indifference out of all. He had seen them at Vienna after the French had been in possession of the city. To them it was as if nothing had happened. They sold their goods as freely to the Frenchmen, and took the money pressed out from the contributions of their countrymen as gaily, as if it had been a public jubilee. All this was said in a careless, rattling, good-humored tone, and is a sample of Austrian or High Dutch feelings, military arrogance, and the radical prejudices of German nobility. The dark side of the commercial character does present features by no means amiable or respectable, and the Count seized them with sufficient sagacity. But the fair side would present others which restore the balance of comparative merit, and in the estimate of impartial justice place the commercial *caste*, if not upon a level with the rest, at least by their side and not far beneath them. Had a sensible merchant been present, if he could not have justified his profession from the Count's reproaches, he might have turned the tables upon him either as a warrior, a noble, a courtier, or a diplomatist, all of which classes have vices of condition at least as odious as any that can be imputed to the merchant, and from those vices the Count himself is by no means exempt. At my own house, and in the presence of my own family only, I did not think it proper to discuss the subject with the Count, or to touch him in his tender parts, as the champion of the merchants. When he charged the merchants with being the causes of the present war, I asked him only why he did not allow its share to the island of *Malta*. The Count has a *Commanderie* in the old Order of Malta, and I knew it would give a different direction to the chain of his ideas. He did not at first understand me, for he had forgotten that the war began

upon a question about Malta. But when reminded of it, he talked about the wisdom of Charles V. in giving the island of Malta to the Order, so that it might be possessed by no territorial power, because, small as it was, whatever territorial power should possess it must have the command of the Mediterranean.

20th. We had received printed invitations from the General Bétancourt to attend the annual exhibition of the students at the Institute of Ways and Communications, or, in other words, the School of Engineers, this day and to-morrow, from ten A.M. to two P.M.; and between ten and eleven this morning I went with Mr. Smith. The examination was confined altogether to the mathematical sciences—Arithmetic, Algebra, Theory of Proportions and Progressions, with the construction of Logarithms and the use of the Tables, Elementary Geometry, Plane Trigonometry and the use of the tables of sines, and explanations of the instruments used in surveying. The students appeared to be from about fourteen to nineteen or twenty years of age, and the examination was a real and rigorous one. The problems given them for solution were entirely unexpected to them, and for which they could have no previous preparation. Some of them, which required long and complicated demonstrations, were proposed by strangers present, and not by their own teachers. They acquitted themselves of the demonstrations apparently with readiness and facility—with very little assistance from the teachers, and with as much correctness as could be expected from them as masters of their subjects upon sudden, unpremeditated calls. I say apparently, because the greatest part of the examination was beyond my own reach in mathematics, and I could not pursue their demonstrations so fast as they carried them through.

21st. I attended alone this morning at the second day's examination at the School of Engineers. The oldest scholars were examined—young men of nineteen or twenty, who, I presume, are prepared to quit the institution. They were examined in the highest parts of the mathematics—the conic sections, infinite series, and fluxions. They were generally ready and quick in their solutions; but there was one instance of a failure, and several of some embarrassment in the procedure.

The principal examiners were four French officers, who have been engaged for this school, but who are now obliged to return to France. The whole institution is under the direction of General Bétancourt, a Spanish officer, who has been only about three years in the Russian service. There were only four or five of the young men examined, and it finished before two o'clock. Mr. Bezerra was the only foreign Minister who attended besides myself, and he was not there more than half an hour. We did not partake of the collation, but went and looked over the designs and drawings and plans of the young men, which were in another hall. They appeared to be all well executed, but the name of the professor was annexed to each of the designs, as well as of the pupil who executed it. Mr. Thomond, the architect, is one of the professors, and all the designs of architecture appeared to be his. The house where this school is kept was purchased of Prince Yussupoff, and is a magnificent building, with a large and elegant garden. The hall where the examination was held is spacious, and is constructed for a large library. The book-cases are built all round the sides of the walls, and a gallery about eight or nine feet from the floor and extending round three sides of the hall gives the advantages of two stories to one room. The several apartments are lettered at the top alphabetically and according to an order of sciences. The theoretical order and arrangement of the hall is ingenious and convenient for a library, but there are scarcely any books. The cases are almost all empty. One of the doors opening to the next hall is painted in imitation of books, so that the whole hall seems an emblem of promise without performance, and the imposture of learning. For such an institution, where the instruction seems exclusively confined to the mathematics, a large library cannot be necessary. But Prince Yussupoff, to whom the house belonged, has a very voluminous library himself, which I suppose he kept in this hall, and it has been left unaltered since the purchase of the house. There is an immense expenditure upon this school, but, like all the other foundations for education here, it is carried on by the means only of foreign teachers. Of nine or ten professors who conducted this examination, one only appeared to be a Russian;

and he was so continually interfering and intermeddling with the demonstrations of the pupils, sometimes to help them when they did not want help, and sometimes disconcerting instead of aiding them, that General Bétancourt, after repeatedly manifesting by looks and gestures his impatience and dissatisfaction, at last peremptorily ordered the Professor to let the young men alone to do their own work.

31st. I read this day in the English Preacher, volume vii., the sermons 3 and 4—on Humility. Plain and sensible discourses on a subject of importance, but concerning which my mind is not settled to its own satisfaction. Humility, as this preacher remarks, is a *mediate* virtue between the excesses of Pride and Pusillanimity. He also well observes that although between those two vices, and perfectly distinct from them both, it resembles the latter more than the former, and that the former is the more general and predominating vice than the latter. He expatiates well upon the nature of humility, its excellence as a Christian virtue, and the duty and proper means of cultivating it. But the great difficulty with regard to all these intermediate moral qualities is in applying the principle to the practice of life. I cherish the virtue of humility in proportion to the scarcity of it in the world. When associated with active and energetic powers it is truly admirable. But there is great danger in that humility which implies the sacrifice of one's own judgment to the opinions and wishes of others. In all the relations of life, public and private, I have found this difficulty constantly recurring, and, when compelled to decide, have erred, sometimes in following the dictates of my own mind, and sometimes in yielding to the persuasions of others. The only true reliance is from above.

June 2d. I paid successively visits to the French Ambassador, to General Pardo, and to the Chevalier de Bray, with all of whom I had much conversation. The Ambassador is in a state of great uncertainty as to the event, and still professes to have hopes that the peace between France and Russia will be preserved. He assured me with the most solemn protestation that no proposition of a derogatory nature had been made by France to the Emperor Alexander; that, indeed, there had been no

propositions at all—que la négotiation est encore vierge. He spoke even with some appearance of expectation that there might be a negotiation for a general peace, and that it might prove successful.

I told him I had no hopes of that with the present British Ministry. The system on both sides was wound up too high. Whenever there should be a serious desire for peace, both France and England must yield largely of their present pretensions—England much more than France, but both a great deal.

But why, said he, should not they take the basis of *uti possidetis?* Let them keep the colonies and do what they please with Portugal, and we will keep Hanover and Spain.

I did not think the present English Ministry would abandon Spain.

Why not?

It would be precisely as it was before the French Revolution. France and Spain under one family? I did not know what another English Ministry might do, but the present one had pledged itself too much to their party in Spain and to their own country to retreat from that ground.

The Ambassador said the accounts from Wilna were this day of a more pacific complexion than the last. The Emperor had sent Prince Trubezkoi, an Aide-de-camp Général, with a letter to the Emperor Napoleon, he supposed to Warsaw, in answer to that which had been brought by Mons. de Narbonne, also an Aide-de-camp Général, to Wilna. I mentioned the ex-King of Sweden's journey to Vienna precisely at this juncture as leading to conjectures that there might be a project for restoring him. "Why not?" said the Count. "If the present Swedish Government choose to be at war with us, why should not we support the late King, who has certainly a strong party in that country, and especially his son?" I agreed with him that there was nothing to be said against the policy, and expressed my surprise at seeing the Swedish Government now falling into the identical political course which had hurled the late King from his throne. I asked the Ambassador to enclose a letter for me to Paris by his next courier, which he promised.

I found General Pardo recovering from his illness, but looking very ill. His disorder has been a nervous fever. He told me he was going to take the waters at Egra, in Bohemia—that he should resign his office and live as a private man somewhere in the Austrian dominions. It was the only country where he could reside. He did not choose to go to France. En Espagne on ne veut pas de moi. The climate of this country was too severe for him. He did not like the English or their habits of society, though he liked very well to read their writings. So that there was no part of Europe where he could live comfortably but in the Austrian dominions. The General's situation is painful and distressing, and he has not energy of character adequate to the adversity which has befallen him. He told me some time ago that in case of the war he was determined to stay here at all events. As the crisis approaches, he sees the subject with other eyes; and on the subject of the war itself I have never heard him speak rationally until this day. He thinks it possible yet that the storm may blow over; though extremely improbable—not that there would be much difficulty in finding terms for a compromise, but because both parties must yield more than they can easily reconcile to themselves, with such forces at their backs; because they will come to the negotiation with an extreme distrust and jealousy of each other; because the Emperor Alexander, with the sentiment of his force, will feel a confidence that he had not before; because the Emperor Napoleon must make sacrifices for a compromise not verbal and apparent, but great and real, to be seen and judged of by all Europe. But then he is not upon a bed of roses. He wants peace, and must be ready to do much for obtaining it. And as to Russia, she has lost an immense advantage by adhering to her defensive system and not taking the line of the Vistula. That would have forced Prussia to an alliance with Russia. Now she was on the other side. The position of Russia was much more unfavorable. "Et puis, tant bien que mal, *cet homme* (Napoleon) traîne toute l'Europe après lui." All this is very sensible, but totally opposed to everything the General has oftentimes said to me before. He said nothing of the affairs in Spain.

19th. I paid a visit to the French Ambassador, who is yet very unwell. His complaint is now a severe and incessant headache, which has afflicted him for several weeks. On political affairs I found him soured and exasperated, principally by the refusal to allow him passports to go to Wilna. I asked him what reason had been assigned. The interruption of the mails; for it seems the French commanding officer at Memel or at Königsberg, about a fortnight ago, stopped the post going from Russia to Germany and the south of Europe, and kept all the letters. He asked me if I had heard it mentioned as a reason that passports had been refused to Prince Kurakin at Paris. I said I had; and also that Count Lieven, at Berlin, had met with the same refusal. He said he knew nothing of the refusal to Count Lieven, but the case of Prince Kurakin was thus. On the departure of the Emperor Napoleon from Paris, Prince Kurakin had said, "I have nothing more to do here," and had asked for passports for himself and his family. The Duke de Bassano had furnished him the passports for all his family, including his *pupils* (natural children), but had urged him in an amicable manner, and for the sake of avoiding the conclusion which must inevitably be drawn by the public from his departure, not to insist upon having his own passport unless he had orders to that end from his Court. The Prince had accordingly desisted. It was said that after the Emperor Napoleon's arrival at Dresden the Prince had again asked for his passport, and had been again requested to say that it was by order of his Court, which he had declined. But his passport was not refused, and the motive for urging him to wait was altogether amicable. Prince Kurakin was exceedingly esteemed at Paris, and not only every right due to his character, but every possible accommodation that he could wish, would be afforded him.

These facts show at once the extreme jealousy, suspicion, and distrust existing between the parties, and the reluctance they have to begin the war, with the anxiety on each side to throw the first act of aggression upon the other.

The Ambassador told me that Count Soltykoff had been to him in person, to inform him of the peace with Turkey, and to

tell him how much satisfaction this event caused here. "Oh, I congratulated him upon it, and told him that news of peace was always good news. And I shall go to the Te Deum. Though I suppose they will look at me as they did last year at the Te Deum for General Koutouzof's affair at Rustchuk. I saw them look at me when I kneeled, as much as to say, 'Ay, if you pray, it is not for us.' But, after all, they have not yet got the ratifications of this peace from Constantinople, and General Andreossi is there. And certainly by the very last courier from Constantinople we were in high favor there. The Grand Signor may ratify the peace, and I suppose he will; but, if he does, it will not be of much importance to Russia, for they have not more than twenty-five thousand men on the Danube."

I said I had heard the ratifications were already received, and that there was not only a peace, but an alliance, offensive and defensive. "That is all Russian talk," said he. "And they have filled poor Count St. Julien's head with such stuff. He came and told me just such a story. But you may rely upon it they know nothing of the conditions of the treaty. All they have is a courier sent by Balacheff, the Police Minister, by the Emperor's order, with a letter for the Empress, saying that the peace was signed, and the Pruth was to be the boundary. But they are waiting for the ratifications; and that is the reason why the guns have not been fired, and the Te Deum is not to be next Sunday, but the Sunday after."

I asked him if he had any news from Sweden. None. But he thought when the Prince Royal had time to grow cool and to reflect upon things, in the morning, abed, he would find it advisable to change his course a little. He was a man of fiery temper, and had shown that at Vienna. But he dearly loved his bed, though he was a working man, too; and the bed was a very good place for cool reflection. He would at last ask himself what it would all come to, and what *he* was staking upon the event. He did not think it would come to extremities.

I mentioned to him the squadron ready to sail from Cronstadt, and that it was said they were to land troops in Pomerania, and the Prince Royal was to command the joint expedition. Yes, he said; so he had heard. The squadron were going to Swea-

borg, to take in troops there; but he did not believe the Prince Royal would command them. He had even heard that General Moreau was coming from America to join them; but neither did he believe that. At any rate, however, if they were to land in Pomerania, there were the Duke of Reggio, Ney, and the Duke of Bellune, Marshal Victor, each with thirty thousand men to receive them. And as for that one (the Duke of Bellune), he and the Prince Royal of Sweden "ne sont pas cousins." He asked me about the late changes in the British Administration. I told him what I had collected in the papers to 26th May. He had no account so late. I asked him where the Emperor Napoleon was. He did not know—perhaps at Warsaw. He heard the Russians had concentrated their forces, because they said the Emperor Napoleon always attacks the centre. "There it is!" said he. "They think because he has done so before, he will do so again. But with such a man as that, they will find their calculations fail them. He will do something that they do not expect. He does not copy himself nor any other. He does something new."

21st. I read the sermons 7 and 8, volume vii., of the English Preacher—the first on Anxiety, and the second on Envy. That on Anxiety is by Atterbury—the text, "Take no thought for the morrow;" and contains many observations of which I felt the force. My own disposition has in it too much anxiety, and the experience of life has a great tendency to increase that propensity. The precept itself, as Atterbury remarks, is too strongly expressed in the English translation. A father of a family in this world must take thought of to-morrow—not for what he himself shall eat or drink, or wherewithal he shall be clothed, but for his wife and children. The situations in which I have been placed since the obligation of providing for others has become incumbent upon me, have been almost perpetual temptations and stimulations to waste the means of provision bestowed upon me by the goodness of that Heavenly Father who feeds the fowls of the air and who clothes the lilies of the field. Had I not a constant, unabating, and unyielding thought for the morrow, my family would long ere this have been destitute, and my children without the means of obtaining a suitable

education. With all the thought that I do bestow, and all the precautions that I can take, resulting from it, frequent untoward events and unforeseen accidents disconcert all my prudence, and require new sacrifices of feeling, of pleasure, and even of indulgence, to the thought for the morrow. When life must be one uninterrupted struggle against impulses of every kind to expense beyond income, what but an anxious thought for the morrow can be adequate to maintain it? But the guard upon my own disposition, which it behooves me to seek, is against allowing this thought for the morrow to run to excess, and to prevent its degenerating into carking care and distrust of Providence. The discourse upon Envy was not very striking to me. I am not conscious of being much afflicted with this vice; and though I cannot deny that I sometimes have felt more of it than was comfortable to myself, I cannot charge myself with ever having indulged it.

24th. I came in the course of my Scripture reading this morning to Psalm 37—"Fret not thyself because of evil doers," &c.—and was much struck with its excellent and profound morality. The duty of reliance upon the retributive justice of God, without being staggered either by the transient prosperities of the wicked or by the afflictions of the good, is inculcated with a force of sentiment and an energy of expression such as I have never met with in any of the profane writers. Plutarch's Treatise on the Delays of Divine Justice, and Juvenal's 13th Satire, are not comparable to it. They contain, with more diffusion, a part of the same doctrine. But this Psalm was written centuries before Homer, and a thousand years before Juvenal and Plutarch. There is not indeed in the Psalm any recurrence to the rewards and punishments of another life, and it leaves the argument entirely open for the sublime improvement of the Christian doctrine. But it is to be observed that one of its promises of blessedness (to the meek, for they shall inherit the earth) is expressly quoted and repeated by our Saviour in his Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 5). There is so much prosperity to the wicked in this world, and the good, as far as human nature can be called good, are followed by such great and manifold afflictions, that some consolatory principle of trust upon divine justice is

necessary to the comfort of existence. I know of none equal to that in this Psalm, with the addition of the Christian faith.

Afterwards I had a visit from the Ambassador himself, who told me that Prince Kurakin having a third time demanded his passports, they had been sent to him, and that it appeared the Emperor of Russia was determined not to negotiate at all; that with his last demand for passports the Prince had sent a note offering, on condition of the total evacuation by French troops of the Prussian territories as a preliminary, "that the Emperor Alexander would then do what I," said the Ambassador, "have been urging and entreating them to do these twelve months—that is, send powers to treat about the Duchy of Oldenburg. And the Duke of Bassano has sent me an English newspaper, printed before Prince Kurakin presented his note, and containing not only the substance of it, but the very words, excepting that it says that if the French do not evacuate Prussia the Emperor of Russia will have war. This the Prince's note does not say; but otherwise it is in the precise terms of the article in the English newspaper. As to the condition, how was it possible to suppose that we could comply with a preliminary dishonorable to ourselves—a proposition which after the battle of Friedland we never thought of making to Russia on our part? Count St. Julien, and all the members of the Rhenish Confederation, have asked for their passports also, and have received the same answer. Count Soltykoff had told me before that he was authorized to grant passports for us Ministers; but now he tells me he has dispatched my demand to Wilna. I asked him how this happened, after what he had assured me. But he said, 'Oh, mais à présent c'est autre chose.' So I suppose they keep us as hostages. As to Count St. Julien, he used to say to me, 'Ah, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, you are going away, and I shall have all the women to myself;' but he too has asked for his passports. For my part, as soon as I cross the line at Polangen I shall turn round, put on my uniform, and commence soldier again. I am sorry for it, but I should like to be, once for all, one thing or another. Thus it appears that the Rubicon is passed, and before this moment the dogs of war may be loosed." The Ambassador asked me to take charge of some papers

relating merely to individuals, and which might even be delivered up if demanded. I told him I would with pleasure take them.

27th. I asked Count Soltykoff if he had any news from Wilna. He said he had just received a letter from Count Romanzoff on a particular subject, and, as it was written with his own hand, he must have been tolerably well. But *the great news* is that which goes from here thither. "I suppose you know what 'ces Messieurs' have done?" I knew he alluded to the demands for passports from the foreign Ministers, and said I had heard of it. He said it gave him pleasure that in this great reduction of the Corps Diplomatique I was not among the departers. I told him that I was certainly very glad of it myself, and I believed there were among those who were, more than one who would be as reluctant at being included in the number as I should have been.

28th. Mr. Rayneval, the Secretary of the French Embassy, called upon me this morning to take leave. He goes this night as a courier, with his wife, and is not unconcerned as to the safety of his passage out of the country. He told me that a courier had arrived last night from Wilna in forty-seven hours, with the news that hostilities had commenced—that the French had crossed the Niemen or Memel River at Kovno, which we found upon the great Russian map. On their passage the Russian troops there had retired. The two Empresses, it was expected, he said, would return to the city this evening, and would reside here. It was said to be customary in time of war—or at least in wars "un peu intéressantes." They have not been more than a week or ten days in the country. I received the letter from Mr. Russell brought by Mr. Proud. The French Ambassador paid us a visit in the evening. He is yet waiting for his passports from Wilna. He thinks the passage of the river at Kovno a very formidable manœuvre, and says that it cuts off four divisions from the Russian line. "*Now*," he says, "they are quite astonished at it here, because they expected to be attacked on the side of Grodno; and *now* they begin to be sorry that passports were refused him for going to Wilna."

30th. The St. Petersburg Gazette of this morning contains the Emperor's rescript to Count Nicholas Soltykoff, the Presi-

dent of the Imperial Council, announcing the invasion of the Russian territories by the French, and his resolution never to make peace so long as an enemy remains in arms upon his territory. I had a visit from Count Frohberg, the Würtemberg Minister, who told me that he had not yet received his passports, and did not know how it was intended they should go. Some said they were to be sent off in a frigate and landed at Memel or Dantzic; others, that they were to be directed to take their course roundabout to the Turkish or Austrian frontier. It was wished that they might not have the opportunity to observe the military state of the country, as it is supposed they would by passing through the very theatre of the war. The Count asked me to take charge of a small packet of papers, which I promised him I would do. I paid a visit to the Ambassador, who is very anxious to be gone. Rayneval went off yesterday as a courier, with his wife. The Count still thinks that the passage at Kovno was a surprise upon the Russians, and a "superb début."

July 1st. I had a visit from Count Jennison-Walworth, the Bavarian Chargé d'Affaires, one of those who depart with the French Ambassador. He told me that he and his family had lost their whole fortune by placing it in public national funds. It had been partly in the French funds, annihilated by the French Revolution; partly in Austrian funds, which the Austrian Government had now nearly reduced to nothing at all; and, finally, the rest in a Swedish loan in Holland, of which for the last three years no interest had been paid, and which now the Swedish Government had declared they would not pay, on account of their quarrel with France. Count Frohberg had told me much the same thing of himself. He was an Alsacian, and had been a page of Louis XVI. His father emigrated, and all his estates were confiscated. He then had entered the Austrian service, and had served in it for more than ten years. In 1803 he obtained admission into the Teutonic Order, and soon afterwards a Commandery in it. He is now a subject of Würtemberg. I dined with the ladies at the French Ambassador's. Count St. Julien, Baron Blome, Counts Bussche and Frohberg, Barons Gremp and Maréchal, and the Chevalier

Brancia were there. They are all going except Blome, who told me that he did not know whether he should finally go or stay. Probably the course of Denmark would depend upon that of Sweden, which was not yet definitively settled. Signeul, the Swedish Consul at Paris, had carried the last propositions from France to Sweden, inviting the alliance. That offer was, Finland to the Neva, seven millions of francs in cash to equip a corps of twenty-five thousand men, and one million monthly to maintain them. This offer had been rejected by Sweden. She insisted upon neutrality. But at the same time Löwenhielm here had been pushing to the utmost for war, and Sweden had been urging England for joint invasion of the island of Zealand, which England had not yet consented to, and probably would not. Perhaps Sweden might be allowed to remain neutral; and in that case Denmark would be so too.

4th. I called according to appointment, at noon, upon Mr. Gourieff, and mentioned to him the complaint addressed to me by Mr. Hazard, the Consul at Archangel. He said he would enquire into the circumstances and inform me of the result. He enquired respecting the situation of affairs between the United States and Great Britain, and spoke with much regret of the prospect of war between them. I told him I regretted it also exceedingly, and that the American Government had been brought to it with extreme reluctance; but I now saw no reason to hope it could be averted. He mentioned the formation of the new Ministry in England, and spoke in very favorable terms of Lord Liverpool, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Rose. But he said they had met with a very heavy loss in Mr. Perceval, and that it was greatly to be lamented that Lord Wellesley had not joined them. I called at the (late) Ambassador's. He told me he had this time, for the third time, written to demand his passports. Perhaps they thought it a point of etiquette, as Prince Kurakin had three times asked for his, to make him do the same thing. So he had done it. But the difference was that the Prince's demands were before a declaration of war, and his own now were after it. He had also written to Count Soltykoff, requesting him to send some person to receive the house in the city and the country-seat at Kammenoi-ostrow (both of which

were provided by the Emperor Alexander). The Count had answered that he would see to this, but had received no instructions upon the subject. The Ambassador said if he was to be detained he should take lodgings at the Hôtel du Nord. He made some remarks upon the publication concerning the war in yesterday's Gazette, and still considered the positions of the Russian armies as dangerous and very much exposed. But he did not exactly account for the five days lost by the French after their passage of the river without attacking any of the Russian corps. He said that in the positions stated by the publication, the Emperor Napoleon, whenever he might choose to attack, would have two men to one. He said, too, that there was not upon earth a General so particular in making his arrangements for the contingency of a defeat; that whenever he went into battle you would suppose he reckoned upon nothing but being beaten. His retreat is always secure. He said he saw the plan of the Russians. Their point of defence was a chain of mountains. But those mountains were not insuperable, and to take them they were obliged to abandon all Courland.

6th. Count Lauriston (who is no longer the Ambassador), Mr. Montréal, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Lewis paid me visits this morning. The Count's third application, like the two former, has been dispatched to the Emperor Alexander, the last advices from whom were received on Saturday by the Empress-mother. The Emperor writes her from Vidzy, about forty-five wersts north of Swensiany, "Your son is alive and well. All is going on well. We shall fight them; we shall beat them, and la ruse et la perfidie will have their reward." The Count informed me that he should this evening remove from his house to his lodgings at the Hôtel du Nord, and should send to me to-morrow the chest of which he had desired me to take charge. He is extremely impatient to be gone, and says they now address their letters to him, "A Son Excellence, Monsieur le Comte de Lauriston," without so much as an etcetera. He says Prince Bagration has joined the central army with his advanced guard, but that both the Russian wings are very much exposed, and that the Emperor Napoleon never suffers his enemy to commit such faults with impunity. It does not appear, however, that the

Russians have been molested in their retreat, or that they will be prevented from assembling all their forces. Mr. Montréal had heard a multitude of rumors circulating among the public, which only manifest the agitation of their feelings. Mr. Harris had some apprehensions that if Riga should be besieged it would not hold out more than a fortnight. Mr. Lewis had received letters, from which it appeared that war between the United States and England was unavoidable.

8th. After dinner I walked in the Summer Gardens, and, returning, met Count Lauriston with Mr. Lerembours, his private secretary. He had told me he had been to Count Soltykoff again to-day to apply for his passports, but that he told him *he* was perfectly innocent of the detention; that he had received from head-quarters not a line of any kind, neither respecting this affair nor any other. The Ambassador said he intended to send in to-morrow a written protest against this refusal to let him go. I met also Count Jennison and Baron Gremp. They are all yet in the same condition.

9th. I called on Count Lauriston at the Hôtel du Nord, where he has a good suite of apartments. I met Count Bussche there. The Ambassador said he had applied to Count Soltykoff to be informed whether he was to consider himself detained as a hostage or a prisoner. Count Soltykoff had told him that he was perfectly innocent; that he received himself no answers from head-quarters, not only on this, but on any subject. Talking of the war, Bussche said he had been yesterday to purchase some fusees to make sport for his children; that he had seen a very large board painted with a Fame and trumpets and many military trophies, as a transparency for an illumination. He asked what it was, and was told it had been ordered by the Empress-mother. "Ay!" said the Ambassador, "they prepare for illumination beforehand. I know they will illuminate, let the event be what it will. But I shall look, the next day after, upon the map, to see where the head-quarters are, and perhaps they will be at Smolensk." He mentioned, and Mr. Harris had told me the same thing before, that the Russians expected there would be a great battle to-day, because this was the anniversary of the battle of Pultawa. It was the anniversary, too, of the

Peace of Tilsit, at which time the Emperor Alexander said to the Emperor Napoleon that it was the *second* time Russia *had been saved* on that day. Count Lauriston added, archly, "The Emperor laid up this remark in his memory; he has not forgotten it, and he probably has not waited for this day."

11th. I am forty-five years old. Two-thirds of a long life are past, and I have done nothing to distinguish it by usefulness to my country or to mankind. I have always lived with, I hope, a suitable sense of my duties in society, and with a sincere desire to perform them. But passions, indolence, weakness, and infirmity have sometimes made me swerve from my better knowledge of right and almost constantly paralyzed my efforts of good. I have no heavy charge upon my conscience, for which I bless my Maker, as well as for all the enjoyments that He has liberally bestowed upon me. I pray for his gracious kindness in future. But it is time to cease forming fruitless resolutions.

The Chevalier Brancia paid me a visit, and told me that Count Lauriston and the other allied Ministers had received passports last evening, accompanied with notes from Count Soltykoff, observing that as the military operations embraced the whole of the western frontiers of the empire, the Emperor had judged it suitable that they should embark and depart by sea, for which purpose a public ship would be provided for them, to land them at such port as they should fix upon; and that they should be furnished with accommodations at the palace of Oranienbaum, from whence they might embark. Brancia was deeply exasperated at this treatment, and said he had written to Count Soltykoff expressing his surprise at it, and demanding a guarantee from the Emperor that he shall not be taken on his passage by the English, with whom his sovereign is at war. The Ambassador told me he had done the same thing. I asked him what they had done with regard to Rayneval. He said that Count Soltykoff had written him that, his Majesty the Emperor having *disapproved* his having given a courier's passport to Mr. Rayneval, he did not know what to say respecting him. They will probably not in fact be molested by any English ship of war, but the chances are two to one that they will meet

some, and, upon English maritime principles, their protection will depend altogether upon the English captains' discretion and forbearance.

12th. Read sermons 13 and 14 of the English Preacher, vol. vii.—on the irreligion usually attending on great riches, by Sherlock, and on the duty of charity, by Seed—both very good discourses. The commentary upon the parable of the rich man and Lazarus is ingenious, but whether just or not may be questioned. Hard-heartedness, at least, as well as irreligion, may be inferred from the narrative as having been the rich man's crime. They naturally go hand in hand. A man without religion can never have a very strong feeling of humanity, nor can one truly religious be without it.

15th. Called on Count Lauriston at the Hôtel du Nord, where I met Count Bussche and Mr. Jouffroy. The Ambassador and his family, Mr. Lesseps, the French Consul, and his family, Count Frohberg, the Chevalier de Bray, Count Bussche, with their secretaries and families, and the Chevalier Brancia, are to be embarked at Cronstadt and to go by water to Memel; but Count St. Julien, the Austrian Minister, Jouffroy and Colonel Schöler, the Prussians, General Pardo, and Count Bose, the Saxon Chargé des Affaires, are permitted to go by land. Rayneval, who was stopped at Mittau, must return here to go by water to Memel. These distinctions are no doubt intended to excite irritations among the allies, but their effect cannot be very extensive. Count Lauriston said he had yesterday written to Count Soltykoff, and received in return from him a note, saying that the functions and character of French Ambassador having ceased by the passports furnished him for his departure, Count Soltykoff could hold no further correspondence with him. There is to be a frigate, a corvette, and two transports, which are to be ready on Saturday or Sunday next. The Ambassador, as well as Brancia, had written to demand a guarantee that they should not be attacked on their passage by the English, to which Count Soltykoff answered that it was to be presumed the Russian Government had taken all necessary precautions, but that they must be sensible he, Count Soltykoff, could answer them nothing but by the express command of the Emperor.

The Ambassador and Count Bussche were very much exasperated. Jouffroy was tickled with the distinction in his favor, and not very diplomatic to conceal his gratification.

18th. Baron Gremp and Mr. St. Genest called upon me this morning, and brought with them the packages which the Ambassador and Count Frohberg had requested me to receive in deposit; being the archives of the French Embassy, of the former Dutch Legation, and of the Würtemberg Legation. The French are in a very large wooden chest; the Dutch in a trunk equally large; and those of Würtemberg in a small box about the size of a portable writing-desk and covered with oil-cloth. In case of my own departure, they are to be delivered to Messrs. Livio. I had afterwards visits from Count Lauriston and Count Bussche, who expect to go down to Oranienbaum on Monday. Count Lauriston asked me if I had seen the Emperor Napoleon's proclamation to the army at the commencement of hostilities. I had, but, I said, there must have been a mistake in the copy or translation that I saw, which was in English. For it stated the proposition of Russia to have been that the French troops should retire beyond the *Rhine* previous to negotiations—whereas it was the *Elbe* that she had spoken of, and not the Rhine. Lauriston laughed, and said, "Oh, the proclamation est bien de lui—c'est bien là sa manière. My copy has it the Rhine, too—but do you know they *did* talk about the Rhine? Count Romanzoff himself said once to me that we must retire beyond the Rhine. I told him that he must surely mean the Elbe. But he said, 'Mais non, l'Elbe n'est pas votre frontière.' But they mistake one thing for another. Count Romanzoff once complained to me that the French troops had crossed the Elbe and the Oder and entered Berlin. They had entered Berlin, but they had not then approached the Oder. But Romanzoff thought they must have crossed the Oder to get to Berlin." "But," said I, "it was the Elbe, and not the Rhine, that Prince Kurakin's note required you to pass previous to negotiation. Was it not?" "Yes, mais qu'est-ce qu'il coûte à l'Empereur Napoléon de dire que c'étoit le Rhin?" Lauriston has the same idea of Napoleon's veracity that Caulaincourt had; though he is a

more enthusiastic admirer of him, and apparently more unbounded in his devotion to him. Count Bussche told me that St. Julien lingered about going away; that Russia was still courting Austria; that Count Stachelberg, the Russian Minister, had obtained permission to remain at Vienna, and it had been indirectly signified to St. Julien that he might stay here if it suited his convenience. Even yesterday, St. Julien told Bussche that it might be some time before he should go. But this morning Berks had called on him (Bussche) and told him St. Julien would positively go on Tuesday; and Lauriston this morning told Bussche the same thing. Whence Bussche concluded that Lauriston had given St. Julien a touch of the spur. General Pardo and Count Bose are gone. Mr. Raimbert paid me a visit likewise, and mentioned the report of an action in which Prince Bagration has suffered considerable loss, and the French were said to have entered Minsk.

20th. Mr. Fisher came with Captain Hillard this morning. The Captain was much dissatisfied that I refused to lend my aid officially to deceive the Russian Government and prevail upon them to deliver up a ship seized for a breach of their laws and liable to confiscation. The case stands thus upon the papers sent me by Mr. Hazard with the request for my interposition. In September, 1809, John Thomas, a merchant of Baltimore, made over to one Worthy, of Liverpool, in Great Britain, a ship called the "Thomas," owned by him, and a sea letter ship. But instead of giving Worthy a bill of sale, he gives him a power of attorney, *irrevocable*, to dispose of her, and makes Worthy supercargo. The ship goes then to Madeira, and returns to New York in January, 1810. In February she sails for Archangel, taking St. Michael's and Madeira in her way. Worthy purchases at New York, of Noah Talcott, a cargo, as the agent, and as for account of John Thomas, but pays Talcott by bills of exchange upon the house of McSirr, Mc & McCorkedale, of Liverpool. Worthy comes from New York to Archangel as supercargo, and with a passport as a citizen of the United States, real or forged, in the name of De Witt Clinton, Mayor of New York. The ship enters at Archangel as an American, in the name of John Thomas, with Worthy, as a

citizen of the United States, for her supercargo. She was admitted as an American, sold her cargo, took in a cargo, as if to return, and sailed in the autumn of 1810, but, being driven back by the weather, wintered in Archangel, and before she could sail in 1811, was seized by the Russian Government upon information lodged by a sailor that the property and the voyage were really for account of the house in Liverpool, and that the ship was bound thither from Archangel, and not to New York. While the ship was under seizure, Worthy's bills in favor of Talcott were returned from Liverpool to New York protested. Talcott sent to Archangel, and got the ship mortgaged to him by Worthy for security, and afterwards got a bill of sale of her in form, from John Thomas, at Baltimore, and now sends out Captain Hillard with a crew, on the expectation of having her restored, to take charge of her and carry her to New York. Mr. Harris had pursued the claim of this ship last summer, and now continued it, considering the property and Worthy himself as American, and he had also claimed very heavy damages for her detention. But the Commission for Neutral Navigation not manifesting a disposition to restore the ship, Mr. Hazard wrote to me, and sent me the papers, with a suggestion that nothing but my interference could get the ship released this year. On the face of the papers Worthy appeared in the double capacity of a British subject, owner of the ship, and of an American citizen, supercargo for John Thomas. There was a notarial declaration and certificate that Talcott was a native American, and the same with John Thomas, with his declaration that he was heretofore sole owner of the ship, and that she sailed with a certificate in lieu of register in 1809. The papers all concurred to show that the property and the voyage were on British account, and that John Thomas gave only the cover of his name. Mr. Harris showed me the sentence of the Commission of Neutral Navigation here, by which it appears that since the seizure both Worthy and the Captain ran away from Archangel, and that among Worthy's papers were found letters to him from his wife and from the house at Liverpool, proving their interest in this ship, and in another which Worthy dispatched from Archangel under American

colors. I declined interfering at all in the case, and have received three letters from Mr. Hazard on the subject. The Captain asked me to give my refusal in writing, which I told him I had already done to Mr. Hazard. He said, too, that Mr. Harris told him that if he had not applied to me he would before this have had the ship. He complained that Mr. Hazard had been three post days without receiving my answer to his first letter. He gave another example of what I have before more than once remarked, that men who ask dishonest favors are apt to be insolent upon finding them refused. I gave him the papers, on his promise to be answerable for them, and on Mr. Fisher's answering for him, and I dismissed him with little ceremony.

21st. I received from Count Jennison-Walworth a note with a trunk containing the archives of the Bavarian Legation, and gave a receipt for them at his desire. So that there are now deposited with me all the papers of the French, the former Dutch, the Bavarian, Würtemberg, and Westphalian Legations. And in case of my own departure before they are duly called for, I am to leave them all with Messrs. Livio, bankers.

22d. Morning visit from Mr. Montréal. A new ordinance of the Emperor concerning foreigners, and particularly Frenchmen, has spread a general alarm, and in its terms is so extremely rigorous that it has been thought necessary to send to the Emperor for an explanation of its extent. Mr. Raimbert went yesterday to the military Governor, Wiasmitinoff, to ascertain what was intended. The Governor received him politely, and told him he was waiting for orders, but at all events that he should make himself easy; there could be no danger for him. There is a new levy of five men to every five hundred in the four bordering governments, and a call for money and supplies of grain from others. My coachman was this morning taken for a soldier, but in the evening was released again upon payment of twenty-five roubles by his master. The official news from the armies is all favorable, and according to the hand-bills they have had nothing but a series of successes from the first day of the campaign. But the Emperor with one army

has been retreating from the Niemen River to the Dwina, and is completely separated from the second army under Prince Bagration. He has burnt and destroyed all the towns on his retreat, as well as all the grass and grain standing on the fields. And he must now be compelled to retreat still farther, or to give battle with only a part of his forces, contrary to what has been officially declared to be his plan. There is great anxiety here, but as yet no symptom of discouragement. Rumors of disasters both to Prince Bagration's army and to that of the Emperor himself are circulating in whispers, but without any mention of particulars.

26th. At ten this morning, the hour appointed for the celebration of the Te Deum for the peace concluded with the Ottoman Porte, I went with Mr. Smith to the Kazan Church, and we were there waiting upwards of two hours before the Empresses, with the two Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, made their appearance. The mass preceded the Te Deum, and they were each more than an hour in performing. It was about half-past two when the services finished, and we returned home. The church was extremely crowded, but the only foreign Ministers present were Count Maistre, the Chevalier Bezerra, Baron Blome, and myself. I saw there General Koutouzof, who signed the peace, and Count Lieven, late Russian Minister at Berlin. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, read me, from the Russian, the hand-bill issued last evening concerning the military operations, and dated the $\frac{9}{21}$ of this month. The commentaries upon the state of things were various. It was generally agreed that the French army is wedged in between the first and second Russian armies, and in an extremely dangerous position. Count Maistre said, if the Emperor Alexander was in such a position we could not sleep for anxiety. "Mais—voilà ce que c'est—l'étoile de cet homme. And, what is strange, the private letters from the officers in the army are written in the finest spirits imaginable—gay as larks; wherever they go, the ladies and gentlemen of the vicinities go into the cities with them and make agreeable society; and they have charming music," &c. Mr. Bezerra could hardly believe that the Emperor should have gone to Moscow. But he knew Count Roman-

zoff had been some time at Veliki-Luki, and General Pfuhl was there too. General Pfuhl had lost all his influence with the Emperor. Mr. Bezerra could not conceive, either, how the French should have taken the Russian magazines at Orsha. Why could not they have set fire to them? Twenty days' provisions for the whole army! Very strange! In substance, nothing is yet done. The two Russian armies appear to be near forming their junction, but whether they will be able to effect it without separately giving battle is still to be determined by the event. There was an illumination at night; not very general. At the church General Wiasmitinoff, the military Governor of St. Petersburg, performing the functions of the Minister of War, read before the Te Deum a paper announcing the conclusion of the peace with the Porte at Bucharest. After the Te Deum the Empresses and Grand Dukes went up and performed their prostrations to the image of the Holy Virgin of Kazan, which they very devoutly kissed. General Koutouzof himself also apparently had a private act of devotion of his own to perform, for he went alone into the sanctuary.

August 1st. Notice had been given yesterday from the police to the inhabitants of the city that the Emperor being expected this day, in case of his arrival they must illuminate their houses. Mr. Harris told me he had just come from the square of the Kazan Church, where a great crowd of people were assembled waiting for the Emperor, that being the first place to which he would go to attend a religious service. He did not, however, arrive.

2d. I read some pages in Watts's Logic on the doctrine of prejudices, which occasioned the reflection how excessively difficult it is to divest one's self of prejudices, and how much more difficult still to discard prejudices without falling into indifference with regard to important truth. I believe the best guard against prejudice is a frequent examination of our opinions and a cool estimate of the arguments opposed to them. You must, as Cicero says, identify yourself, in imagination, first with your adversary and then with your judge, and, above all, you must have resolution to abide by the result, even if it should be adverse to your preconceived opinions. The victory over preju-

dice is a conquest of one's self. It is better than to be the ruler of a city.

3d. The Emperor arrived here this morning about two o'clock—I suppose because this is the Empress-mother's name-day, and one illumination answered for both events. I walked before breakfast in the Summer Gardens, and in turning round the boulevard I perceived the Imperial flag flying over the palace, which first gave me notice of the Emperor's return.

5th. I met Don Francisco Colombi and Mr. Zea, who informed me that Count Wittgenstein had totally defeated Marshal Oudinot with great slaughter, and had taken his baggage, artillery, and three thousand prisoners. In Spain, too, he said, all was going on well, and Lord Wellington was at Salamanca. After dinner I had a visit from Claud Gabriel, the black man in the Emperor's service, who went to America last summer for his wife and children, and who is now come back with them. He complains of having been very ill treated in America, and that he was obliged to lay aside his superb dress and sabre, which he had been ordered to wear, but which occasioned people to insult and even beat him. Count St. Julien, the late Austrian Minister, had a fancy for appearing in public here in the Vienna fashion. So he drove about the streets last winter in a sledge of a different appearance from those here used. It was a sort of phaeton body, hung upon runners, perhaps six feet high, and with clusters of bells at the saddle-place of the two horses. He drove himself, with a footman carrying an enormous muff behind him on the sledge. Although this is perhaps the spot of the globe where varieties of dress and of modes of appearing in public are most common, and where they of course excite the least attention, there was yet something so ludicrously fantastical in this anomaly of Count St. Julien's sledge, that he made himself the laughter of the Court and city by it. I was once mentioning to him how dangerous it was to appear in the streets of London in any mode or dress different from those to which the eyes of the people are accustomed. "Then I suppose," said he, "my traîneau would make a riot there." I told him I questioned whether he would ever have occasion to use it a second time in that city. It was said that he had asked the

Emperor Alexander's permission to exhibit this rarity about the town, and that the Emperor Alexander answered him that *he* had not the slightest objection, but added, "If the children in the streets should throw stones at it, I hope, Monsieur le Comte, you will not be surprised." There was so much sound sense in this remark that I know not how the idea had not occurred to the Emperor when he ordered Claud Gabriel to wear in public his magnificent gala Court dress when he should arrive in America. After wearing them once at Providence and once at Boston, he says, he was obliged to hide them; and he looks as if even that wearing had cost him five or six of his front teeth. He says, however, he told the Emperor that he had been well treated, and that he had worn the dress all the time.

6th. Mr. Proud dined with us, and brought with him the New York Commercial Advertiser of 22d June, containing the message from the President of the United States to Congress, communicating the sequel of the correspondence between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Foster, and recommending a declaration of war; the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations upon this message, also recommending an immediate appeal to arms; the act declaring war, approved 18th June; the proclamation of the President founded upon the act of Congress; and the yeas and nays in both Houses upon the act—seventy-nine to forty-nine in the House of Representatives, and nineteen to thirteen in the Senate; two Senators, Mr. Bradley and Mr. Whitesides, absent. Minturn and Champlin sent off a pilot-boat from New York to Gottenburg with this intelligence, for the purpose of securing their property there and here from British capture on this occasion. The vessel arrived at Gottenburg 23d July, and Mr. Proud, who is an agent of Minturn and Champlin, received the paper by express from that place.

9th. There was a Te Deum at the Imperial Chapel this day, and in the evening an illumination of the city, on account of General Tormassoff's victory over a corps of Saxons at Kobrin.

10th. Mr. Brandel arrived last evening from Toropetz, the last place where Count Romanzoff had been. Count Löwenhielm had followed the Russian army to Witebsk, but Mr. Brandel expects him back here soon. The Emperor and Count

Romanzoff, Brandel says, are shortly going away again—probably to be nearer the armies. The Russian head-quarters are at Smolensk. Platoff is arrived there, and the two great armies have so far formed their junction that Count Romanzoff told Brandel this morning the two Generals, Barclay de Tolly and Prince Bagration, had dined together. Brandel had heard nothing of the Russian armies being defeated.

14th. Mrs. Adams and Catherine, the two children, Mrs. Helm, the infant's nurse, and Martha, went with me to Oranienbaum. We left home at half-past nine in the morning, and precisely at noon stopped at a house kept by an Englishwoman, Mrs. Tringham, where we dined. The distance is thirty-five wersts, besides three to the werst-stone within the city, from which they begin their admeasurement—twenty-five English miles—which our horses ran without once stopping to rest or to drink. We had four horses in a line, driven by the coachman, and two leaders by the postilion. Seven persons, including the two children, in the coach. At Oranienbaum we went to see the palace, with its gardens and adjacent buildings, which, though smaller and less magnificent than those of Peterhof, command a finer prospect and are kept in better condition. There is nothing, however, very remarkable to be seen in the palaces. The series of artificial hillocks, which, I believe, was invented and constructed in the time of the Empress Elizabeth, is now totally decayed and ruinous, so that without an explanation it would be impossible to conjecture what was its original intention. It was entire, though I believe no longer used, when I saw it before, in January, 1782. There are some indifferent paintings in some of the apartments, and in the choice of the subjects there appears a predilection for such as the Judgment of Paris, Venus and Adonis, Hercules and Omphale, Diana and Endymion, and the like. There is a billiard-room wainscoted with the nine Muses; tables inlaid with mosaic; collections of old china, Japan vases, and Dresden porcelain, the most ingenious of which is a concert of monkeys in porcelain figures—each figure with a different instrument and attitude, and all caricatures of the various kinds of affected melomania. The furniture is all very old, and exhibits mag-

nificence in all its stages of decay, from the mere change of fashion to the perishing rags and tatters of crimson satin curtains and chair-covers. We dined about four o'clock, and returned in about the same time we had taken to go. We reached the city before eight in the evening, and I walked from the Fontanka home. The road as far as Peterhof is entirely plain; but from thence to Oranienbaum there are several hills and dales. The view of Cronstadt, on the opposite side of the gulf, is most pleasant between the two places. The villages are both small and mean.

15th. They are organizing the new armament for the defence of the country, and the nobility of the governments of St. Petersburg and Moscow have given one man in ten of their peasants for the army. I saw many of them this morning, just in from the country, with the one-horse wagons, and the families of the recruits taking leave of them. The number of volunteers is very great; and if they find it as easy to organize and discipline them as they find it to raise the men, there is little danger for the country to apprehend from the invasion under which it now suffers.

27th. Nothing is published respecting the late battles at or near Smolensk, of which there are now said to have been four. The reports concerning them are exceedingly various. The letters from the officers assert the advantage to have been constantly on the Russian side, and wonder why the Commander-in-Chief, Barclay de Tolly, ordered the retreat. There is now an extraordinary clamor against that General. Prince Bagration is not in much better credit. General Koutouzof, who was made a Prince after the Turkish peace, last week was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the active armies, and left the city last Saturday night to go and take the command. The want of a single head to the Russian military force is a great misfortune to the country.

September 1st. In the evening, after a walk in the Summer Gardens, I sent for Mr. Strogofshikoff, my landlord, and gave him notice of the removal of part of the family into the country, of which he is responsible to give notice to the police. He told me that his family owned a small village in the neighborhood,

with one hundred peasants, out of which they had given ten for the new armament; and it was giving as great a proportion as one-fourth of the effective men. He speaks with warm feelings as a Russian, and with sound sense. He has more confidence of final success to their cause than when I saw him last.

2d. Visited the Chevalier de Bezerra and his lady. He knew a few particulars from the army and the Emperor which I had not heard, and was uninformed of others which I told him. It appears, by all the accounts from the army, that after four days of very severe battle, in all of which the Russians were victorious, they evacuated and set fire to Smolensk, and have since been constantly retreating, but the whole blame is laid upon the then Commander-in-Chief, Barclay de Tolly. The loss of the French, in killed, wounded, prisoners, and artillery taken, was much greater than that of the Russians, and General Koutouzof arrived at the head-quarters last Saturday. He met on his way, and took back with him, General Benningsen, who is to command the first army in the room of Barclay de Tolly. Koutouzof is Commander-in-Chief of all the active armies. The Emperor Alexander has had his interview with the Prince Royal of Sweden (Bernadotte), at Abo, and is quite charmed with him.

6th. I received this morning a note from Madame de Staël, requesting me to call upon her, at the Hôtel de l'Europe, at four o'clock this afternoon, concerning something relative to America. I found Lord Cathcart, the newly-arrived British Ambassador, with her; also Admiral Bentinck, a young man who appeared to be an attendant upon Lord Cathcart, Madame de Staël's son and daughter, a son of Admiral Bentinck, a boy, and two or three other men, whom I could not ascertain. To every soul in the room I was a total stranger. Madame de Staël was in very animated conversation with Lord Cathcart, and expressing in warm terms her admiration of the English nation as the preservers of social order and the saviors of Europe. She also complimented his Lordship very highly upon his exploit at Copenhagen. My Lord looked a little awkward at the size and rankness of the lady's applause; to the personal tribute offered to himself he made no answer, but

to the besmearing of his nation, he answered that his nation was a nation which, as such, felt itself bound by moral obligations, which it would always fulfil, and to which it would never be false.

I thought of the moral obligations of the Copenhagen expedition, and of the American Revolutionary War. Lord Cathcart had his share in both.

The English talk much about their honor and national morality—sometimes without meaning, but generally with a mixture of hypocrisy and of self-delusion in about equal portions. Dr. Johnson, in one of his poems, honestly avows that in his lifetime English honor had become a standing jest; and it has assuredly not since then improved. The Lord and Lady conversed also about his journey from Sweden to this place, upon which his carriage overset and rolled down hill; and upon her journey there, and her fears of a water passage. She is to leave the city to-morrow. Admiral Bentinck seemed a little uneasy under the close siege of compliments which was laid to the Ambassador, and when his Lordship took his leave and went away, said, as if he felt relieved, "Thank God, that is finished!" The Admiral himself immediately afterwards went away to his lodgings, where the Baroness was to go and take him up to go somewhere together to dinner.

She had then leisure for some conversation with me. She has lands in the State of New York, upon Lake Ontario, and stocks in the United States funds, and she wished to enquire how she could continue to receive her interest in England while there is war between the United States and Great Britain. This introduced a conversation upon the war, which appeared to be to her a topic far more interesting than the affairs upon which she had sent to consult me. But, as she was going out to dinner, she desired me to come again to-morrow morning, and asked me why I had not been to see her before, having known her father by reputation. She said she had read my father's book[1] with great pleasure, and that her father had often spoken of it with great esteem.

7th. I called again upon Madame de Staël this morning, and

[1] The Defence of the American Constitutions.

had a second long conversation with her upon politics. She is one of the highest enthusiasts for the English cause that I have ever seen; but her sentiments appear to be as much the result of personal resentment against Bonaparte as of general views of public affairs. She complains that he will not let her live in peace anywhere, merely because she had not praised him in her works. She left the city this day for Stockholm.

10th. I received from the Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, an official note, communicating two printed copies of the Treaty of Peace with the Turks, to be sent to the Government of the United States. The Count has, therefore, resumed his official functions without any formal notice of the cessation of those of Count Soltykoff. I paid him a visit of form this day with Mr. Smith, but did not find him at home.

We also visited Lord Cathcart, who received us. He sent us yesterday cards announcing that he had presented his credentials as British Ambassador. I had not expected that in a state of declared war between Great Britain and the United States he would have sent to us; but, as he did, I concluded to return the civility in the usual form, which I might the more regularly do, not having received officially from my Government the declaration itself. He mentioned to me the latest news from England and the account of Mr. Foster's arrival there from America. He professed to have a particular attachment to America, with which he felt a strong personal relation (alluding, I suppose, to his having married there an American lady), and to cherish a wish that the political differences between that country and England might yet be amicably settled. I assured him that my own sentiments in this respect altogether coincided with his. I believed peace and friendship to be easily attainable between them, and highly important to the best interests of both. He sent me the newspaper in the evening, with a polite note.

21st. At seven this evening I called by appointment upon Count Romanzoff, who told me that he had asked to see me by the Emperor's command; that, having made peace and re-established the relations of amity and commerce with England, the Emperor was much concerned and disappointed to find the whole benefit which he expected his subjects would

derive commercially from that event defeated and lost by the new war that had arisen between the United States and England; that he had thought there were various indications that there was on both sides a reluctance at engaging and prosecuting this war, and it had occurred to the Emperor that perhaps an amicable arrangement of the differences between the parties might be accomplished more easily and speedily by indirect than by a direct negotiation; that his Majesty had directed him to see me and to enquire whether I was aware of any difficulty or obstacle on the part of the Government of the United States if he should offer his mediation for the purpose of effecting a pacification.

I answered that it was obviously impossible for me to speak on this subject otherwise than from the general knowledge which I had of the sentiments of my Government; that I was so far from knowing what their ideas were with regard to the continuance of the war, that I had not to this day received any official communication of its declaration, but that I well knew it was with extreme reluctance they had engaged in the war; that I was very sure that whatever determination they might form upon the proposal of the Emperor's mediation, they would receive and consider it as a new evidence of his Majesty's regard and friendship for the United States; and that I was not aware of any obstacle or difficulty which could occasion them to decline accepting it. For myself, I so deeply lamented the very existence of the war, that I should welcome any facility for bringing it to a just and honorable termination. I lamented it, because I thought that the only cause which had made it absolutely unavoidable was actually removed at the moment when the declaration was made. If the course which had been adopted by my Government had been such as I could not in my own mind approve, it would not become me to censure it. But it was not so. The Declaration of the English Regent in April, and the letter which Mr. Foster had written to the American Secretary of State in communicating it, had, as it appeared to me, left the American Government no alternative but an immediate appeal to arms or a dishonorable abandonment of all the unquestionable rights for which they had con-

tended, and even the essential characteristics of an independent nation. The blame of the war was therefore entirely on the English side, but the war itself was not the less disagreeable to me. I lamented it particularly as occurring at a period when, from my good wishes for Russia and the Russian cause, I should have rejoiced to see friendship and harmony taking place between America and England, rather than discord and hostility. I knew the war would affect unfavorably the interests of Russia. I knew it must be highly injurious both to the United States and England. I could see no good result as likely to arise from it to any one; nothing but mischief, and gratification to the makers of mischief.

The Count said he had considered it altogether in the same light; and so had the Emperor, who was sincerely concerned for it, and who had himself conceived the idea of offering his mediation. He thought an indirect negotiation conducted here, and aided by the conciliatory wishes of a friend to both parties, might smooth down difficulties which, in direct discussion between the principals, might be found insuperable. To a mutual friend each party might exhibit all its complaints and all its claims without danger of exciting irritations or raising impediments. The part of Russia would only be to hear both sides, and to use her best endeavors to conciliate them.

I said, the Count was aware there was a third party to be consulted as to the proposal—the British Government.

He said the proposal had already been suggested to the British Ambassador, and he had yesterday dispatched an account of it to his Court. I asked if I could obtain a courier's passport to communicate the information to my Government. He said it might be furnished in a manner, that the person should be dispatched as a Russian courier. I asked him if he could obtain from Lord Cathcart any paper which should operate as security from capture by British cruisers, as in that case I presumed I could find an American vessel here to carry the dispatches. He said he would ascertain and inform me in the course of a very few days, and he should write to Mr. Daschkoff to report the same proposal to the Government of the United States.

The Count dwelt earnestly on the Emperor's regard for the United States, and added that the Emperor was fully sensible of the great advantage to the interests of his people resulting from the commercial relations with America. He said it manifested itself even in objects of a light nature. He, the Count, had received from Mr. Daschkoff a picture, a view of Mr. Jefferson's seat, and upon his mentioning it to the Emperor, his Majesty had insisted upon seeing it himself. The Count was obliging in his enquiries and condolence upon my domestic misfortune.[1] His countenance retains strong traces of the illness he had at Wilna, and he complained of having taken cold at the funeral of Baron Budberg, one of his predecessors in the Department of Foreign Affairs. He read me a note which he received while I was with him, from Lord Cathcart, with news from England and Spain—of the English and allies having taken Madrid.

23d. Captain Bates called upon me this morning for a passport. He was in great anxiety on account of debts due to him in Moscow, and from rumors that the French are in possession of that city. These rumors have been prevailing these three days, and with them other reports, that the French had been repulsed and the Emperor Napoleon mortally wounded. Mr. Harris paid us a visit in the evening, and told us that official accounts were now received that the Russian army had retired behind Moscow fifteen wersts, on the road to Kazan, and that Moscow had been surrendered by a sort of capitulation to the French; that the King of Naples (Murat) with eight thousand men took possession of the city on the fifteenth or sixteenth of this month, and that the Emperor Alexander was informed of it three days afterwards. The French Emperor with his great army had not entered Moscow, but was still in pursuit of the Russians. There has been no battle since that of the seventh, which Prince Koutouzof reported as a splendid victory, for which he was made a Field Marshal and received from the Emperor a present of a hundred thousand roubles. The result of this great Russian victory was to put the French in possession of Moscow.

24th. The reports that the French are in possession of

[1] The death of the infant born in Russia.

Moscow continue to obtain credit, and it was said there was a formal capitulation, but nothing has yet been officially published by the Government respecting it.

25th. At nine o'clock this morning I went with Mr. Smith to Field-Marshal General Count Soltykoff's house, and attended the funeral of his wife, Countess Natalie. The ceremonies were the same as I have seen them several times before. About ten the procession moved from the house, and was an hour and three-quarters in reaching the Monastery of St. Alexander Newsky. The service, including a short sermon, was an hour and a half long, and it was about two in the afternoon when we got home. The procession was large, and the attendance numerous. The principal change that I perceived was in the Diplomatic Corps. Lord Cathcart, with a suite of seven gentlemen, attached to the British Embassy, Mr. Zea, as Spanish Minister, the young Duke of Serra Capriola, as attached to the Legation of the Two Sicilies, and Mr. Hochschild, as Chargé d'Affaires from Sweden, were there. Count Maistre, Baron Blome, and myself formed the only remnants of the former diplomacy. The courtiers were as assiduous to the British Ambassador as eighteen months ago they had been to the Duke of Vicence. Mr. Fisher called upon me after I came home, much alarmed and anxious about his present situation here. The English are all preparing to leave the country; their fears are greater than I believe there is occasion for. My landlord, Strogofshikoff, also came to me much alarmed and mortified at the present condition of his country—hinting, but afraid expressly to say, that Moscow is in the hands of the French, and still reposing confidence in the cunning of General Koutouzof. Nothing official has yet been published by the Government concerning the occupation of Moscow, and the rumors are innumerable. Several persons, it is said, have been made to sweep the streets for having said that Moscow was taken; so that the people are afraid of talking.

27th. Anniversary of the Emperor Alexander's coronation. There was one yacht upon the river dressed out with colors, and in the evening an illumination. No other notice of the day was publicly taken.

28th. Had morning visits from Mr. Raimbert and from Mr. Pierre de Poletica, who was in America as Secretary of Legation to Count Pahlen. He was appointed to go with him to Brazil, but declined accepting the office, and returned home a few weeks since. He left the United States in May, and came through England. He is now appointed to go to Spain, and is to depart in ten days or a fortnight. I had a conversation of nearly two hours with him about the affairs of America, Russia, France, and England. His opinions and sentiments are those now prevailing here—of course anti-Gallican and Anglomanian. That a Russian should abhor France and adhere to England at this time is very natural and very proper. With respect to American affairs, Mr. Poletica's opinions are favorable to the federalists, most of his acquaintances having been of that party. He said he had intended to publish here a statistical account of the United States, and had collected materials for the purpose, but that he should now be obliged to postpone it until after his return from Spain. He said there was an old ukase of Peter the Great forbidding any person employed in the Department of Foreign Affairs from associating with the foreign Ministers, and that he had asked Count Romanzoff whether he might visit me, to which he received for answer that he might see me, but not *frequent* me. He said the Chancellor had told him of the Emperor's offer of mediation between the United States and England, which he hoped would be successful.

29th. I dined with Mr. Smith at Mr. Harris's. The company consisted of Mr. Laval, Mr. Labensky, the late Russian Consul-General in France, the Abbé , and Mr. Rapatel, formerly an aid-de-camp of General Moreau, lately arrived from America. He has entered the Russian service, and said he should "endosser l'uniforme" to-morrow, and go to join the army in about eight days. At table he talked much and without reserve. Speaking of the Prince Royal of Sweden, Bernadotte, he said, "Il a une belle haine pour le monstre; et je le sais déjà depuis douze ans." He added that the same Bernadotte, whom he saw a few weeks since, at Stockholm, on his way here, said to him, "C'est moi qui ai été le premier à lever l'Étendard contre ce coquin là." Mr. Laval asked him how it happened that the

French Chargé d'Affaires remained at Stockholm. He said he did not know; "mais c'est un imbécile," which he certainly is not. This Mr. Rapatel is supposed to be here with a view to obtain the employment of General Moreau in the Russian service. He spoke of the General's remaining in America as an uncertainty, saying, if he remained there, he would probably build again his house at Morrisville, which was burnt down last winter.

After dinner I had some conversation with Mr. Laval. He is going, with his family, and Princess Beloselsky and hers, to Sweden. He told me that since the loss of Moscow the very idea of negotiating for peace was offensive to the Emperor, and so it would continue, unless his army should be defeated, which it has not yet been. If they should be victorious, the perseverance in the war would follow of course. But in case of one or two defeats, and one would probably produce two, the change of sentiment and of policy might be very sudden and complete, and the desire for peace as strong as the aversion to it now. I asked him if he could tell me *why* the war was commenced. He said, women! women! women! Women had been the cause of all the late disastrous wars against France. It was unquestionably the late Queen of Prussia who had caused the Prussian war; it was the late Empress of Austria who had produced the last Austrian war; and it was the Grand Duchess Catherine who had occasioned the present war. I asked him how it was possible that the proposition should have been made to France to withdraw all the French troops behind the Elbe as an indispensable preliminary to negotiation. Because, said he, it was feared that a more moderate proposal would have been accepted. I said I had very much feared that such was the fact, and I was sorry to have it confirmed by him. He said that when the Emperor left this city for Wilna he intended and expected to have preserved the peace; but when he got to Wilna, General Barclay de Tolly laid before him a long roll of the troops that had been assembled, and of the preparations of all kinds for the war. An extraordinary confidence in his own power and resources was the first effect upon the Emperor's mind. Then it happened that just at that moment General Armfeldt had acquired

a momentary influence (he had none now), which he had used to stimulate and incense, and he had been a mere instrument of the Grand Duchess Catherine. Then, unfortunately, Napoleon had sent to Wilna the Count Narbonne, an old courtier of the old French monarchy under Louis XVI. It would have been better to accomplish the purpose of preserving peace if he had sent a corporal. The very politeness and courtly formalities of Narbonne were taken as evidence that Napoleon was overawed by the greatness of the Russian force, afraid and unable to begin the war. The spirit of exultation was at its height, and in the first twenty-four hours Narbonne was *couvert de ridicules*, and dismissed. Mr. Laval further told me in confidence that they gave out they were going to England, but they should probably not go farther than Sweden. At the times that might be approaching he had many motives for wishing to be absent. He said if the Court should leave this place, which they would certainly do as late as possible, and for which he thought there was even yet no determinate plan, he supposed that I should be left at my option either to follow the Court or to remain here. But he spoke without any knowledge of what was intended; it was merely his own conjecture. He asked me to call upon him to-morrow and look at a fine picture of Claude which he has lately purchased and will pack up in a few days. I promised him I would. The occupation of Moscow by the French is at length officially announced by a report from Prince Koutouzof, and by a proclamation of the Government. It is attenuated into a circumstance of trifling importance as to the ultimate issue of the war.

30th. I called at one this afternoon upon Mr. Laval. I found Mr. Harris there. Madame de Laval talked much about going to England. I saw the pictures, and the remainder of the statues and busts, all of which were packing up. The Claude is called a "Cascade of Tivoli," and is a fine picture. It is difficult to admire with sufficient fervency the last purchased picture of Mr. or Madame de Laval. Their ecstasies are more moderate whenever a new purchase concentrates them upon itself. I have witnessed a succession of these favorites since my acquaintance at the house, and have seen the reign of six or seven of them superseded in turn by a new-comer. But

their owners can never endure a critique or even a suggestion of an imperfection in any of them. This Claude is of a size to require a carriage for itself, and is to travel with them through Finland and Sweden. I had some further conversation with Mr. Laval. He says there are dreadful accounts of the burning of Moscow since the French entered it. There were two attempts made to burn the houses next to that in which *he* (Napoleon) had taken his quarters, in consequence of which his troops set fire to the city in many places at once, and it is feared that the whole city may be destroyed. The Emperor Alexander, since the loss of Moscow, has said publicly at his own table, "Il n'y a qu'un coquin qui puisse prononcer actuellement le mot de paix." His spirit stiffens with adversity. The situation of the French army in the midst of their triumphs is considered as absolutely desperate; it is supposed that Napoleon wishes to negotiate, and this is the strongest reason for the determination not to negotiate here. But the Emperor Alexander is not satisfied with the conduct of his Generals, nor pleased that he made Koutouzof a Field Marshal and gave him one hundred thousand roubles for a victory the immediate result of which was the loss of Moscow. Koutouzof says in his last report that in the council of war, by advice of which he abandoned Moscow, some of the principal Generals were of a different opinion. There were three, Benningsen, Konovnizyn, and Doktoroff, for fighting another battle. Benningsen has written that until and including the battle of Borodino, his advice was followed in everything—since then, not at all. The defensive and Fabian system is certainly painful and costly in its operation, and may perhaps not be calculated for a country situated like Russia. But it has not yet had its full trial. The time of real danger to the invader is now but just commencing, and it is a species of warfare to which Napoleon is not accustomed, and for which he may not be prepared. If, however, the system is good for the old Russian provinces, it is far more questionable for the recovery of Courland and of Poland.

October 2d. There is this day a publication here by authority, to assure the public that St. Petersburg is in no danger of being taken by the enemy, and explaining the motives for taking now

the precaution of packing up and sending away the *necessary things* which they are doing in open day at the Hermitage and the public offices. There are also three encouraging bulletins of news from the army, and reports still more encouraging.

5th. Mr. Harris called on me this morning, and asked Mr. Smith and me to dine with him this day, which we did; Prince Koslofsky, Mr. Poletica, and Mr. Krehmer were the company. Mr. Rapatel was to have been there, but was sent for to dine with the Emperor. He came in after dinner; as did a son of Baron Rall, and Mr. Slade. Mr. Rapatel was in his uniform, and is to go to-morrow to join one of the armies. The Abbé Fremont, who lives with Mr. Harris, was at table, and obliged to hear all the bitterness of Prince Koslofsky and Mr. Poletica against the French: it was as inveterate as might be expected from the rancorous war they are waging. The Prince is appointed Minister to the Court of Sardinia, where he was formerly Chargé d'Affaires. Notwithstanding his abhorrence of the French, he manifestly takes pleasure in being reminded that he is a member of the Legion of Honor. He professes to think himself disgraced by it; but the complacency with which he returns to the idea shows that it is a disgrace which he would be sorry to lose. He says that Prince Kurakin is still detained at Paris; that before Count Lauriston went away he had officially declared that Prince Kurakin had not only received his passports, but that every attention had been shown him to facilitate his journey, and yet that now there were letters received from Prince Kurakin, and dated 30th August, complaining that he had not received and could not obtain his passport.

9th. Mr. Laval sent me word that he had returned home, and I called on him again. I had drawn his certificate according to a form which he had sent me, being the same that had heretofore been used by the French Consul. But it purported that Mr. Laval's Acte de Naissance had been presented to me, and I accordingly asked him to show it to me. He said he had given it to Mr. Lesseps, who had not returned it. I observed that I could not then *certify* that it had been presented to me. He thought that those were mere words of form, and that I might certify in confidence upon his statement. In the form Mr. Les-

seps had used, those words were underscored and minuted as indispensable. I told Mr. Laval that my confidence in his assertion was perfect, but it could not justify me in certifying what was not the fact. I would either omit the words or insert in their stead "deposited at the French Consulate in this city." He preferred the latter, and we appointed seven in the evening for me to call upon him with the new certificate. At seven I accordingly went with it, and he signed it. I left it with him, to be signed by four witnesses as the French law requires. It is for an annuity which his mother receives upon his life. Madame Laval was present, and Count Maistre was there. They are to go in five or six days. They both appear to be much dejected. They are fugitives from one of the most magnificent establishments in St. Petersburg, a house where splendor and hospitality went hand in hand. They are going with a family of small children literally they know not where, and to return they know not when. Madame de Bétancourt and all her children went the day before yesterday; they go to England. We shall have scarcely an acquaintance left.

Baron Blome paid me a long visit; he is much out of health, and no less out of spirits. He thinks the Swedes are going to attack the island of Zealand, and he is very apprehensive they will succeed in taking it. He says they have not the shadow of a complaint against Denmark, and that it will be an attack more treacherous and profligate than that upon Spain. He appears fully convinced that Koutouzof had really won the battle of Borodino, though the world will never believe it. I do not yet believe it myself. The Baron, however, gives credit to all the stories they circulate here, many of which are without foundation.

15th. I received this morning a note from Count Romanzoff, requesting me to call on him at his house on the quay at seven o'clock in the evening. I accordingly went, and he said he wished to consult me as to the manner of sending to the United States dispatches to Mr. Daschkoff, containing the proposal of the Emperor Alexander's mediation between the United States and Great Britain; that with regard to my dispatching a courier directly, he had spoken to the English Ambassador to ask if he

would furnish a passport or paper to secure such a person from being taken by the British, which Lord Cathcart answered he could readily do, provided the courier should go by the way of England. But the Count said that he had replied that he could not propose to me to agree to such a condition.

I thought it not advisable on my part to agree to it, but mentioned to the Count that I should in a few days apply to him for a courier's passport for an American whom I should charge with my dispatches, and who would take his for Mr. Daschkoff, if he thought proper to trust them to this conveyance. He said his dispatches were all ready, and the passport could be furnished as soon as I should ask for it. He asked if there would not be an opportunity to send direct to the United States from Archangel. I told him I believed it was too late. He said upon reflection he believed it was, and it reminded him of an answer of Admiral Tchitchagoff, after a visit he had made to Archangel, to the Emperor, who asked him how long he had stayed there. He said he had spent the whole summer there. The Emperor, knowing his absence had been very short, said, with some surprise, "How so?—the whole summer?" "Three days, Sire," said the Admiral. I told the Count that I should probably ask for the passport towards the close of the next week. The courier would probably be obliged to go through England. If he was stopped, the English Government might perhaps read the dispatches; for that I could not answer. The Count said that as to his dispatches, it would not be of any consequence; they would only read over again in the identical words the proposition that had been made to themselves.

I asked him if he had any good news from the armies. He said, none of any consequence, nothing but what was in the bulletins. He enquired concerning a report circulating here, that a suspension of hostilities had already taken place between the United States and England. I mentioned my information from Mr. Russell directly to the contrary, and that a proposition made by him to that effect had been rejected by the English Government. He said this would not discourage him from the proposition of the Russian mediation, but, on the contrary, would rather make him more earnest in the proposal,

from the confirmed opinion that an indirect negotiation would not be liable to the mutual irritations which had attended the direct attempts. He also mentioned the account he had seen in the newspapers that the American troops had taken the town of Sandwich, in Canada. I told him that was nothing more than that they had entered the province. There had been no fighting.

I was with the Count about half an hour, and spoke to him of Mr. Fulton's letter to me, with his wish to obtain an exclusive privilege for constructing steamboats in Russia. I asked him if exclusive privileges were granted here to the inventors of useful machines. He said they sometimes were, not by a general law, but by a special grant from the Emperor, of which there was one recent example. I explained to him the nature of Mr. Fulton's steamboats, the very advantageous experience of them in America, and my own persuasion that the introduction of them between St. Petersburg and Cronstadt would be not only useful but important to the commerce of this city. He asked if I had any memoir upon the subject from the inventor which I could give him to show to the Emperor, after consultation with the Minister of the Marine. I told him I had only a letter from Mr. Fulton himself, and I would send him an abstract of his proposals in that. The Count appeared well disposed to favor an application of this sort, and asked some questions respecting the operation of our patent laws, as whether they did not give frequent occasion to litigation as to the fact of a new invention, how the claims to patents were examined, and upon what conditions they were granted. He asked also whether Mr. Fulton's steamboat could stem rapids in rivers as well as currents. I said I believed not. That, he said, would be a most important invention indeed to this country, where, owing to a few very insignificant falls of water, they were obliged to break up and burn for common fuel all the boats that brought merchandise down their rivers.

19th. Mr. Rapatel told me that he had just left Baron Armfeldt, who informed him that a courier arrived in the night, who left the Russian great army engaged in a general battle with the French. He thinks that the French army are about to

abandon Moscow and retire back into Poland. He himself is going to Sweden. He says the Emperor had intended to send him to the great army, but he had requested to be employed either upon this expedition from Sweden, or at General Tormassoff's army, which is opposed chiefly to Austrians and Saxons. He has a scruple against active service in opposition to Frenchmen. Mr. Harris also called upon me. His nephew will be ready to go next Sunday. I mentioned to him my idea of asking Count Romanzoff for a courier's passport as bearer of his dispatches to Mr. Daschkoff, as it might afford him more certain protection from British capture than if he went as an American courier. He was gratified with the proposal. Mr. Harris told me that Dr. Creighton had mentioned to him that Sir Robert Wilson, when he was here, had said to him at his table that Mr. Perceval, just before his death, had assured him, Sir Robert Wilson, that it was his intention to make war against the United States of America, and that he had good grounds for the expectation that it would end in the restoration of the British authority over the *Northern Provinces* of the American Union.

21st. Mr. Harris spent great part of the evening with us. He says that Mr. Laval told him that he had been informed by Mr. Balacheff, the Minister of the Police, that since Prince Volkonsky's return from the army the Emperor had less confidence in Marshal Koutouzof than he had before; that Murat had made some proposals tending to a negotiation for peace, which, if the Russian army should be defeated, the Emperor Alexander would perhaps incline to consider; that the peace party about the Court was growing stronger; that the English Ambassador, instead of treating directly with Count Romanzoff, was endeavoring to obtain access to the Emperor through the medium of Count Tolstoy; that the joint Swedish and Russian expedition was certainly and indefinitely postponed—at all events not to take effect this year. Almost all this information appears to me extremely questionable. Prince Volkonsky is one of the Emperor's aid-de-camp generals, and was sent off to the army very suddenly, on the Emperor's hearing of the surrender of Moscow. He returned four or five days ago. It

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was rumored, when he went, that he was sent to feel the way for negotiation. Now Mr. Balacheff says that proposals have been made by Murat. It is more probable that he was sent to inspect, and report to the Emperor, the *real* state of the army and of affairs, and it is not unlikely that he has returned with accounts differing essentially from Koutouzof's reports. The rest of this news must be taken with caution.

22d. I called at eleven o'clock this morning upon Count Romanzoff, and told him that young Harris was going to America, and that I proposed sending by him duplicates of my last dispatches to the American Government. I asked him if he would by the same occasion send duplicates of his dispatches to Mr. Daschkoff, and on that account give him a passport as a messenger dispatched by him. This the Count said he could not do. Mr. Harris being an American, he could not give him a passport as a Russian courier, and if he should, the English would pay no regard to it. He had already found himself engaged in a discussion with the British Ambassador on the subject of passports. He had asked the Ambassador for his *visa* to one. The Ambassador had answered in the most obliging manner possible as to the forms, but had been, "quant au fond, assez sec." He had offered very readily to give his indorsement, but observed at the same time that the English cruisers might pay no attention to it, as they acted under their instructions from home, governed by the English laws. But, the Count said, he would send duplicates of his dispatches to Mr. Daschkoff by Mr. Harris, and in his courier's passport would have it inserted that he was also bearer of his dispatches to the Russian Minister in America. The Count himself had, in our first conversation concerning the mediation, proposed to me to give the messenger I should send a passport as a Russian courier, and it was on that suggestion that I asked it for Mr. Harris. But the Count then did not know the difficulties started by the British Ambassador. Perhaps the insertion which he offered may answer the purpose as well as a formal passport; and I readily accepted the offer. After I came home, young Mr. Harris called upon me, and I informed him of what the Chancellor had said to me.

24th. I called this morning upon Count Löwenhielm, at the Hôtel de l'Europe, to ask him for a passport for young Mr. Harris to go through Sweden, which he promised he would send me. I found the Marquis de Paulucci with him, an officer who has been of some note the last spring and summer. The Count told me the news, which he said was not a little important. Wittgenstein had taken Polotzk by storm—two thousand Frenchmen killed—and Wintzingerode was at Moscow, and his Cossacks fought with the French in the streets of Moscow. Wittgenstein would now cross the Dwina and form his junction with the armies of Tormassoff and Tchitchagoff, and then, je prévois des douleurs (to Bonaparte). The Count is as sanguine as he was last spring; he thinks the destruction of the Emperor Napoleon and his army *inevitable*. Making every allowance for the exaggerations of prejudice and passion, it is obvious they are in great and imminent danger, and their inaction so long after the occupation of Moscow is very unlike the former practice of Napoleon. Paulucci said that he had committed the same imprudence in 1797, and had extricated himself from it by the peace which he was compelled to ask, and to which Austria then assented. But for that, he was then perdu sans ressource. I have often heard this before. But he had then, and has now, his greatest of all resources, a battle. His fortunes and existence are staked upon that, and he has so long abused the favors of Fortune that she will certainly finish by jilting him; or rather Providence (such is my belief), after using him for the purposes he is destined to answer, will exhibit him, like another invader of Russia, "to point a moral or adorn a tale."

25th. Received a notification, from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, of a Court to be held to-morrow at the Winter Palace, at noon, it being the Empress-mother's birthday, and at the same time a Te Deum for the victory of the General of Cavalry, Count Wittgenstein, over the French commanded by Marshal Gouvion St.-Cyr, and for the taking by storm of the fortified city of Polotzk. I had visits from Mr. Montréal and from Mr. Laval, who has postponed his departure for five or six days longer. He is not quite so sanguine as Löwenhielm that the French army will inevitably be destroyed, but he thinks

the present prospects of the Russian cause superb. He still dreads the genius and resources of Napoleon more than they deserve. The accounts are so numerous and so uniform that his army is famishing, that he has proposed to Koutouzof, by Count Lauriston, an armistice, that his retreat through Smolensk is impossible, that they are no longer mere rumors. Koutouzof has received a reinforcement of twenty-four regiments, eighteen thousand men—Don Cossacks. The Novogorod armament, eighty thousand men, are rapidly advancing to Moscow from this side. Many of Napoleon's couriers, and mails with letters, have been intercepted; all complaining that they are in want of everything—one from the Bavarian General to the King of Bavaria, in which he complains that the *allies* are not allowed to forage, and that they are starved that the French soldiers may be fed. Koutouzof has reorganized the army and filled up the vacancies in the regiments from the Moscow armament. The answer to the proposal for an armistice was a mere reference to the Emperor Alexander's declaration at Wilna that he would not make peace while an armed enemy should remain on the Russian territory. Such is the change from despondency to confidence effected by the storm of Polotzk.

26th. At twelve o'clock Mr. Smith and myself attended at the Winter Palace, according to the notification. The Te Deum commenced between one and two. There was no Court held after it, notwithstanding the notice. The new Diplomatic Corps were there—Lord Cathcart, the British Ambassador, with his suite of seven persons; the Duke de Serra Capriola, with his son; Mr. Zea, as Spanish Minister, and Captain Guedes, as Chargé des Affaires from Portugal; Baron Löwenhielm, as Minister from Sweden, with the Russian riband of St. Anna of the first class, which the Emperor gave him at Abo; Mr. Brandel, as Secretary of Legation. Baron Blome and Mr. Krabbe, from Denmark, and Count Maistre, from Sardinia, were, with us, the only remnants of the former corps. There was a Comte de Noailles there, an emigrant, lately from England. Lord Walpole, the Secretary of the British Embassy, asked Lord Cathcart to introduce him to me; which he did, and I had some conversation with him about architecture and sculpture, Guarenghi's build-

ings, and the statue of Peter the Great. The Te Deum was like all the others I have heard in the chapel. Baron Blome told me he hoped the expedition against the island of Zealand was postponed, but he did not venture yet to be confident. Met Messrs. Willing, Redwood, Fisher, and Plummer, who all told me the story of the capture of the British frigate "Guerriere" by our frigate Constitution. I considered it as a joke invented by some of the Americans here, and had indeed been told that it was.

27th. About noon this day the report of cannon from the fortress announced that important and pleasing intelligence from the armies had been received; about half an hour after, Mr. Harris, the Consul, came in. He had just come from Count Romanzoff's, where he had been with his nephew upon a visit of taking leave. The news was a great victory of Marshal Koutouzof over the King of Naples (Murat), and the retaking of Moscow by General Wintzingerode's corps, though in achieving it Wintzingerode was himself taken prisoner. In the evening I received from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies a notification to attend a Te Deum to-morrow morning at the Kazan Church, on account of these events. The city was illuminated by night. Mr. Harris lent me an English Courier of 6th October, which he had borrowed from Count Romanzoff, containing a confirmation of the capture of the "Guerriere" frigate; but with it an account of the surrender of General Hull and his army, and of the taking of Fort Detroit by the British. It would be useless, and the attempt would be vain, to express my sensations upon this event. There are scarcely any details of the affair given. The honor of my country—O God! suffer it not to go unredeemed.

28th. About noon I went with Mr. Smith to the Kazan Church, and attended the Te Deum for Marshal Koutouzof's, or rather for General Benningsen's victory, and for the delivery of Moscow. The Duke of Serra Capriola and Baron Armfeldt were in the highest exultation of glory. Armfeldt had a letter from his son, who was with Benningsen at the battle, written the day after, in all the insolence of victory. Armfeldt went about reading it to anybody who would hear him. Without

moving from where I stood, I heard him read it seven times. Prince Plato Zuboff, the last favorite of Catherine, was also there. I had seen him at Berlin in 1797 and 1798. I did not know him again, and asked who he was. He has been in disgrace ever since the present Emperor's accession, but his estates in Poland, where he resided, being now overrun, he is again admitted at Court. Count Romanzoff apologized to me for having permitted Mr. Harris yesterday to take me a paper with bad news. I congratulated him on the occasion of the Te Deum, which he said it was to be hoped would be followed by important consequences, and especially that it would correct some opinions concerning the Russians, which had been industriously disseminated. I suppose he alluded to the reputation of the military skill of their generals. The music of the Te Deum was remarkably fine. After it was finished, the Emperor, the Empress and Empress-mother, the Grand Dukes Constantine, Nicholas, and Michael, and the Grand Duchess Ann, made their prostrations and adorations to the miraculous image of the Virgin. When the Emperor left the church to return to the palace, he was greeted with three shouts by the crowd of people who surrounded the church. The city was illuminated again in the evening.

29th. Mr. Krehmer told me there was a further report received this day from Count Wittgenstein; that the corps of Gouvion St.-Cyr, united with that of Macdonald, had been pursued, overtaken, and almost totally destroyed. Mr. Krehmer invited me to dine with him next Wednesday, to meet Sir Francis d'Ivernois, who has expressed a wish to be acquainted with me.

November 2d. Dined at Count Romanzoff's with a diplomatic company—about forty-five persons. The Count told me before dinner that he believed the grant I had asked for Mr. Fulton would be made; that the Emperor had only thought proper to fix a different modification of time. Mr. Fulton asked an exclusive privilege for twenty years. But the grants of patents in America and in England were only for fourteen years, and the Emperor thought proper to allow one year more—the privilege therefore would be for fifteen years. At table I got

between Count Maistre and Count Löwenhielm, and conversed about the American Indians, about creation, and about the desperate condition and almost certain ruin of the French Emperor and army. Baron Blome told me that the Swedish expedition against the island of Zealand was probably postponed, but they now threatened the invasion of Norway. Blome himself has yet the deportment of an assiduous courtier, and is treated in return with a coldness bordering, to say the least, upon incivility.

4th. Went out to Ochta, and dined at Mr. Krehmer's. Mr. Harris was there, Mrs. Pitt, the wife of the English clergyman, and two Mr. Gisbornes, sons of Dr. Gisborne the author, who live with Mr. Krehmer. There was much political conversation, characteristic as well of the present state of affairs as of the feelings of the speakers. The passions of almost all the politicians whom I now see and hear are concentrated upon the head of one man. It seems almost universally to be considered that the destinies of mankind hang upon his life alone; and in proportion to the force of this sentiment is the ardor for his death. I know not how it has been with former conquerors during their lives, but I believe there never was a human being who united against himself such a mass of execration and abhorrence as this man has done. There is indeed, on the other hand, an admiration of him equally enthusiastic, as for every great conqueror there always must be; but I have never yet seen the person by whom he was regarded with affection.

6th. The official account of the battle of Malo Yaroslawetz, 24th October, is now published. Koutouzof, as usual, claims the victory; but his army again retreated after it. As yet, no decisive proof appears whether the object of the French army was to cover its own retreat, or to penetrate farther into Russia. That they do not expect or intend to return to Moscow appears certain.

9th. On taking my usual walk this morning, I found the two bridges of the Neva gone, and the river about half full of floating ice. The Fontanka Canal was almost everywhere frozen over. There has been yesterday and the day before a considerable fall of snow, so that the sledges pass upon it. The thermometer (Réaumur's) has been from five to seven below

zero, the temperature at which the river usually freezes. Mr. Harris called upon me, and brought with him some English newspapers containing the English official account of the capture of the British frigate Guerriere by the Constitution, Captain Hull, and also the dispatches from General Brock, and the shameful capitulation of General Hull and his army in Upper Canada. The Countess Colombi and her sister, Frederica Bode, visited the ladies, and mentioned the decease of General Pardo, the late Spanish Minister here. He died at a small, mean hovel of an inn, upon his journey from this city. General Essen, at Riga, has taken his daughter, a child about fourteen, who was left friendless and alone when her father died. Madame Colombi intends sending for her. Pardo, I believe, died of a broken heart. He had connected himself with the French party in Spain inextricably, while his feelings were all on the other side. He accepted office, military rank, and a blushing riband from Joseph Bonaparte, and yet in all his conversation with everybody was enthusiastically zealous for the patriots. There was a contrast between his conduct and his discourse greater than I ever witnessed in any other man. He had lost his fortune and several of his near relations by the war in Spain; he had been two or three years without pay from the Government that he had consented to serve; and by the new war he was dismissed, even from nominal employment, without any present provision, or any prospect of future supply, so much as for the subsistence of himself and his daughter, besides a son of sixteen or seventeen, who is at Paris. He was a learned classical scholar, a well-taught connoisseur in the fine arts, a profound theoretical proficient in the art of war, a lively and pleasant convivial companion, and a man of strong and brilliant genius. I believe if he had possessed firmness and energy of character he would have taken an active part, and been a highly distinguished leader, in the Spanish cause.

10th. I read the remainder of Gisborne's Principles of Moral Philosophy, and his remarks on a decision in the British House of Commons, in April, 1792, on the abolition of the slave trade. He is a very zealous advocate for this abolition, which has been since legally decreed in England, as well as in America.

Whether it will be eventually abolished in fact is yet a problem. The trade is beyond question an abomination, disgraceful to the human character, but there are so many powerful passions and interests concurring to support it, and the efforts to obtain its abolition are themselves so much composed of fashion and faction, that I still doubt whether the abolition will be accomplished. I say the motives of the abolitionists are in a great degree fashion and faction; for the impressment of seamen is to all intents and purposes a practice as unjust, as immoral, as base, as oppressive and tyrannical as the slave trade. It is in all its most heinous features identically the same crime; in some particulars it is more aggravated; and yet the same members of the British Parliament who have been the greatest zealots for abolishing the slave trade are not only inflexible adherents to the practice of impressments among their own people, but are now waging a rancorous war against the United States to support the practice of their officers in impressing men from American merchant vessels on the high seas. Every particle of argument that can bear against the slave trade bears with equal force against impressment. Dr. Gisborne is at least consistent. He admits that the impressment of seamen is a violation of the general principles of the English constitution; and he speaks of it, even as applied to British subjects, with disapprobation. He says nothing of the abuse of extending the practice to Americans and upon American vessels, and even his censure upon it as applied only to British subjects is very faint and cold compared with his fervor of passion against the slave trade.

25th. This morning I received a notification from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, that a Te Deum would be performed at the Cathedral Church at Kazan, at half-past eleven o'clock this forenoon, to return thanks for the defeat of the enemy's corps under the command of the Marshals Davoust and Ney. I went with Mr. Smith accordingly at this hour. It is the greatest victory that the Russians have gained since the war commenced, and is perfectly decisive of the fate of the campaign and of the Emperor Napoleon's main army. It is now morally impossible that the remnant of them should escape. In every probability they are at this hour all prisoners of war.

He is lost without resource. The trophies, among which is Davoust's Marshal's truncheon, were exhibited in the church. Czernicheff, who has highly distinguished himself, was present, as were General Wintzingerode and his aid-de-camp, young Narishkin, the Grand Chamberlain's son, who were taken prisoners by a most extraordinary accident when Wintzingerode's corps took Moscow, and were retaken by another accident no less extraordinary, on their way as prisoners to France. A few Cossacks of Czernicheff's detachment released them. Czernicheff has been promoted to the rank of a Major-General, and Aide-de-Camp Général to the Emperor, and appeared in his new uniform. Joy and triumph were upon every countenance; but upon none with such transport as upon that of Madame Narishkin, who went about with her son by the hand, presenting him to all her friends, and saying she had nothing more to ask of Heaven. The Emperor and imperial family performed their prostrations to the miraculous image of the Virgin, and the Emperor, on leaving the church, was greeted with loud shouts of the populace. Mr. Harris visited us at the close of the evening. There have been rumors of internal commotions at Paris in circulation some time. They were much exaggerated in the reports, but accounts from Sweden ascertain that they did take place even before the end of October, and before Napoleon's disaster had commenced. They were then suppressed; but they afford a presage of violent convulsions, when the real events of the last month shall be sufficiently known to produce their effects. The crisis is great and awful beyond all example. Almighty God, grant that it may turn to good! to peace! to the relief of mankind from the dreadful calamities of unbridled ambition!

December 1st. The ladies were to have gone to the theatre, at which a French Opera had been announced. It was changed, however, for a Russian play. Great efforts have been made to obtain the dismissal of all the French players; and it has been repeatedly said that the Emperor had determined to dismiss them. The Russian public have manifested some uneasiness at their continuance here, and everything French, even the language, has become an object of their abhorrence.

3d. I dined at Count Romanzoff's with a company of about forty persons; among whom were the ladies of the celebrated Generals who are now dispelling, as Count Litta remarked, like the fog before the sun, the immense armies of the Emperor Napoleon, and levelling with the dust his colossal military reputation, Princess Koutouzof Smolenski, Countess Wittgenstein, Baronesses Benningsen, Wintzingerode, and several others. The day was rendered peculiarly joyous to them by the news of a fresh, splendid victory over the corps of the French Marshals Victor and Oudinot, by Count Wittgenstein, which arrived this morning. Within the compass of ten days the Russian armies have taken between forty and fifty thousand prisoners, with cannons, baggage, and ammunition in proportion. There is nothing like it in history since the days of Xerxes. I sat at table next to Admiral Koutouzof, a nephew of the Prince of Smolensk, "le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre," who entered into conversation with me, and told me some anecdotes of his uncle, who he says is as good as he is great. He has been more than fifty years in the service, employed in important military and diplomatic stations, successively, by the Empress Catherine and the Emperors Paul and Alexander. He said that just before the Prince went away on this last appointment he (the Admiral) was enumerating the multitude of military commands and important embassies upon which he had been for so long employed; when the old Prince, with a grave countenance, told him that he had forgotten one of his high offices. What was that? Director of the German theatre. It was remarkable, the Admiral observed, that Napoleon's present disasters were owing to his having despised his enemy, and Prince Koutouzof's success might be due to the opposite cause, for he was an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon's military genius, and on going away last summer, told him that when he considered whom he was going to oppose, he felt overpowered by the magnitude of the responsibility he was taking upon himself; and he had lately written him that notwithstanding he had now the pleasure of beating day after day the first Captain of the age, and notwithstanding the honors that were heaping upon him, he longed for the time when he could return here to

his friends. The Admiral told me there had been here an English Admiral named Bentinck, a vainglorious, boasting sort of man, and he and Madame de Staël one day said to him that Prince Koutouzof was destined to be a second Wellington. But they were mistaken in supposing he should take it as a compliment. If his uncle had done nothing more than Wellington, he would sink low indeed from the summit of his merited fame. I said that the English were apt to make much of small successes by land, but I thought they might be allowed a little pride upon the battle of Salamanca. "Thanks," said he, "to the random shot that carried away Marmont's arm before the battle began. But here is Wellington with his whole army stopped for weeks before a paltry little fort at Burgos, with a garrison of two thousand men, which he cannot take. And if it were not for our victories in the north, I would lay a wager the French would be now again in Madrid."

The Admiral was equally severe in his remarks upon the Spaniards, and was peculiarly sarcastic upon Mr. Zea, who sat opposite to us at table. He first asked me who he was. I said, Mr. Zea, the Spanish Minister. "Spanish Minister. What? Joseph Bonaparte's?" No; Ferdinand the Seventh's; the Minister of the Cortes who had signed a Treaty with Count Romanzoff.

"Oh, yes; the Garçon de Comptoir of Colombi, the merchant. Why, what a diplomatic tone he assumes! You smile, I see; but I am no diplomatic man. I say just what comes into my head."

I said that Mr. Zea had been connected with the house of Colombi, but that I believed he had been a diplomatic character, sub rosâ, even then—as Mr. Colombi himself had been while he lived; that his widow had since his death been made a Countess by the Regency for his services. Upon all which the Admiral spoke with as little respect for Ferdinand the Seventh and the Cortes as he had of the English and Lord Wellington.

I told him that I had witnessed with interest and admiration the spirit manifested by all classes of people in this nation under the struggle from which they are issuing with such triumphant glory; that I had never entertained a low idea of Russia, but that the conduct of the nation upon this severe trial had far

exceeded my expectations. He said, "Monsieur, la Russie, bien gouvernée, est faite pour commander à l'Europe."

I think she will not lose the opportunity. I observed, however, that the circumstance that appeared most to gratify the Admiral, in speaking of the conduct of the nation, was that the peasants had not shown the least disposition to avail themselves of the occasion to obtain their freedom. I see that this is what most touches the feelings of all the Russians with whom I have conversed on this subject. This was the point upon which their fears were the greatest, and that upon which they are most delighted to see the danger past. The Admiral, whose name I did not know, until upon enquiry after dinner I ascertained it, professed to be so pleased with my remarks that he told me he hoped to have the opportunity of introducing me personally to his uncle when he should come home.

Count Romanzoff told me that he had sent the last letter I wrote him to the Emperor, who had been well pleased with it. I asked him if he had received any answer from England on the proposal of mediation. He said it had not been rejected, but they had intimated an opinion that it would not be acceptable to the American Government; that they expected something might be done after the new election in America, by which the Count said he understood them to mean that Mr. Madison, after being re-elected, would be more pacifically inclined than he is at present.

I said the English Government were much misinformed concerning American affairs. I believed the Emperor's proposal would be very acceptable, whatever the event of our election might be. Lord Cathcart also said to me that the elections for the new Parliament in England were now over, "but," said he, "they are more anxious there, I believe, about *your* elections than about our own." I said that our election was of a different description from theirs; it being not only of members of the legislature, but also of the head of the Executive Department. He said he was glad to observe that there did not appear to have been anything to excite rancor on either side. I told him, from the complexion of the newspapers, I thought there was more of that in England than in America.

7th. On returning this morning from my walk I found a note from Count Romanzoff, proposing a change of the time and place which he had fixed for seeing me, and asking me to call upon him between one and two o'clock this afternoon at the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, which I accordingly did.

I told him that my motive for desiring this conversation with him was, that since I saw him last I had received from my Government official notice of the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain, together with a letter from the Secretary of State, dated first July; that I had not received any instruction to make an official communication on the subject to this Government, but the Secretary of State had explicitly expressed the views of the Government at this juncture on several points, which I thought it important to communicate to him. The first was the desire of the United States that this war might be confined to them and Great Britain, that no other power might be involved in it; that the United States wished to preserve unimpaired their relations of amity with all other powers, and that this wish was declared in a particular manner in regard to Russia; that the war between Russia and France, though it could not then be known in America to have commenced, was anticipated as inevitable, and was a subject of great regret to the American Government; that the state of our affairs with France was said to be in an unsettled condition, and there was not much expectation of any speedy settlement of them satisfactory to us; but that, whatever course they might take, the American Government did not contemplate any more intimate connection with France; nor was it aware of any occurrence whatsoever which could induce it to enter into any such connection. This sentiment, I said, was expressed in terms as strong as language could employ, and the desire of the United States to maintain in their full extent the friendly and commercial relations with Russia was in terms of equal earnestness.

The Count said he was obliged to me for the communication, which he was sure would be peculiarly agreeable to the Emperor, before whom he should lay the substance of it; that the Emperor's desire to maintain the friendly and commercial relations with the United States was entirely reciprocal to those of the

American Government, and it was the apprehension that they might be interrupted by the English which had made him wish so sincerely the termination of this war; that we might be assured that no circumstances could induce the Emperor to interrupt the friendly relations of Russia with the United States, even if he were prepared to enter into more intimate engagements than he is at present inclined to form with any power whatsoever. And with regard to the assurance that the intention of the American Government was not to form any more intimate connection with France, as it would afford particular gratification to the Emperor, he wished to ascertain precisely whether he had understood what I stated as having been expressed to me in the communication from my Government. He then repeated over in substance, and correctly, what I had said, and I assured him that he had perfectly understood me. He asked me whether I had any objection to his communicating to the British Ambassador, Lord Cathcart, this part of what I had said to him.

I answered him that, far from having any objection, I thought it might do good, and could not believe it would produce any unfavorable effect; that in the discussion of our differences with Great Britain previous to the war, the British Ministers had frequently believed, or professed to believe, that the American Government were partial in favor of France, and were actuated by a French influence in opposition to England. If they really entertained such a prejudice, the frank and explicit declaration of my Government's intentions after the declaration of war against them, and precisely at that time, must, if they were capable of giving it a candid consideration, tend to remove a prejudice and to produce a more pacific disposition.

The Count replied he did not mean to say that he thought this the only obstacle to the restoration of a good understanding between the United States and England; but he thought it a great one, and that it would be a favorable circumstance to have it removed. He then asked me whether I had any late intelligence from America indicating the determination of the American Government after the revocation of the Orders in Council was known.

I said I had not, but that although I was satisfied, if that revocation had been known, the declaration of war would not have been made, yet war being once declared, there were other points of collision upon which an accommodation became essential for the restoration of peace; and upon the chief of these, the impressment of seamen from our merchant vessels, it appeared the British Government would listen to nothing. I then explained to the Count the nature and character of this practice, as exercised by the British naval officers—the impossibility that any nation having a sense of independence, and of the protection due to its own citizens, should submit to it, or endure it without indignation, and I told him that two several proposals had been made by our Government to the British for a suspension of hostilities; the Orders in Council to stand revoked, and they stipulating to discontinue the practice of impressment from American vessels; the United States prohibiting by law the employment of British subjects, either in their public ships or in private merchant service.

He said he thought the latter part of the proposal could not easily be carried into execution.

I told him I did not think it could meet with much difficulty; but that at any rate the American Government, having made the proposal, would have been responsible for its execution. The British Minister, however, had rejected it, and until they should be willing to come to some accommodation upon the point I saw no prospect of a peace. I was aware, and did not wish to disguise, that there was an inherent difficulty which made the British adverse to a compromise.

The Count asked if they did not complain that they lost great numbers of their seamen by their becoming naturalized as Americans.

I said it was not exactly that. There were very few British sailors who ever were or could be naturalized as Americans; and I mentioned to him the conditions of naturalization by our laws, and the character of them, which makes it sure that few foreign seamen can avail themselves of them. But, I said, the American sea service, public and private, was more attractive than the British, for our common seamen were better fed, better

paid, and better treated than English seamen are wont to be in their own service. It was natural therefore for English sailors to prefer our service to their own, and to seize every opportunity they could of entering it. This the English Government consider, and complain of, as seduction, and they have no other remedy against it than that violent and tyrannical practice of their naval officers, of stealing men from our merchant vessels. I did not know that it would be possible ever to come to a compromise with them upon it; but I hoped if we could not hit upon any expedient for arranging it, he, the Count, would furnish us with one.

He said, "il faudra travailler à cela," and concluded by promising to give the Emperor an account of this conversation, after which, he said, he would see me again.

8th. Mr. Montréal called upon me this morning. He told me there was a report circulating in the city that Bonaparte (he is now nothing more than plain Bonaparte) was killed. We afterwards, in the course of the day, heard the same report from two other quarters; and even that his body had been found after a battle; that a courier brought the news last night; and that the fortress guns were fired for it in the night. There is said to be a bulletin, on the other hand, from Admiral Tchitchagoff, admitting that Bonaparte, with seventy thousand men, had passed beyond him.

9th. The news of the Emperor Napoleon's being killed is not authenticated; that of his having effected his escape becomes more credited; though, if true, his situation must still be extremely perilous, and almost desperate. The disappointment here at the belief of his escape is very great, and has given rise to various rumors, that one, and even two of the Russian armies have been defeated; of which there is probably no foundation.

10th. On returning this morning from my walk, I received a note from the Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, requesting me to call upon him at twelve o'clock, noon; which I did. He said he had sent for me to show me the draught of a dispatch to Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador in England, which he had prepared to lay before the Emperor for his approbation;

and as its object was to communicate to Count Lieven the substance of what I had said to him in our last conversation, he wished me to peruse it, and to point out any inaccuracy or variation from what I had said, and that he would immediately correct it. I found there were several passages differing from the ideas I had intended to convey to him, which he immediately struck out of the draught, inserting others in their stead, exactly conformable to what I now repeated, and explained as having said, or intended to say, before; the Count observing that he was desirous of not using one expression, either stronger or weaker, than I had meant to use. The first variance was, that he had written Count Lieven that I had called upon him, *by order of my Government*, to communicate to him the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain. I had, on the contrary, said to him that my Government had not ordered me to make any official communication here of this declaration; but that, having just received it, together with a dispatch from the Secretary of State, indicating the views of my Government on this occasion in relation to other powers, and particularly to Russia, I had felt it a duty to communicate the substance of it to him.

The second difference was, that in reporting what I had mentioned of the state of our affairs with France, he had used expressions of resentment and reproach, such as, that France used us as ill as Great Britain, that she gave us nothing but "des belles paroles," which I told him might be very just inferences from the facts, and might even express my own sentiments, but which I had not intended to use, because my object had been merely to state the purport of the dispatch I had received, in which no such expression of asperity, no sentiment even of irritation, was to be found. It simply said that the principal subjects in discussion with France remained unsettled, and there was little reason to expect a settlement of them satisfactory to us. On the third point, I observed that the Count's expressions were not so strong as those I had repeated from the Secretary of State's letter. He had accurately noted the determination of the American Government not to enter into more intimate connections with France, even

if a satisfactory adjustment of those differences should be obtained; but he had omitted the additional assurance, that they did not foresee any event whatever that could produce such a result.

The Count immediately struck out every one of the passages which I noticed as inaccurate, and inserted others in their stead, exactly conformable to my present repetition and explanation of what I had said to him in our last conversation. I then told him, in consenting to the making of this communication to the British Government I was aware that it might possibly produce an effect different from that which he intended and which I desired; that, supposing the British Ministers should be actuated by dispositions which might without any breach of candor be imputed to them, the certainty that the American Government would in no case seek or accept a community of cause with their most dreaded enemy, might render them more careless or indifferent to a pacification with us, as leading them to think less formidably of our hostility; that I believed, however, the operation of this intelligence upon their minds would be of an opposite kind—that its tendency would be to promote the spirit of conciliation; and that I was in this respect happy to have the concurrence of his judgment.

The Count said there was a possibility that the effect might be contrary to his wishes and intentions, but he trusted it would not; that his instruction to Count Lieven was to inform Lord Castlereagh of this conversation with me, with the purpose of removing the prejudices entertained by the British Government, and of promoting the peace which he (Count Lieven) knew the Emperor had much at heart, as believing it most for the interest of both powers as well as of his own empire; that he had not told Count Lieven that he was authorized by me to repeat this conversation, but appeared to relate it altogether without my privity; that as the affairs of the British in Spain were not so prosperous as they had lately been, they would probably be under the necessity of making further efforts there, and might therefore be more disposed to accommodation in another quarter. He was quite anxious, he said, to hear from England. He had no accounts from thence later than 3d

November, and now the only course of information, even with regard to the internal state of France, was through England.

I asked him if there was no communication through Sweden and Denmark. He said there was—but very precarious and dilatory, for even before the war between Russia and France the usual course of the post between Paris and Copenhagen was through Moscow. I spoke to the Count of the answer the English Government had given to the Emperor's proposed mediation. He said they had neither accepted nor rejected it, but had hinted that it would not be acceptable in America; that they thought the time was not yet come. But it appeared they had sent out Admiral Warren with powers to negotiate. Did I know what the result had been of this? I said I did not, but I augured very little from this mode of negotiation. Admiral Warren had been known here in a mere diplomatic capacity, and I had heard his personal character spoken of as amiable and conciliatory; but there, he went also as commander-in-chief of a hostile squadron of ships, a character in itself far from portending conciliation. If we were vanquished indeed, an Admiral might signify to us the terms to which we must subscribe, as well as any other; but until then, it was no good aspect for judging favorably of the proposals; to be offered from an Admiral making his first appearance in hostile array, with ships of the line and frigates.

The Count replied, that was true, but to the amiable and conciliatory disposition of Sir John Borlase Warren he could bear ample and willing testimony. He was as free from pride and from prejudices, both personal and national, as any Englishman he had ever known. At an early period of his embassy here, he (Count Romanzoff) had told him that the commercial relations between Russia and England might be continued on a foundation of mutual advantage to both nations, but not upon the basis of former times; not by viewing things under the varnish of the English factory; not on the scale of maintaining here a dominion something like that they had in India. Supposing the Russian commerce upon the Black Sea were to become important, was the English factory to say that there must be none but at St. Petersburg? It could not be endured.

It was absolutely necessary to remember that times and things had changed. Sir John did not say anything in answer to this at the time, but afterwards, when he was going away, he told the Count that he had remembered that conversation, and was fully satisfied of the correctness of his opinion. From the general tenor of the Count's remarks, I conjecture that he does not now very cordially harmonize with the English Ambassador, or fall into the present commercial or political views of the English Government. He said that he was happy to find that the British Ministers did full justice to the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander—"more justice, indeed," said he, "to the Emperor than they do to his Chancellor." He told me that Mr. Zea had lately sent him a dispatch of an old date from Mr. Daschkoff, and asked me whether I knew how it came to Mr. Zea's hands. I suppose Mr. Daschkoff sent it through the Spanish Minister by a cartel-ship to England, from whence it was transmitted to Mr. Zea by a courier.

12th. Charles has learnt Addison's versions of the 19th and 23d Psalms. The first of them I think the best. The second of J. B. Rousseau's sacred odes is a paraphrase of the same 19th Psalm, or rather of the first part of it. The French and English poetry is beautiful, but there is a sublime simplicity in the original Psalm itself, more energetic than anything in either of the imitations. Addison says that there is no real voice or sound in the firmament and stars. I am not sure that the Psalm says so. Plato's idea of the music of the spheres does not appear to have struck the Psalmist, but the Psalmist's idea that they declare the glory and handiwork of God was above the reach of Plato. Shakspeare's idea that they sing choiring to the young-eyed cherubim is almost inspiration. Addison's astronomy is adapted, perhaps, to the age when the Psalm was composed, and may pass for poetical astronomy in any age. But the Psalm does not say that the stars and planets move round the earth. In the 23d Psalm, Addison's introduction of the crook displeases me; "fainting in the sultry glebe" is awkwardly expressed, and "faint" will not rhyme with "pant," either to the ear or to the eye. In both the versions the thoughts are weakened by expansion and repetition. Yet the

23d Psalm in Addison's poetry is delightful by its rural imagery; and the 19th is elevating by its grandeur.

19th. The Emperor Alexander left this city early this morning to go to the army. There have been for some days rumors of his departure, but they were so much contradicted that it was finally quite unexpected.

24th. The Emperor's birthday, which, for the first time since I have been here, passed over without any celebration and almost without notice. There was a petty illumination of the streets for about two hours in the evening, and nothing more. The country has suffered so much by the last summer's invasion, and there have perished such great multitudes of the people and armies, while other multitudes still greater are reduced to ruin and beggary, that the Emperor himself has determined there should be no expensive festivities this winter at his Court, and he particularly forbade the customary celebration of his birthday. I was playing at ombre with the ladies, when I received a note from Mr. Harris, with a London gazette extraordinary of 27th November, containing the official account (British) of the total defeat of the second American attempt to invade Upper Canada, and the surrender of General Wadsworth and nine hundred men. The symptoms disclosed by these repeated shameful terminations of impotent assaults are distressing to the feelings of one who loves his country. The reliance of man in all cases can only be upon Heaven. God grant that these disasters instead of sinking may rouse the spirit of the nation, and that they may learn, though from adversity, the skill and discipline which will be the pledges of their future prosperity!

25th. I dined at Count Romanzoff's with a company of about sixty persons, the Corps Diplomatique, and the principal Ministers of the country. I was seated at the table between Count Maistre and the Duke de Polignac, with both of whom I had much conversation. The news was the evacuation of Courland by the French, and the taking of three thousand Prussians prisoners by the Marquis de Paulucci, the Governor of Riga. This was so small an affair amidst the multitude of great and brilliant successes of the Russian arms that it was spoken of

rather contemptuously. Count Romanzoff, laughing heartily and apologizing to me for laying aside the reserve of the Chancellor, told me that the boys in the streets who sold the bulletins, when they followed persons and found them slow to take their goods, would urge them by saying, "Oh, take it! take it! It is not from Paulucci, but from Wittgenstein." The new-comer, Count Löwenhielm, appeared to be in a sort of ecstasy after dinner, at the band of music, particularly the horns, in the chamber adjoining the dining-hall. Admiral Bentinck complained that they smelt too strong of human nature. The Admiral told me that Napoleon had confiscated in Holland property belonging to him worth a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

31st. I offer to a merciful God at the close of this year my humble tribute of gratitude for the blessings with which He has in the course of it favored me and those who are dear to me, and I pray for a continuance of his goodness. Above all, I pray that He who worketh in us both to will and to do, may grant to me and mine that temper of heart and that firmness of soul which are best adapted duly to receive all his dispensations, whether joyous or afflictive. It has pleased Him in the course of this year to lay his chastening hand upon me, and to try me with bitter sorrow. My endeavors to quell the rebellion of the heart have been sincere, and have been assisted with the blessing from above. As I advance in life its evils multiply, the instances of mortality become more frequent, and approach nearer to myself. The greater is the need of fortitude to encounter the woes that flesh is heir to, and of religion to support pains for which there is no other remedy. Religious sentiments become from day to day more constantly habitual to my mind. They are perhaps too often seen in this journal. God alone can make even religion a virtue, and to Him I look for aid, that mine may degenerate into no vicious excess. For the future time may the favor of God, which passeth all understanding, rest upon my parents, my wife, and all my children, my kindred, friends, and country; nor at this moment can I forbear to include in my petitions the welfare of all human kind! For myself, may the divine energies be granted to perform fully

all my duties to God, to my fellow-mortals in all the relations of life, and to my own soul!

February 1st, 1813. At nine in the evening I went to Count Romanzoff's, and had with him the conversation I had requested. My object was to ascertain whether any commercial arrangements were making between this country and Great Britain which might affect the trade between Russia and the United States, chiefly upon suggestions in a letter I have received from Mr. Hazard. I mentioned to the Count the present state of our affairs with England; the failure of all attempts to negotiate for a suspension of hostilities, and the prospect that the war must continue at least through the greatest part of the ensuing summer, even if the Emperor's mediation should eventually succeed in accomplishing a peace. Under these circumstances, I had been questioned in behalf of persons interested in the commerce between Russia and the United States, whether there had been, or was likely to be, any understanding between Russia and Great Britain, particularly with regard to the subject of articles of contraband.

The Count said there neither had been, nor was likely to be, any such understanding; that with England Russia had simply made peace, and the events of the French war had since so entirely absorbed their attention that they had not yet had time to talk about commerce; that with regard to articles of contraband, "you know," said he, "that our religion here is different from that of the English. But there have been a great many faults committed in Europe. Such is the pressure of the most important interests that it is impossible to have more than one ally. There is but one power on each side. If questions about articles of contraband arise in England, we shall adhere to our own system, and make our claims accordingly. But they will probably adhere to their side too. There is no list of contraband adjusted between us; nor will they perhaps consider themselves bound by that stipulated in our Treaty of Commerce with them, to which the subsequent war with them has put an end. They may recur to their most comprehensive list of contraband, and at this time we can hardly think of contesting with them on that point."

I said that in regard to the interest of Russia in her trade with America, almost all her articles of export, hemp, sail-cloth, and even iron, were articles which the English styled contraband. But my business only was to know the fact, as he had candidly stated it to me, and I should, with his permission, make it known to those who had consulted me concerning it, and they must arrange their commercial speculations accordingly.

He said that, without naming him, I might give this as the real state of things from the best information I could collect; that there was no *caution valide* that the English would recognize or respect any list of contraband other than that which they had always allowed; that with respect to commerce, no change had yet been made in the tariff of the last two years. Probably little or none would be made. The tariff had indeed not yet been renewed; but it would be decided upon in another fortnight, for he knew the Emperor had again been applied to for his decision. He himself knew of it no more than what was current about the town, for he attended none of the meetings of the Council. When he went away with the Emperor last spring, all his presidencies (in the Council) had been transferred to Marshall Soltykoff. He still retains them; "and I," added the Count, "being still in the condition of a man for whom the Emperor may send from day to day the order to join him, though I do not know whether he will, yet in the mean time cannot attend at the meetings of the Council, appearing under the Presidency of Marshal Soltykoff, my equal in rank, but over whom my previous situation in the council had given me precedency." He then asked me some questions with regard to the popularity of the war between the United States and Britain, as well in England as in America. I said that in America the war was popular in some parts of the country, and unpopular in others. I told him what I had heard concerning the probable issue of the presidential election, and my belief that Mr. Madison would be re-elected. He said that his information led to the same expectation.

As to the popularity of the war in England, I said I was afraid it would be too popular with all parties. The only point upon which the war was now continued was the impressment

of our sailors. On this point the whole English nation, or at least all the political parties, were unreasonable; and the loss of two of their frigates, successively captured by American frigates, had mortified their national pride, and touched their point of honor in its tenderest part. I was afraid it had embittered them, and would make them think they must now fight not only for their honor, but for revenge.

He asked me what I thought of the war by land. I answered that I expected for the present little or nothing from it. We were all too raw and unskilled in war to make much progress in Canada. He asked if the people of that Province itself were not inclined to favor our cause, and to join the American Union. I answered there might be some of them so disposed, but I placed no reliance upon it. He asked whether I thought there was any disposition in the present British Ministry towards a general peace, and noticed a remark said to have been made by Lord Castlereagh in Parliament—that the success of Russia had, among other good results, that of making it possible to conclude a peace. I said that the observation had been afterwards explained in a ministerial paper to mean peace with the Emperor Napoleon. But the English Ministry appeared to think that the late events had rendered the restoration of the throne of France to the family of Bourbon probable, in which case they suppose peace may be made without difficulty.

The Count said he had not seen this explanation, but he believed this winter would produce events of the highest importance and the most extraordinary nature, arising from the late occurrences of the war. But it was impossible to foresee precisely what they would be. It was a chaos, as he had told the Emperor, and no one could yet imagine what system of order would finally arise from it. But what did I think of the strength of the British Ministry at present? and what of the likelihood of any change in it?

I thought the Ministry incomparably stronger than they were when ultimately formed last summer.

But would not the English nation be urgent for peace?

The English nation would never ask for peace as long as their Ministers could fire the Park and Tower guns, and talk

to them of victories over the French, whether they were their own or those of their allies. As to a change of Ministers, I saw no probability of that; the old opposition had not the most distant prospect of coming in; the Wellesley family little more. Mr. Canning probably might come in, but the only change of system that could produce would be an increase of rancor in the war with America.

But why did I think the prospects of the Wellesleys so bad?

There was some delicacy in mentioning part of my reasons for this opinion, but I hoped he would consider me as speaking altogether in confidence to him of it. The private character of the Marquis of Wellesley was disreputable in England. His conduct on the Catholic question was unpopular. The bigoted Church party thought he favored the Catholics too much, and the Catholic party had no confidence in his sincerity. His political system was in no better favor with the public. He was for doubling and redoubling all the efforts and sacrifices of the English in Spain. It was evident enough that this system was adapted to his brother's glory and his own family aggrandizement; but the people were not of the same opinion, and had not the same motives. They thought the English were doing quite enough in Spain, particularly in the expenditure of money, which the nation felt more severely than the losses of men.

The Count observed that since Count Lieven's arrival in England he had yet received from him only one or two dispatches, and they mentioned that he should soon afterwards speak of American affairs. He spoke of the blockade by the English of Chesapeake Bay and Delaware River, which I told him was another illegal blockade, for which I could perceive no other motive than a small malice against the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore. If they expected any good effects to themselves from this measure, I trusted they would be disappointed. There was another thing in which I had seen a symptom of petty malice against America. They had made up a story that our Minister in France had followed the Emperor Napoleon to Moscow, to make a treaty with him against Spain—which was certainly a falsehood.

The Count said it was true that Mr. Barlow, with the Danish Minister, and a third diplomatic character, from a State supposed to be in the interest of France, had been sent for to Wilna, by an invitation from the Duke of Bassano; but that only one of them had arrived there, and that after Napoleon had left it. There had been even some dispositions made as if a stay of some time in Lithuania had been contemplated. But the issue of the war had given a different turn to things.

I said that Mr. Barlow, for aught I knew, might have been sent for to Wilna, but assuredly he never could go there for the purpose alleged by the English newspapers, and by Mr. Canning in Parliament. As to the Emperor Napoleon, his campaign had terminated in disappointment, and placed him in a situation which I considered as extremely precarious. But he had nobody to thank for it but himself. He was one more example of a head turned by a prosperous fortune, and he must abide the consequences of his insanity.

"True it is," said the Count, "that he must thank himself for his present condition. How many, many times I have urged upon the Duke de Vicence, sitting on this very canapé, the preservation of peace! I did not repeat the same to Count Lauriston, because, although I had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct personally to me, I was not upon the same terms of intimacy with him as I had been with his predecessor. The Duke de Vicence himself I believe was of the same opinion. His inclinations were pacific, but they were unavailing. He was in a sort of disgrace, but he seems now to have come into favor again, and was the only person who accompanied Napoleon in his late return to Paris."

I said I had heard that Count Lauriston was dead. There was such a report, he answered—that he had been found frozen to death in his carriage; and it was not improbable, as no mention was made of him among the Generals and Ministers who followed Napoleon upon his return to Paris. It was probable, too, that Lauriston's death might be hastened by chagrin at the idea of having contributed by his counsels to the ruin of the army. For it is said to have been by his advice, against the opinion of Caulaincourt and of all the other Generals, "qu'il fit

la sottise de Moscou." It was Napoleon's own opinion, and Lauriston flattered him by concurring with it; not from base motives, but because it was his real opinion that by pushing on to Moscow we should be induced to negotiate, and, if terms of peace not too severe should be offered us, we should accept them. It is scarcely credible how complete the destruction of that immense army had been. And they could no longer disguise it. He had seen a letter from the Duke of Bassano, written at Berlin, to some of the French agents, in which were these identical words: "Il faut avouer que les circonstances ne nous sont pas favorables."

I observed that this was by no means disclosing a secret. The Count replied that it was not, but that it showed that their acknowledgment of the fact became every day more complete. The details surpassed everything that imagination could have anticipated. It was remarkable that at Dresden, the very spot which Napoleon had chosen for his point of departure, where in May last he had made such a pompous and ridiculous display of power, where he had assembled Emperors and Kings, and distributed their seats at the Elector's table, and published them in all his gazettes, as if he had been there a monarch surrounded by his vassals—that exactly there, on his return, he entered the city in a single sledge, without servants, without guards. His very Mameluke had been frozen to death, and he was obliged to borrow four thousand louis of the Elector to continue his journey, and six shirts from his Minister. At Weimar he had passed through without stopping, and left an apology behind to the Duke for not having visited him, that he was absolutely not in a presentable condition. (N.B. The Duchess of Weimar is a Russian Grand Duchess, sister of the Emperor Alexander.) At Weimar he could not go any farther in his sledge, which was broken, but borrowed the town carriage of Monsieur de Saint-Aignan, his Minister, the brother-in-law of the Duke de Vicence, and who was some time here with him; and with this carriage, and two soldiers lent him by the Elector of Saxony, he reached Paris. It was truly singular that Saxony should have been the particular scene of these humiliations, that very Saxony where he had made such a display of the colonies of

farmers, and artists, and God knows what, that he had brought with his army to settle in Poland. Since his arrival in Paris, it was said he was sick; that he was certainly gone to Marly on the pretext of hunting, and there he might be sick and confine himself to the palace without so much notice as it would occasion at Paris. There was also a report current about the city, and related with so many circumstances of detail as rendered it highly probable, that there had been a great popular insurrection at Munich, in Bavaria, "but I have had," said the Count, "no official advice of it myself. For the Emperor has naturally directed the couriers, who had dispatches to me, to proceed to his own head-quarters, and has opened the packets addressed to me."

Thus far my conversation with the Count, of which, as of all the others I have with him, I give the most particular relation, omitting only the common chat about weather, my family, and objects of no general or particular interest, which are occasionally mingled with them. The circumstances which most struck me this time were those which the Count mentioned respecting himself, and which seemed to indicate an apprehension of declining favor. It was near eleven at night when I came home.

9th. At noon I went with Mr. Smith to the Winter Palace, where, after the imperial family had attended mass, the Empresses held a diplomatic circle. It was attended by the British Ambassador, Lord Cathcart, his two sons, and aids, Captain McDonald and Captain Forbes, and Mr. Bailey, the British Consul; by the Duke de Serra Capriola and his son (Two Sicilies), Baron Blome (Denmark)—Mr. Krabbe, his Secretary of Legation, was unwell and not there—Count Löwenhielm (Sweden), with his nephew and aid, and Mr. Brandel, his Secretary; Count Maistre (Sardinia), and the Chevalier Bardaxi Azara (Spain, Ferdinand the Seventh), with the Chevalier Camerero, attached to the mission, and Captains Lema (Secretary of Legation) and Parada, attached to the mission. These gentlemen were presented to the Empresses. Captain Guedes was not there. The Empresses were very short in their conversation; talked about the weather, and to me, about my wife and absent children. The Empress-mother said there had been thirty degrees of cold, and that the mercury had been frozen.

After the circle, the whole Corps Diplomatique were conducted into the Grand Duke Michael's apartments, and he held a circle. This was a novelty both to him and to us. He is the youngest of the Emperor Paul's children, and this day fifteen years old. He has grown to manhood since we arrived here. He was in his twelfth year when I was first presented to him. This day he went through the ceremony very well for a first time—spoke to Baron Blome of his fine horses, and asked me if I had any late news from America. He must be nearly full grown, is nearly six feet tall, and very strongly resembles the Emperor.

Before the circle, and while we were assembled in the introductory apartment, Count Romanzoff came in. He took me aside, and told me that he was very sorry to be the bearer of bad news to me of Mr. Barlow; that Prince Kurakin had written from Vienna that he was dead. He had been sent for last summer to Wilna, but after waiting some time at Moscow he had determined to return, through Cracow and Vienna, to Paris. On the road he was taken sick, and died at Cracow. Prince Kurakin mentioned the event in his letter with great concern. During the latter part of the time preceding the war, the Prince had seen nobody but him at Paris, and there was no sort of kindness and attention that Mr. Barlow had not shown him. The Prince had even deposited with him the archives of the Russian Embassy at Paris, and was now anxious about them. The Count said he had no doubt but that on leaving Paris Mr. Barlow had taken care to leave them in some safe custody; but he wished me to write concerning it.

I told him I would write immediately, if he would have the goodness to indicate a mode to me of transmitting the letter. The Count asked me if I could not send it through Baron Blome by way of Denmark. He added that he had particular reasons for not wishing to point out to me a direct mode of communication. I replied that I would very readily ask Baron Blome to transmit a letter for me; or if I could send directly to Vienna, I would take that course.

I had also some conversation with the Chevalier Bardaxi, for the first time. He had seemed before this to avoid it; and

Countess Colombi told Mrs. Adams that he had some scruples whether to consider Spain and the United States at peace. He was, however, now very communicative, and told me that when our declaration of war against England had appeared, he was at Lisbon, where the Portuguese Government had declared themselves neutral and issued an ordinance prohibiting the admission of prizes into their ports; that he had recommended the same course and the same regulation to his own Government, and they had accordingly adopted them both. The exclusion of prizes, he said, was suggested to him as necessary, by the embarrassments and controversies into which they had been drawn, particularly with America, by having been obliged to admit prizes made by the French into their ports during the last war. I told him I thought the regulation a very good one, and wished it could be made a universal law of neutrality. Lord Cathcart spoke to me about the weather.

11th. I received from Count Romanzoff a second note, desiring me to come at half-past seven this evening instead of six, and at his house on the quay. I accordingly went, and mentioned to him that in consequence of Mr. Barlow's death I had thought of sending a messenger by the way of Vienna to Paris, as well to ascertain the situation of our own affairs in France as to give the necessary instructions with regard to the security of the archives of the Russian Embassy, which had been deposited with him; that one of my countrymen here, who was desirous of going through Vienna to Paris, had asked me some time ago if I could not send dispatches by him and obtain a courier's passport for him, which I had then declined, having no special motive for sending dispatches, and wishing to avoid every unnecessary correspondence with France, in the state of affairs between that nation and Russia; but that now, having a sufficient motive of public interest for it, I should request a courier's passport for him, if there was no objection to granting one.

The Count said he would with pleasure give a passport to go either to Vienna or Copenhagen, or anywhere but directly to Paris, that he might not have the appearance of knowing that the courier was destined there; that he thought I was right in

sending a special messenger on this occasion, and I had an undoubted right to dispatch a courier to the agent of the United States in France, with whom they were at peace; that he was sensible to the delicacy I had shown in previously consulting him to enquire if he should have any objection to this measure; that he had none whatsoever. But his passport would avail only as far as the frontier; that the Austrians might stop the courier, and not permit him to proceed to Vienna. They had already done so by some Prussian officers to whom he had given passports, who had been full of zeal, and considered this as their own cause. But the pusillanimous Austrians, from the fear of giving offence to the French Government, had refused them permission to go to Vienna. He asked if I could not obtain a courier's passport from the Duke de Serra Capriola.

I said that I should prefer giving him my own; that the United States had indeed no Minister at Vienna, but that they were at peace with Austria, and I could see no reason why they should refuse admission or passage to an American courier. I said I would also give him a letter to the French Ambassador at Vienna, who was an acquaintance of mine of nearly thirty-five years' standing, and whom I should request to facilitate the admission of my courier into France.

The Count said he saw no reason why the Austrians should not respect my passport, and that it would therefore be unnecessary to ask for any other.

We had then some further desultory conversation. He said he had English gazettes to 8th January; that the renewal of the East India Company's charter was the subject which appeared most to occupy the public attention there at present, and to occasion some temporary and local agitation; that in Spain they appeared to be doing nothing at all, and that Lord Wellington had retreated into Portugal.

I said the French could do nothing at all there either, but I had heard they had not withdrawn any troops from there. The Count said he did not know. I observed that if they had not withdrawn them, they very shortly must resort to that expedient. How else could they supply the place of that immense army they had lost in the north?

This brought the Count to talk of the destruction of Napoleon's army, which he said was so complete that scarcely any but the officers had escaped. It reminded him of an anecdote of the Comte de Clermont, who commanded the French army in Germany in the Seven Years' War. He had suffered a great defeat and dispersion of his troops, and was passing through a city, and stopped at a public house, where, upon his enquiring of the landlady, "Avez-vous vu quelqu'un de nos fuyards?" she answered him, "Non; Monseigneur est le premier;" an answer which would now be perfectly applicable to a great number of Napoleon's marshals and generals. It was certain that Providence had reserved to itself almost entirely the agency in this event. It was beyond all human calculation that the fame and glory of the Emperor Napoleon, founded on an almost uninterrupted succession of victories for nearly twenty years, and which had become a sort of *religion* in Europe, should thus have vanished in the course of three months before an old man of seventy-two years of age, whose own military reputation was a problem, and whom many people here extolled very highly, while as many others held him in contempt.

The Count alluded by this to Prince Koutouzof Smolensky, who certainly has very little contributed to the disasters of Napoleon and his army.

22d. At eleven this morning I went with Mr. Smith to the Kazan Church, and attended the Te Deum for the taking of Warsaw and of the fortress of Pillau. The keys of Warsaw, a couple of old brass keys, were exhibited. The Empress and imperial family, now in the city, were present. But the crowd was much smaller than at the former Te Deums in this church. Baron Blome told me that he had received a courier from Copenhagen yesterday; that his Government had made a proposal to England for a negotiation of peace; that it was quite uncertain whether the French Government itself would not negotiate. So that it was necessary for every one to think of himself.

25th. I had a morning visit from the Chevalier Bardaxi Azara, the Spanish Minister, accompanied by Don Francisco

Zea Bermudez, who styles himself Plenipotentiary of Ferdinand the Seventh. Mr. Bardaxi was in high spirits, and extremely sanguine at the present situation of political affairs. He says there was a courier from the army yesterday; that Russian troops had passed the Oder, and that Count Woronzoff would shortly be at Berlin; that there was to be a personal interview between the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, near Breslau; that the Russian army was everywhere received with such enthusiasm of joy, that there would immediately be fifty thousand men raised in Prussia to fight against the French; that Austria likewise manifested a disposition to negotiate separately.

I mentioned that an Austrian courier had been said to have passed through Holland, and arrived in London early in January, with very important dispatches.

He said that was nothing but the mediation, in which he supposed Austria was not sincere. Austria had made an offer of her mediation for a general peace, which Napoleon had accepted; and his acceptance had been formally communicated to the several European Courts. But it was in terms which evidently showed that he had no intention to make peace. It said that he accepted the mediation of his *puissant allié*, the Emperor of Austria, and would declare the basis on which he would negotiate, referring to his offer made to England last April, and adding to it that Prussia must remain as heretofore, and Russia not to acquire a line beyond her present territory; Turkey to remain as by the peace of last summer at Bucharest.

I asked him if he had late news from England. He said, none —there could be no important news from thence. It was in the north that the destiny of Europe must be settled.

27th. I paid a visit to the Chevalier Bardaxi Azara, with whom I found Mr. Zea. The Chevalier had some late newspapers from England, with the Regent's declaration against America. He said he thought it a very feeble piece; but he thought the question between the United States and England, upon which the war now turned, was an extremely difficult one to settle. He spoke of the English manner of negotiating, and of their ideas of reciprocity, which he said was always a reciprocity of words, with the substance all on their own side. He

instanced particularly in their late treaty with Portugal, made at Rio de Janeiro. I asked him if there were any news from America in his papers; but he did not appear to know.

28th. Between noon and one o'clock I went with Mr. Smith to the Winter Palace, and attended the Te Deum for the victory of General Wintzingerode over the corps commanded by General Regnier. I met there, besides the usual members of the Corps Diplomatique, Sir Francis d'Ivernois, whom, at his request, Mr. Harris introduced to me. He told me that he had formerly been acquainted with my father in London, and had since been in correspondence with him; that my father, in one of his publications, had given him a title which did not belong to him—that of Doctor. He believed that the mistake had arisen from his having once dined with my father at Dr. Price's, and from Dr. Price's having then several times at table addressed him (he did not know why) as Doctor d'Ivernois.[1] Sir Francis, who since that time has been knighted by the King of England, doubtless considers the title of Doctor as a sort of degradation, and it must have lain heavy upon his mind for him to have made it, after an interval of more than twenty-five years, the first topic of conversation with me. He had before mentioned it to Mr. Harris. He also told me that he was now going to travel over a country through which he knew that I had also been (Silesia), and concerning which I had published a book. He had not seen it. We had some further conversation, which was, however, very soon interrupted by the summons to the Te Deum; it was shorter than usual.

March 1st. We had been invited to attend the funeral service for Admiral Bentinck, at the English church, at six o'clock in the afternoon. Having attended the same service there several times before, and always found that they began an hour later than the time fixed, I thought it would be time enough at seven this evening, and went at that hour. The service was just finished at the moment when we arrived—which gave me a new lesson of punctuality. I went, nevertheless, to the vestry, where

[1] This voluminous and rather tedious writer, born in 1751, after passing through a series of vicissitudes, and an exile from his own country of twenty-one years, finally returned to Geneva in 1814, where he survived until 1842.

I found the officers of the English Embassy, and some other persons, with Drs. Pitt and Beresford. I mentioned to Dr. Pitt the cause of my having arrived late. He said they had been obliged to begin earlier than usual, because the Duke of Oldenburg had attended, and had come very punctually at the hour appointed. He apologized to me for not having sent me the certificate which I had asked of him some months since. I asked Dr. Beresford what was the rule of the Greek Church for determining the time of Easter. He did not know. The Abbé Lavoisier the other day was unable to answer me the same question.

3d. Sir Francis d'Ivernois paid me a long visit, and in return for my Silesian letters gave me two of his own publications—"Les trois Offrandes," and "Napoléon Administrateur et Financier." He found Mr. Harris with me, and we had a long conversation together upon political affairs. He has all the prejudices and all the passions of an English Ministerialist—which was to be expected; but he very stoutly contends that the British Ministers deplore the war with America. Mr. Harris mentioned to him Sir Robert Wilson's assertion at Dr. Creighton's table, that Mr. Perceval had told him a very few days before his death that he was determined upon a war with America. Sir Francis said he did not believe that Mr. Perceval had ever said any such thing to Sir Robert Wilson; that Mr. Perceval was the only member of the British Cabinet deeply, strongly, inflexibly attached to the Orders in Council; that he probably would not have abandoned them to prevent a war with America, but he did not believe they would produce a war. Sir Francis said that he had been very intimately acquainted with Mr. Perceval, who had been with him and left him not five minutes before he was murdered; that he had often conversed with him on the subject of America; that Mr. Perceval always expressed himself averse to a war with America, but he did not believe it would come to a war. Sir Francis appeared to hope that the war between America and England would yet be short; he founded his hopes on the expectation that the war would become too unpopular in America to be pursued. On this point, as on almost every other, I found his opinions at the greatest possible

variance from mine. As to the question of impressment, he said he did not see how that could be settled unless all the sailors in the British navy would submit to be tattooed with a G. R. in Indian ink upon the arm; but he doubted whether they would consent to that. This is the strangest expedient, I believe, that was ever devised; but he mentioned it seriously.

We talked about the American revolution, the war against which he thought had been excessively *impolitic* in Britain; but as to the justice of the case he had his doubts. But, he said, he was one of the small number of persons who believed the loss of the American colonies to have been the origin of the King of England's malady. As Sir Francis is under personal obligations to the King of England, I did not think it suitable to tell him what I thought—that he had mistaken the cause for the effect.

16th. I went to Mr. Meyer's on business, where I heard of the alliance concluded between the King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander, which I did not believe, but which was confirmed by Mr. Harris, who paid us a visit in the evening; also the taking of Berlin by the Russians. There are also accounts from England to 16th February, and from America to 17th January, and Mr. Harris says Mr. Madison's re-election is ascertained.

I had likewise this morning a long visit from the General of the Jesuits, who came to enquire if I had any late letters from America, and to ask me to forward some from him to his associates there. I made enquiries of him concerning the instruction in their college here, and was surprised to find that they do not teach Greek. He says they formerly did, but the modern languages and mathematics, with the example of the German universities, have absolutely expelled Greek from their classes. I likewise asked him by what rule the Russian Greek Church fixed their time of Easter. He did not know that they had a different rule from that fixed at the Council of Nicæa, until I showed him by the Almanac for this year that they do not observe it. He thought the only difference was of the old and new style. But that is not all. Easter this year is celebrated here the *second* instead of the first Sunday after the full moon

following the 21st March. He promised me, however, to enquire and let me know hereafter what rule they do follow. He told me that the Emperor Paul had the project of introducing the new style here, but the Metropolitan objected that it would require a total alteration in the rubric of their Church books, and make all the books now in use of no service. The expense of printing new ones deterred Paul from the execution of his design. I wrote scarcely anything this day. Read a few pages of Fabricius, and Olivet's Remarks on the Theology of the Greek Philosophers, with which I was much gratified.

17th. I sent for my landlord, Mr. Strogofshikoff, and paid him a half-year's rent in advance. He conversed with me, as he always does, upon politics, and upon the character of the Russian people. He is very well satisfied with the present state and prospect of affairs, and thinks the Emperor Alexander might now come home and take his ease. He says that, of the Petersburg levy of men last summer of one man in ten, the greatest part have perished, and the rest have been, or will be, incorporated in the regiments. Not one of them will ever come back. He spoke of their Lent, of which this is the second week. They keep their first and last week with great rigor, and in them they are not allowed to eat fish, no animal food of any kind—scarcely anything but bread, oil, and mushrooms. The common people, he says, consider a violation of the Lent as the most heinous of crimes. Murder, they suppose, may be pardoned, but to break the fast is a sin utterly irremissible. He himself kept the fast last week, not from a religious scruple, but because he thought it a salubrious practice, and a useful one to form habits of self-denial. I am of that opinion myself, and I have often wished that the reformers who settled New England had not abolished the practice of fasting in Lent. I am convinced that occasional fasting, and particularly abstinence from animal food several weeks at a time, and every year, is wholesome, both to body and mind. It is true that fasting is not expressly enjoined in the Scriptures, and therefore cannot be required as a religious observance; but, unless prescribed by a principle of religion, there is no motive sufficiently powerful to control the appetites of men.

22d. The General of the Jesuits paid me a morning visit, and brought me a letter to be forwarded to America. He had also a statement by one of the fathers of his college, explaining the reason why the festival of Easter falls on different days this year in the Greek and Roman Calendars. It is not owing to the difference of the solar year, but to that of the epact. That of the new style is XXVIII, that of the old style, IX; that is, according to the Gregorian Calendar, the solar year in its embolismic revolution of nineteen years exceeds the lunar year by twenty-eight days. According to the Julian Calendar, this same year in its embolismic revolution of nineteen years exceeds the lunar year only by nine days. Hence by the first the term of Easter is 15th April, which being the fifth holy-day of Passion week, Easter is transferred to the next Sunday, being 18th April. By the second the Paschal term is $\frac{7}{19}$th April, which being the second holy-day, Easter is transferred to the next Sunday, $\frac{18}{25}$th April. The term of Easter does not, therefore, depend solely upon the time of the full moon succeeding 21st March, but also upon the comparative state of the solar and lunar years by the two calendars. The reverend father told me that the Russian priests know nothing about the cause of the difference; that one of his associates had enquired of them at Riga, at Moscow, and here. Nobody could tell him. The explanation itself leaves other questions to be solved—particularly why, and how, the difference of epact should operate upon the calculation of the full moon.

April 3d. Dined at Count Romanzoff's, with a diplomatic company of a new description. A Count de la Ferronais has arrived from England, and is going on to the Emperor Alexander's head-quarters. He comes upon a mission from Louis XVIII., and to him this dinner was apparently given. The Count de Brion was there—an old gentleman whom I had only seen before at Count Stedingk's and at the Chevalier Bezerra's. He has been a sort of Agent, or Minister, from Louis XVIII., but hitherto not recognized. The Duke de Polignac was likewise one of the company. I had dined there with him once before.

I had some conversation with Baron Blome, who is in great

anxiety. He told me that the proposition for peace, made by Denmark to England, had been rejected. The answer had been that they must treat at Stockholm, and on the basis of ceding Norway to Sweden. The Baron said this was a proposal to which it was impossible for Denmark to listen, but he did not know what his Government would do.

The news had just been received of the taking of Hamburg by the Russians. Young Gourieff had carried the keys of the city to Count Wittgenstein, at Berlin. The whole city, seventy-five thousand people, came out to meet the Russians in triumph, and such transports of joy were never before known. The mayor of the city, Abendroth (a sinister name, as Baron Budberg observed), they had thrown out of the windows. The King of Prussia had written a letter to Prince Koutouzof, placing all his troops under his command, submitting to him without restriction the whole management of the war, and requesting him to take the Prince Royal of Prussia for his aid-de-camp. This, it was remarked, was the only way in which anything could be done to good purpose.

I sat at table between Baron Budberg and Mr. Oubril, who reminded me that he had seen me at Berlin, where he was a Secretary to Baron Krudener, then the Russian Minister there. None of the English Embassy, nor the Duke of Serra Capriola, nor Count Maistre, were there. But the Secretary and two Captains of the Spanish Legation were present. It was in truth a Bourbon dinner, and reminded me of the resurrection of dry bones in the Prophet Ezekiel. Count Romanzoff was courteous as usual, but has more and more the appearance of declining influence. When I returned home I found it useless to attempt reading. As we came down the stairs from the Count's, Baron Campenhausen said, "Ma foi! si on faisait tous les jours un dîné comme cela, je crois qu'on mourroit au bout de deux ans."

4th. Finished reading Olivet's translation of Cicero "De Naturâ Deorum." A large part of the third dialogue is lost, which I very much regret. All the arguments of Cotta against the wisdom of Providence in the structure of the human body, and in the usefulness of all created nature to man, are lost. I

should have wished to see the whole strength of the Academician as well as that of the Stoic. Cicero concludes by saying that Velleius (the Epicurean) thought Cotta's argument the truest, but that he (Cicero) thought that of Balbus the most probable. Ernesti says that this is mere dissimulation, for that Cotta delivers the real sentiments of Cicero. He draws the inference from the absurdity of the Stoic opinions, and the impossibility that Cicero should have believed them. There is one point, and that a very important one, in which Olivet, the translator, agrees with Cotta, which is, that in matters of religion we must not rely upon reason, but take refuge in authority. But to me this is impossible. I have no cause for peculiar confidence in my own judgment, but I cannot seat my faith upon the mere authority of other men. I began reading the translation of the books "De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum," by Regnier Desmarais.

5th. Finished reading the first and began the second book, De Finibus—a disquisition upon the Supreme Good. There are five books, the first and second containing a dialogue, at Cicero's villa at Cumæ, between him, Torquatus, and Triarius. Torquatus in the first book sets forth the Epicurean doctrine which makes the summum bonum to consist in pleasure. It is refuted by Cicero in the second. Torquatus, according to the fashion of the Epicureans, applies great part of his discourse to the panegyric of the Graïus homo. But Cicero handles him very roughly, charging him with a total ignorance of physics, an absurd disdain of dialectics, a loose, confused employment of terms, and a doctrine pernicious and detestable in morals. He says particularly that Epicurus held the sun to be only three feet in diameter, and not larger than it appears to the human eye, and that he formally objected to all definition of terms. A principle laid down by Torquatus is, that the absence of pain is the most exquisite pleasure, and Cicero appears to labor with the utmost earnestness the contradiction of this maxim, which he says confounds the nature of things. There is an ardor partaking of passion in all Cicero's attacks upon Epicurus, but I believe it was well founded. The principles of that philosophy may properly be called the philosophy of corruption, and it has

always prevailed in company with the grossest licentiousness of morals and the most infamous vices. Torquatus intimates that Cicero's aversion to Epicurus arises from his having neglected the ornaments of language, and not written oratorically like Plato. But Cicero assures him that this is not the foundation of his objections; that Epicurus writes well enough to make himself understood, which is sufficient; that it is not his style, but the substance of his doctrines, that deserves censure. I hope before long to ascertain what Lucretius has to say for Epicurus.

6th. I finished reading the second book of Cicero de Finibus. His dialogues are not so dramatic as those of Plato. He makes one speaker set forth a philosophical dogma, and another refute it, each in a continued discourse. Plato breaks his up into conversations. Cicero's method is more didactic, but Plato's is more animated.

10th. At eleven o'clock this morning I called upon Count Romanzoff, according to his appointment. I told him that the object upon which I desired now to speak with him was scarcely of an official nature, but arose from certain circumstances which had occurred here, and which I thought it my duty to notice to him; that in the Russian, German, and French gazettes of this city there had just been published translations of the English Prince Regent's declaration in answer to the American manifesto which accompanied the declaration of war; that in the German gazette, and I presumed therefore in the Russian, of which that is only a translation, this document was introduced by a sort of commendatory preface apparently by the editor of the gazette, in which it was said to contain a true statement of the causes of the war between the United States and England; that as to the publication of the piece itself, I had no disposition or right to complain of that, but the remark with which it had been introduced in the Russian and German gazettes had given me some concern. It was my own persuasion that the English declaration, far from assigning the *true* causes of the war, was an elaborate argument to assign a cause totally false and unfounded. And what had most seriously affected me was, that the cause falsely assigned in the English

declaration was calculated, if believed by Russia to be true, to make Russia take an interest in the war in favor of England and against my country; that the main effort of the Regent's state paper was to inculcate the belief that the causes assigned in the American declaration were mere pretences, and that America had commenced the war under the influence and in subserviency to the policy of France. This I affirmed to be absolutely false. I had officially communicated to him (the Count) the views of the American Government with regard to France at the time of the declaration of war. It was not true that our quarrel with England had been produced by any operation of French influence. It was a question which we had to settle with England alone, and a question without settlement of which I did not believe it possible that peace should be made. I added, that although the English answer to our declaration had thus been published here at full length, the declaration itself had not; and my principal object was to ask him whether I could have translations of our manifesto now published in the same papers which had given circulation to the answer.

The Count said, by all means; that the introductory remark which I had noticed as having been published with the English Regent's declaration was altogether wrong; that he did not know it was in the paper, though he must acknowledge it was his fault that it was there; supposing that the declaration only was in the paper, and being overwhelmed with these newspapers, which they were perpetually bringing to him to read, he had stopped them from reading this document to him, and by that accident the remark had escaped his attention; that if I would send him translations of the American declaration, they should be immediately published in the same gazettes where the English answer had appeared; that it was by no means the intention of Russia to take a side or constitute herself a judge in the war between the United States and England; that his own opinion was that I had truly stated the fact, that the question was between America and England, altogether independent of any French influence. But from the same disposition, not to take a part in the question, he wished me to send him the translations of our manifesto without any commentary.

I replied that this was my wish. I had abstained from every step that could bear even the construction of attempting to disturb the friendly relations between Russia and Britain; and all I asked was that the same measure should be meted out to us. I had indeed observed several indications of endeavors to warp the public opinion here on the side of the English in their contest with us, but I had never much dreaded their effect, and had not thought them worthy of notice until this occurrence. I assured him that I would send him the translations as soon as I could have them made out.

. We then touched upon the subject of general European politics, upon which I found the Count evidently dissatisfied with the present course of affairs. He expressed himself in terms but partially intelligible to me. He said it was now quite a fashion to talk as if there was but one object of attention in the affairs of Europe, and that one object was a single man. For his part, he firmly believed that Providence would make the experiment of taking away the man and leaving the world to see how they could settle their questions without him. As for himself, he was persuaded that if Providence had kept this little incident in reserve after the first moment of rapturous joy should be over, the world would be quite astonished to find itself as far from a state of harmony as ever, and with all its sources of discord and additional new ones to settle.

I told the Count I had been much struck with the same remark of the general disposition to concentrate upon one individual man all the warfare and all the politics of the time. I believed with him that the man would be taken away and the questions would remain. But I consoled myself with reflecting upon the part which Russia was obviously called to take in the present state of the world, and with the confidence I had in the extent of her power and the moderation of her views.

The Count replied that the Emperor was so accessible by the goodness of his character—and then checked himself without finishing the sentence. It was absolutely necessary that there should be somebody to assume the office of regulator in this state of affairs—somebody who should give the impulse to the system of futurity. He did not say it must be the Emperor of

Russia, or speak as his Chancellor; but nothing could ensue but confusion if, as seemed now very much the tendency of things, the policy and the will of Europe, were, if he might so express himself, thrown into a republic. Every one would have his project, and no two of them reconcilable with each other. The present tendency was to throw everything into the popular channel. Everything was to be done by popular movements. It was in substance a return of Jacobinism. Napoleon might be considered as the Don Quixote of monarchy. He had, to be sure, overthrown many monarchs, but he had done nothing against monarchy. By affecting to make his person the only object of hostility, and by setting the populace at work to run him down, there would be a foundation laid for many future and formidable disorders. According to the principles of the ancient diplomacy, it was a rule that every state must be negotiated with upon the basis of its interests and its powers. It would have been thought absurd to aim at obtaining from any one what he had not to give. For instance, no one would have applied to an order of mendicant friars for a grant of money. Every one was to be dealt with according to his means, and that was to be required of him which he had to supply. Now it was to be all a common concern, and all man- and womankind was to mingle in the deliberations.

He asked me if I had seen Mr. Schlegel's pamphlet. I knew nothing even of the man. He said Mr. Schlegel was a gentleman who had been here with Madame de Staël, and was still with her at Stockholm. A pamphlet had lately been published, ostensibly by him, though without his name.[1] Madame de Staël, he supposed, was not the author of it, but he believed she had given it quelques coups de brosse. It professed in the title-page to be printed at Hamburg, but had really been printed at Stockholm. He had received two copies of it from General Van Suchtelen (the Russian Minister in Sweden), and he would give me one of them (which he did), requesting only that I would not mention having received it from him. He said with regard to its contents that he totally differed from the opinions it contained, and was much like Madame de Staël herself. She was

[1] The title of this pamphlet was "Du Système continental."

a perfect sample of Frenchwomen. It was impossible for a human mind to have more wit and vivacity, but such was the extreme mobility of her imagination, and such the inconsistency of her ideas, that in the result of every conversation you have with her, it is the same thing as if you had been talking *avec une folle*.

I told the Count I had had the honor of two conversations with her when she was here, and that in them she had given me the measure of her political system. It was personal resentment against Napoleon because he had treated her ill.

The Count laughed, and reminded me of the anecdote[1] about Madame de Sévigné, Louis the Fourteenth, and Bussy-Rabutin. I mentioned the new proclamation of Louis to the French people, and asked the Count if it was known to have produced any effect in France. He said it was a good proclamation, and he had no doubt would à la longue produce very considerable effects, though perhaps not immediately. It was certain that never since the commencement of the French Revolution had there been so general a removal of all the obstacles to the return of the Bourbons as there was at present, and he had long been of opinion that it would end sooner or later in their restoration. He had often said, and yet believed, it would finally come to the King of the Almanac Royal. That is, he did not say that Louis the Eighteenth would be restored, or his brother, the Comte d'Artois; he would not promise that the Duc d'Angoulême, or even that the Duc de Berri, would ever come to the throne; it was impossible to ascertain the time when, or the individual in whom, the restoration would be accomplished; but the crown would eventually fall upon the lawful head, just as the succession would be arranged in the Almanac. "There is yet, however, much to struggle through," added the Count; "and even now our *political successes* will tend much to strengthen and consolidate his power internally. France could have had nothing to fear directly from Russia. Even had Russia harbored hatred against France, which she does not, she is too distant; she can have no purposes of encroachment upon France. The nation, therefore, could feel but a feeble interest in the war against

[1] I have not been able to trace this anecdote.

Russia. But now on one side (Prussia) we have had a complete political success; we may have success equally complete on the other side (Austria). France will be thus put on the defensive, and must contend for her own territories. This, no doubt, will give new energy to her exertions, and will interest the nation more in him whose cause will be thus identified with their own. We must wait to know the results."

12th. I read the pamphlet given me by Count Romanzoff, in which I imagine Mr. Schlegel had very little hand. That of Madame de Staël is betrayed in every line. Although the Count in strong terms disclaimed his concurrence in the opinions it contains, I much fear they will prevail in the policy of both Sweden and Russia. The pamphlet is a perfect picture of Madame de Staël's mind, and strongly exemplifies the remarks which the Count made to me about her. He told me that when she was here she had taken entire possession of poor Admiral Bentinck, but he thought Lord Cathcart had been a little shy of her. I had remarked the same.

13th. After my evening walk, I read Olivet's translation of Cicero's first Tusculan Disquisition. There are five—on Death, Pain, Affliction, the Passions, and Virtue. The first, second, and fourth are translated by Olivet, the third and fifth by Bouhier. They are addressed to Brutus, and avowedly in the Socratic form of dialogue. He supposes a conference at Tusculum, between himself and a man of straw, whom he is to refute and convince. It is not an alternate discussion, like the books on good and evil, where each side supports its doctrine with its arguments, but a mere statement of positions by one party, with an elaborate argument by the other. Thus, in the first Tusculan, after an introduction exposing the plan of the work addressed to Brutus, he makes his interlocutor begin thus: "I think death an evil." Upon which Cicero assumes to prove the contrary. He draws his principal reasoning from the immortality of the soul, which he accordingly labors to prove, and does prove, as far as it can be shown by the light of nature. The drift of the discourse very strongly resembles that of Socrates in the Phædo, from which he makes several long quotations. There appears some superfluous exertion to prove

that death is not an evil to the dead, the contrary being too absurd to be affirmed by anybody accustomed to philosophical discussion. The natural horror of death will always be more than a match for Philosophy. It is perhaps impossible to *prove* death an evil; but it is certainly impossible to feel that it is not.

17th. Mr. Lewis sent me a letter he received last evening from Gottenburg, with news from America to 23d February. Further disasters by land, and successes upon the sea. "In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should *find nothing after him*." (Instead of which read, "*not know what is to come*.") Ecclesiastes vii. 14. So it is translated in Luther's German Bible. One thousand more men, with a General Winchester, killed or taken in Canada, and the Java frigate sunk by the Constitution, Captain Bainbridge. I walked alone after dinner, and on returning home read the fifth Tusculan, translated by Bouhier. The subject is Virtue; the argument, that it is sufficient for the happiness of man; and it concludes this admirable work. Nothing can stand a comparison with the genuine doctrines of Christianity in their application to the pursuit of happiness; but, setting them aside, the Socratic and Ciceronian moral philosophy is the most exalted system of human conduct that ever was presented to the world. Its tenets were beyond the ordinary level of human infirmity; and so are those of Christianity. It made the essence of virtue to consist in self-subjugation; and so does Christianity. It gave out a theory of perfection to the aim of man, and made the endeavor to attain it his duty. So does Christianity. The perfect example indeed was not given, as by Christ; not even by Socrates. Yet he, and Cicero, and many of the sectaries of this philosophy, did attain an eminence of practical virtue highly laudable. In this last book Cicero indulges his oratorical manner of discourse freely, and with great eloquence. He mentions the practice of the women of India of being burnt upon the death of their husbands. This is one of the strongest proofs how the horror of death can be overcome, even by the female sex. I marvel, nevertheless, that

such a custom should have subsisted so long; for it is yet in full vigor, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Christians to obtain its abolition. In this book Cicero relates his discovery of the tomb of Archimedes, near Syracuse, when he was Quæstor in Sicily. He also tells the story of Pythias and Damon.

18th. In the evening I read several chapters of Paley's Natural Theology. He states his argument clearly by the similitude of a watch, and his reasoning to prove contrivance in the construction of the eye is ingenious, learned, and impressive. I wanted to consult Ray and Derham, the titles of whose works show that they took the same basis of argument, but I have not the books at hand. There is a great variety and minuteness of knowledge displayed in this work—of Natural History and Comparative Anatomy, in the descriptions of the eye and ear, and other parts of organized bodies; of Mechanics, in the description of the watch; of Metaphysics, in the statement of the Atheistic arguments. I believe there is not much Atheism in the world. But the illustration of the watch and the steam-engine cannot account for Creation—it explains only the intelligence of organization. The materials of which the machine is composed exist independent of the workmen. Mere intelligence is not competent to create. The watch is only combination. The creative power is beyond the reach of my understanding. I believe it, as revealed in Scripture, and I infer it, from the intelligence and power manifested in the mechanism of the Universe; but I cannot embrace the idea with any distinctness, and I see no attempt by Paley to prove it.

26th. The second of the Easter holy-days. I went soon after twelve at noon to the Winter Palace, and attended at the Court held by the Empresses. Mr. Smith did not go, his wife being confined by the scarlet fever. This disease is considered as highly infectious, and it is an etiquette that a person having intercourse with one affected by it must not go to Court. I went because I have not seen Mrs. Smith, or been in her chamber, since she was seized with the complaint. The Court itself was like all others, excepting that the foreign Ministers received notice that they would have permission to kiss the hands of the two Empresses, which we all accordingly did.

Mr. Narishkin said that several of the foreign Ministers had expressed a desire to be admitted to that honor, in consequence of which it was granted. The Court were all in very high spirits at the news of a victory gained by Count Wittgenstein over the Viceroy of Italy near Magdeburg, of which a bulletin was in circulation. Baron Blome told me that his Government had sent Count Joachim Bernstorff, a brother of the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, to London, but it was not yet certain what would be his reception. The Danish Government had recalled all their privateers, and ceased hostilities at the mouth of the Elbe. The British had done the same there, but not as a general measure. The Emperor Alexander had sent Prince Dolgorouki to Copenhagen with a letter to the King, who had sent his answer to the Emperor's head-quarters by a young Count Moltke, who had been Danish Minister in Sweden.

27th. At eleven this morning, I went with Mr. Smith to the Kazan Church, and attended the Te Deum, preceded by a mass. The two ceremonies together employ three full hours. The Empresses, the two Grand Dukes, and the Grand Duchess Ann performed their adorations at the miraculous image of the Virgin as usual—complete prostration—ventre à terre, as Mr. Laval expressed it. Count Löwenhielm was much occupied in making the Chevalier Bardaxi Azara, the Spanish Minister, lose the first place in the arrangement of the Corps Diplomatique. "The Chevalier," as the Count observed, "always affects to take the first place, and thereby," said the Count, "shows a pretension which I do not admit. I have spoken about it to the Duke of Serra Capriola, because I had observed he always gives place to the Chevalier Bardaxi, and I told him that out of politeness and personal respect to him I should always very cheerfully give *him* precedence, and I would do the same to any other of my colleagues; but as a pretension, I could not allow it in any one of them. The Duke answered that he was instructed to yield precedence to the Spanish Minister, as representing the eldest Prince of the House of Bourbon. But I have no such instructions, and Mr. Bardaxi knows that the rule established here is the alternative." Mr. Bardaxi did not come until after the ceremony had begun. Count Löwenhielm's

effort was, that the ranks should be kept so close that Mr. Bardaxi should not be able to take the first place, but might be obliged to take the last. He succeeded only in part. Mr. Bardaxi came and attempted to get up to the top; this he could not effect, and finally found a passage at the third place, below the Duke and Baron Blome, and above Count Maistre. I was between him and Count Löwenhielm. Mr. Zea, however, who has manifested the same pretension of primacy, was now obliged to take the lowest place. These pretensions are troublesome things, and continually recurring. When the French set of Ministers were here, Baron Blome always made a point of getting his place next to the Ambassador, until Count St. Julien was formally accredited, and afterwards next to him. Count St. Julien as the Austrian Minister, and a sort of an apology for an Ambassador, had peculiar distinctions shown him by the Emperor's command; not without giving offence to the other Ministers. But he assumed, and was allowed, always to take the place next to the Ambassador. Blome's pretensions were not then formally opposed, although they were particularly noticed and contested by all the other Ministers. But since the change of politics at this Court, Blome has not ventured to push his way before others, and has often been at the lowest place. When I first came here, Mr. Maisonneuve told me that the rule established here was the pell-mell—but that sometimes Ministers, and more commonly Ambassadors, would not submit to the rule. The only reason why Count Stedingk and Count St. Julien had not the formal character of Ambassadors, was to avoid contesting the precedence with the French Ambassador. In all these controversies, I have endeavored to consider it as an affair in which I, as an *American* Minister, had no concern; and that my only principle is to dispute upon precedence with nobody.

29th. I dined at Count Romanzoff's with a company of about thirty-five persons—Russian officers and the foreign Ministers. There was much news, though none official. The taking of Thorn is known by a letter from the Duke of Oldenburg to the Empress-mother. Count Löwenhielm told me he had the protest of the thirty-four members of Congress in the minority against

the war, and promised to send it to me. He spoke of it in terms of high approbation. Baron Blome, next to whom I sat at dinner, appeared to have recovered his spirits again, and has become as warm an adversary to Napoleon as any man I see. He told me that he had seen his speech on closing the session of the Legislative Assembly, in which not one word was said of the defection of Prussia; but he said he should very soon go in person and place himself at the head of his army. I asked where his army was. Blome said he did not know. He had also said in the speech that the Department of the Mouths of the Elbe had been offered to Denmark as an indemnity for Norway (meaning, I suppose, offered by England and Russia). I said that part of Hanover was in that Department. "Oh," said Blome, "it is only *he* says so, and what he says deserves no credit. In this case it is only *partly true*." Partly true it therefore is. The Hanseatic Cities are not likely to be long-lived.

May 2d. Early this morning I received a notification from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, that there would be a Te Deum at the Imperial Chapel in the Winter Palace, at noon, for the occupation of Thorn by the Russian troops. I went with Mr. Smith about half-past twelve. The Te Deum began about half-past one. It was very thinly attended. The Spanish Minister, Bardaxi Azara, and all his legation, and Captain Guedes, the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, were absent. They were gone to Czarskozelo, where the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand the Seventh was administered to a regiment of Spanish prisoners taken last summer and stationed there during the winter. The Ministers of the allied Courts were all going out to witness the ceremony, after which they were entertained by the Spanish Minister. After dinner I walked on the Boulevard of the Admiralty, and saw the procession of carriages. It was very numerous, and the walk was greatly crowded, this being the last of the Easter holy-days, and the weather fine.

11th. I dined with Mr. Smith at Count Romanzoff's; no other of the foreign Ministers was there. But it was a dinner to a Baron de Tawast, formerly Swedish Minister at Constantinople, and now an aid-de-camp of the Swedish Prince Royal.

The young Count Löwenhielm was there, but neither the Minister nor Mr. Brandel, they being both confined at home by sickness. I called at the Count's after dinner, but saw neither of them. At dinner I was seated between Count Kotschubey and General Bétancourt, with both of whom I had some conversation. That with the Count was chiefly political, on our war with England. My feelings on this subject, and some remarks and questions of the Count, urged me to a degree of warmth bordering at least on indiscretion. Count Romanzoff, who was unusually marked in his attentions to me, said, in a tone of pleasantry, "How happens it that you are constantly beating at sea the English, who beat all the rest of the world, and that on land, where you ought to be the strongest, the English *do what they please?*" I answered him in the same manner, that I knew not how to account for it, unless by supposing that these times were reserved to keep the world in a continued state of wonder, and to prove that there is something new under the sun. He replied that there had once been a confusion of tongues, and now, he believed, was the time for a confusion of minds.

13th. I received this morning the notice for the Te Deum at the Imperial Chapel for the victory obtained by the Russian imperial troops, commanded by Count Wittgenstein, in presence of the Emperor Alexander, near the borough of Lützen, over the French army, commanded by the Emperor Napoleon. At half-past twelve I went with Mr. Smith to the palace; the Te Deum began soon after. Scarcely any details of the victory were given. We were told that the Emperor Alexander actually commanded—was on the field, and twice rallied his troops—but that he chose to have the Te Deum at the chapel and not at the Kazan Church, and also chose to have it said that Wittgenstein commanded, from his personal modesty and to avoid all appearance of ostentation. It was supposed the loss of men was about equal on both sides, but fell most heavily on the Prussians, who are not even mentioned in the account read by the War Minister, Gortschakoff, before the Te Deum. Count Maistre and Baron Blome were the only other foreign Ministers present. The Duke de Serra Capriola, Count Löwen-

hielm, and the Chevalier Bardaxi Azara were confined at home by sickness. The ceremony was short.

15th. We passed the evening at Mr. Harris's until ten. Just before we came away, Mr. Laval sent in a verbal message. A courier from the Grand Duke Constantine arrived about noon with a complete confirmation, and more than confirmation, of the Emperor's victory at Lützen. Instead of fifteen thousand Frenchmen slain, twenty-five thousand; instead of sixteen cannon, thirty-six taken; and Wittgenstein in full pursuit of the fugitives. The Emperor had returned to Dresden, where the Emperor of Austria and the King of Saxony were to meet him.

18th. Neither of the gazettes has yet published any details of the great victory at Lützen, which occasions rumors to be in circulation that it was an equivocal victory. The usual custom here of announcing victories which are sometimes real defeats always gives rise to strong opinions in public, and to many adverse rumors, when the particulars are delayed. As this is beyond all comparison the most important of the victories that the Russians have gained in the present war, the impatience of the public is proportionably excited to learn the particulars. I suppose them to be delayed only to connect them with some decisive and important result.

19th. On our return home I found Mr. Harris. His news directly from General Armfeldt was, that the victory at Lützen not having been quite so decisive as had been expected, the Emperor Alexander was at Dresden, sending on a hundred and fifty thousand men to fight one which would be completely so. The courier with the news is hourly expected, but there was none arrived yesterday.

22d. Count Wittgenstein's report to the Emperor of the battle at Lützen was at length published this day in the gazettes. It leaves yet much to be told; the victory hitherto appears to have consisted in merely maintaining possession of the field of battle. Miss Frederica Bode dined with us. She said a field-jäger had arrived this morning from the army, but she believed he had brought no news. I saw him arrive at the door of the palace. A remarkable omission in Wittgenstein's report is, that it has no date of place, and that it still remains generally unknown

where the Russian and Prussian head-quarters were after the battle.

28th. There has been no official publication of military events since the battle at Lützen, and the consequence is, innumerable rumors of every description are in circulation, upon none of which any dependence is to be placed. A retreat of the Russian and Prussian armies followed immediately after the battle of Lützen, and the official silence observed since that time has occasioned some disappointment and uneasiness in the public mind. Vague and groundless reports of defeat and disaster have been whispered about, and other reports of success and victory have been spread abroad to counteract them. Mr. Lewis informed me of news from England that the United States sloop-of-war "Hornet" had sunk an English sloop-of-war of superior force, called the "Peacock."

June 1st. The French and German gazettes communicate gradually and not very distinctly the state of affairs at the armies. The battle of Lützen is claimed as a victory by both sides. The Russians and Prussians maintained the field, and took a battery of cannon. They lost none; but they retreated the next day. The French have crossed the Elbe and threaten Berlin. The situation of things is critical in the highest degree.

3d. It was Ascension-day by the Julian Calendar, which is yet observed here. The Kazan Church being open, we went in and surveyed all the trophies of the present war there deposited. There are ten or twelve French Imperial eagles, forty or fifty standards of the French, last year's allies, Marshal Davoust's truncheon, which is preserved in a glass case fixed to the wall, and the keys of Dresden, Hamburg, Lubeck, Warsaw, Thorn, and Czenstochoff, suspended by ribbons of the Order of St. George over long square pasteboards, notifying which place each of the sets of keys belongs to. We saw the usual morning exercise of troops before the palace.

4th. The exhibition of pupils at the Engineer School, under the direction of General Bétancourt, was fixed for this day and to-morrow, and Mr. Smith and I had received invitations to attend it. We went accordingly. It lasted from ten o'clock until two, after which there was a collation, of which we partook.

The examination was similar to that of the last year, confined entirely to the mathematics. Only one of the five French officers who had been employed in the instruction of this school, and whom we saw there last year, was now present. The rest have been sent into the country, in consequence of the war. The company which attended was not numerous. Count Maistre was there, and I had some conversation with him. He told me there had been news yesterday, first from the Prince of Würtemberg, who commands the Russian army besieging Dantzic, and afterwards by a courier from the army, of new and splendid successes against the French—fighting three days successively, and the French repulsed upon all points—something of what the Italians call "strepitoso." "But," said the Count, "if the French were repulsed, they attacked; then they still have the offensive, and they are advancing. I am afraid there is something behind that they do not tell us. The courier brought the report, too, that the Austrians were just commencing hostilities against the French; but I still doubt it."

6th. Mr. Smith called on Mr. Harris, where he heard that the "*strepitoso*" affair, of which Count Maistre spoke to me so dubiously, the three days' battle, had ended in a total defeat of the combined Russian and Prussian armies; that the Duke of Vicence had since been at the Emperor Alexander's headquarters, and that it is expected Count Romanzoff will be called thither in a few days. It is further said that the French are in possession of Hamburg. The Russian and Prussian headquarters were at Löwenberg and Goldberg, in Silesia, at both of which places we were in our tour through that country. The battle was on the 21st, 22d, and 23d May.

7th. I dined at Count Romanzoff's. The usual diplomatic company were there; also Admiral Tchitchagoff, and a young Englishman or Scotchman, Lord Dumfries, a grandson of the Marquis of Bute,—travelling for instruction and pleasure. I asked Baron Blome which side his Government was, French, or against France. He answered laughingly, but evasively. "Ay," said he, "ask me that question; but we shall soon know; it cannot last long: at least we have fired guns against both sides." I asked him whether the Danes were at Hamburg. No;

they had been there, and evacuated it by an order, on Count Bernstorff's return from England, where they had refused even to listen to his propositions. The Swedes were in possession of Hamburg, which they took two days after it was evacuated by the Danes. The late battles in Saxony were on the 19th, 20th, and 21st May. The combined armies were not at all defeated, but they had merely retreated after them, to draw on the French army until Austria should march her troops, which was fixed for the 30th May. Napoleon and his army are again in the most imminent danger of having their retreat cut off. In these last battles he lost nearly double the number of men that the combined army did, and prisoners and cannon—whereas they lost none. Caulaincourt did come to the Emperor Alexander's headquarters, but was not received.

Count Maistre, next to whom I sat at table, told me that there had been, since this battle, a thousand false reports in circulation; among others, that one of the Russian regiments had refused to obey his orders to fight; that there was a long letter of eight pages from the Emperor to his mother, which had been seen by several persons, and even copies of it were circulated; that it gave at large his motives for retreating after the battle, by Count Wittgenstein's advice; that he was fighting for the cause of Europe, but that he ought not to risk too much the blood of his troops, when such a powerful ally was close at hand to share in the losses and in the struggle.

Count Romanzoff asked me if I had received any late dispatches from America. I had not, but had seen, in English newspapers, articles stating that Mr. Daschkoff had offered the Emperor's mediation at Washington, which was immediately accepted. The Courier of 13th May says the British Government will refuse it. The Count had seen these papers, but said he had received no dispatches from Mr. Daschkoff. I observed that, from the complexion of the article in the Courier, it was not very important when Mr. Daschkoff's communication might arrive; to which he assented. I had also some conversation with Count Traversey, who thinks the American and Russian oak less durable than the English.

8th. On my return home I found Mr. Harris, who spent the

evening with us until midnight. He has heard several more of the false and absurd rumors whispered about in consequence of the official silence concerning the last battle. One was that Wittgenstein had been killed or mortally wounded in it, and that his death is kept a great secret. Another, that the Russian army was forced to retreat with rapidity; that they marched a hundred and thirty-five wersts in two days. Both these reports are stupid falsehoods. The last is an impossibility. The Russian retreat must have been about one hundred wersts in four or five days; and that is rapid enough, with an incumbrance of their wounded and their artillery. And there would be no imaginable motive for keeping it secret if Wittgenstein had been killed or wounded. It is but just now that the real issue of the battle of Lützen is coming to light. The accounts on both sides must be compared to collect the truth. The errors in the French relations are chiefly in the details, those of the combined armies are in the results. The allies maintained the field on the day of battle. But they retreated the next morning; and I marvel that they should have thought it an occasion for Te Deums.

10th. Mr. Harris, who passed the evening with us, gave me an account of a long conversation which he had this morning with Admiral Tchitchagoff, who gave him freely his opinions respecting the present state of political affairs. The Admiral commanded one of the armies which last winter were to have surrounded and intercepted the Emperor Napoleon at the passage of the Beresina, on his retreat from Moscow, last December. Napoleon passed the Beresina in presence both of Tchitchagoff's and Wittgenstein's armies, and the Admiral has been much censured for having suffered it. He says that at the utmost he had twelve thousand men, and that Napoleon had more than seventy thousand. He speaks with great contempt of the late Field-Marshal Prince Koutouzof and of Wittgenstein, and in the most explicit manner declares that for all their successes of the last winter the Russians were indebted to Famine and Frost.

11th. As the prospect of breaking up my establishment here, and the course of life connected with it, approaches and becomes certain, I find comforts and pleasures in it which, while enjoyed

constantly, I have not estimated as they deserved; the loss of them will be no trifling privation. A still more serious reflection is, upon the very little account to which I have turned the leisure I have enjoyed here.

12th. There are a multitude of rumors about the city. An Austrian declaration of war against France. The retreat of the French army back to Dresden. The evacuation of Hamburg by the Swedes. Its occupation by a body of Russian troops. A declaration of war by Denmark against Sweden, Russia, and Prussia. The battles of 19th, 20th, and 21st May, in and round Bautzen, were nearly as bloody and as indecisive as that of Lützen. The Russian semi-official accounts acknowledge a retreat on the 21st, and they claim a victory on the 26th, at Haynau, in Silesia, of their rear-guard over the French advanced guard. The subsequent retreat of the French was occasioned by the hostilities, commenced or declared, of Austria.

13th. The Austrian declaration of war against France is confirmed, and the retreat of the French army back to Dresden in consequence of it. Nothing has, however, yet been officially published on the subject.

15th. At noon I called upon Count Romanzoff, according to his appointment. He told me he had received dispatches from Mr. Daschkoff, in answer to the Emperor's proposal of mediation, which he said appeared to have been entirely successful. He then showed me the copy of Mr. Monroe's answer to the proposals made by Mr. Daschkoff. It is dated 11th March, and in very handsome terms accepts the mediation. It says that further arrangements will shortly be made to carry the acceptance into effect, of which he shall be duly informed. The Count added that Mr. Daschkoff informed him that he should write him more at large as soon as possible. The Count said he was gratified that this measure had been so received by the United States, though, from the manner in which it seemed to be considered in England, he could not flatter himself that it could have any further immediate effect.

I said that my own expectations were the same; that by the manner in which it is considered by the newspapers of all the great parties in England, I saw no prospect of its acceptance

there. The Courier, a ministerial paper, had declared itself sure that it would be refused. The Times, a Wellesley and Canning paper, had expressed its regret at the interest taken by the Emperor in this mediation, and its reluctance at the negotiations taking this turn. I had a private letter also, mentioning that such was the general sentiment of all parties in England. I regretted very much that this should be the result, but I was extremely gratified that the measure had been proposed, and at the frankness and readiness with which it had been accepted by my own Government; inasmuch as it had given them an opportunity to manifest to the Emperor and to the world their readiness and even eagerness for peace, as well as the falsehood of what our enemies were taking such pains to propagate throughout the world, that we acted under the influence of France.

The Count replied that he did not think the mediation would be directly refused by the British Government. It would cause some embarrassment to the Ministry. By a refusal they would incur a responsibility which they might hereafter find troublesome. But he believed they would give an evasive answer, and renew the pretence that we were in subserviency to France. He nevertheless hoped that the measure would at a future day not be without its good effects. He asked me if I had any later accounts from America, and what was the state of the war.

I had no accounts but such as came by the English gazettes. I mentioned the bombardment of Lewiston and the report of the destruction of Norfolk; the application by Mr. Daschkoff's secretary to the British Admiral for a cartel for a vessel to come here, dispatched by the Government of the United States; and the report of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard being destined to come out as Commissioners—of the accuracy of which I had my doubts. I presumed a commission would be appointed, but I questioned whether they would be the men. Mr. Gallatin could not easily be spared, and he and Mr. Bayard were so opposed to each other in our politics that I thought it doubtful whether they would be joined in one commission.

The Count said that in a Government like ours that might be the very reason for joining them, so that the great opposing

interests might all be represented. I admitted this, but thought it more likely to give rise to the report than to the reality.

He said he should this evening write to the Emperor and make him his report of the dispatch from Mr. Daschkoff. He asked me therefore to send him the English paper in which I had seen the article concerning Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard. I accordingly sent him the slip of the Times of 18th May, which I received from Mr. Beasley.

I had some further conversation with the Count upon other subjects. I told him I had seen, in the National Intelligencer that he had lent me, Mr. Barlow's correspondence with the Duke of Bassano, concerning the invitation to Wilna, and Mr. Barlow's account of it to the American Secretary of State. I had been happy to observe Mr. Barlow's remark, that if there were any other motives than those of treating concerning our commerce and our indemnities, he should know what answer to give—as it so fully confirmed the assurances that I had given to the Count on that occasion. He said he had noticed it in the correspondence, and had always been fully convinced it was so.

He asked me whether I had received an answer concerning the papers of the Russian Embassy at Paris, of which he had spoken to me. I said I lamented that hitherto all my efforts to obtain an answer from Paris had been unsuccessful; that the person whom I had dispatched as a courier had been very long in reaching Vienna; that he had even met with some obstructions and detentions on the road in Russia, owing, I presumed, to the peculiar situation of that part of the country at the time; that on his arrival at Vienna he had found himself unexpectedly detained there, and had forwarded by mail one of the two letters I had given him for Paris. This letter was in cipher, and I had authorized him in case he should himself be detained to forward it by post. It has been received, and yesterday came to me an answer, saying that they have no key to the cipher, and cannot read it. I had foreseen that Mr. Barlow might not have the key to my cipher, which had been with his predecessor, and had therefore given Mr. Delprat a duplicate without cipher, to be delivered only by himself, and

in consequence of his detention this letter had not been received. I had afterwards written again, and sent my letter to be forwarded from Copenhagen. I had an answer to that also, saying that the communication between Copenhagen and France was interrupted and my letter could not be transmitted. Then I had written a third time, and dispatched my letter to be forwarded from Hamburg. But the bearer of it, who was going to England, on reaching Berlin, found it dangerous to proceed to Hamburg, and had taken the way through Stralsund and Gottenburg.

The Count observed that the communication between Copenhagen and France he supposed was now restored, and my letter sent through that channel might now reach its destination.

I said I could not yet discover what the position of Denmark was, and of which side she was to be considered.

He hesitated a little, and then said he believed Denmark would finally be fixed as the friend of France in this war; that it seemed so since the positive refusal to hear Count Bernstorff in England, and his return home. It could not be otherwise after that. "Though now," added he, "the gazettes say that the English Government have sent General Hope to Copenhagen. There is," said the Count, "a want of combination in some of the proceedings. I had made dispositions which I hoped, and yet believe, might have secured Denmark to our cause. But I have been disappointed."

I said that the failure of Denmark might be of less importance since the declaration of Austria, and the subsequent retreat of the French army.

He said that he knew nothing of the Austrian declaration, and did not believe there was sufficient evidence that the French army had retreated. It had been said he had received an estafette with the Austrian declaration, which was not true. The letters from the army, and even from the Emperor, speak of it as being confidently expected, and that very shortly. Days had been fixed, upon which the Austrians were to have commenced their hostilities, first the 15th and then the 18th May. Both those days, however, had passed, and they had not commenced. The Emperor had not written to him these fifteen

days; the co-operation of Austria was promised as a certainty, but there is yet no account of its having taken effect. As to the accounts of the retreat of the French army, they were from Berlin, where they had been excessively and needlessly alarmed, and where they had published everything, true or false, that could tend to quiet the alarms of the people. He did not mean to say there had been no danger to Berlin; its danger was immense, but not exactly for that week. What motive could the Emperor Napoleon have for going to Berlin while he had the combined army in presence before him? But if he can oblige us to cross the Oder, what can hinder him afterwards from going to Berlin just when he pleases?

I said that the possession of great cities always had on the popular sentiment a more powerful impression than it deserved. There was hardly a capital in Europe but had been taken and retaken time after time. People seemed to think it was putting an end to the war; but it scarcely ever had been so.

The Count said that Governments were apt to comply too much with this popular panic on the occupation of great cities. Napoleon, however, paid very little attention to it. He followed his own course, and let people clamor to their heart's content. He knew that all such *piaulement* signified nothing at all in the course of events, and it reminded him of a saying of his father's, Marshal Romanzoff. In the midst of a great battle, some soldier, in a moment of particular danger, had loudly exclaimed to him, "I will *die* with you!" upon which the Marshal instantly answered as loudly, "Away! go and *die* with whom you will! I want none but such as will *live* with me!"—"a sentiment," said the Count, "which I think as judicious as it was well timed." The Count appeared at once inclined to be communicative and restrained by motives of prudence from speaking out freely, and I forbore to press him upon topics with which I had no immediate concern. He said that, by the late English newspapers that he had seen, there appeared to be a most extraordinary and wonderful stagnation of everything of general interest. The Princess of Wales's virtue, and the Cossack, seemed to have absorbed all the contemplations of the English nation.

He is evidently not satisfied with the course which things are taking, though he speaks with great caution and reserve.

16th. This day the rumors afloat are that the French are in possession of Hamburg and Breslau. The official silence still continues.

17th. We all went at noon to the warehouse of Messrs. Meyer and Brüxner, near the Exchange, and saw the statue of Napoleon, said to be the work of Canova. It belonged to the city of Hamburg, to which it is said he had presented it, to be placed in the city hall. When Colonel Tettenborn entered Hamburg, it was given to him, or he took it by the right of conquest, and made a present of it to Count Wittgenstein, his commander. The Count directed it to be sent from Hamburg to Lubeck, and thence, by water, to this city, where it arrived lately, consigned to Messrs. Meyer and Brüxner. It is a pedestrian statue of white marble, about seven feet high, in the Roman imperial garb. The face is well executed, and said to be a strong, but flattered, likeness. Mr. Lewis called on me this morning, and was here again in the evening. The appointment of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard to come to Russia upon the business of the mediation is announced in the National Intelligencer. They were to sail from Philadelphia about the first of May.

18th. There is a multitude of reports and rumors in circulation; that of an armistice confidently asserted, though quite contradictory to everything published in the official gazettes.

20th. After dinner I walked in the Summer Gardens; there was a great crowd of people, but almost entirely Russians of the lower classes. Numbers of the women were in the national dresses. I went into the Kazan Church, where preparations are making to celebrate the obsequies of Prince Koutouzof. I went up and examined near by the image of the Virgin of Kazan, which they consider wonder-working. It is a wretched old daubing, not fit for a sign-post; but the head-dress around it is rich with diamonds and other precious stones. There are a multitude of other paintings, of angels, evangelists, bishops, &c., some of them well executed.

22d. I received this morning a note from Count Romanzoff,

requesting me to call upon him at one o'clock afternoon, which I did. I took with me the French translation of the two papers containing the manifesto on our declaration of war against Britain, which are to be published. I explained to him the reason why the two pieces were to be taken as comprising the single manifesto.

He said they should be published; that he had written to the Emperor, charging himself with the wrong of having permitted the publication of the commentary which had accompanied the English manifesto in the Russian and German gazettes, and informing him that he had promised me the American manifesto, without commentary, should be published in the same papers.

I told him I should send him the Russian and German translations when they should be completed. I also showed him, and left with him, the National Intelligencer containing the article relative to the appointment of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, which I received yesterday, observing that he had judged more correctly than I had on the probability of this fact. He said that he was very sorry to say he had received, since he had seen me, further dispatches from Count Lieven, stating that the British Government, with many very friendly and polite assurances that there was no mediation which they should so readily and cheerfully accept as that of the Emperor of Russia, had, however, stated that their differences with the United States of America, involving certain principles of the internal government of England, were of a nature which they did not think suitable to be settled by a mediation.

I said this was no more than I had expected; that I much regretted the failure of this new attempt at negotiation, but that I was happy the solemnity which the President had given to the acceptance of the Emperor's offer, by the appointment of two persons so highly distinguished in our country, would at least manifest the sense which he entertained of the Emperor's friendly sentiments and proposal, as well as the constant desire of the American Government for peace.

He said it was the light in which he had already represented it to the Emperor, and it would now be for consideration

whether, after the step thus taken by the American Government, it would not be advisable to renew the proposition to Great Britain; upon which he should write to the Emperor. Perhaps it might be proper not to be discouraged by the ill success of his first advances. After-considerations might produce more pacific dispositions in the British Government. Unexpected things were happening every day; "and in our own affairs," said the Count, "a very general report prevails that an armistice has taken place."

I said I had for the last four or five days heard rumors of that sort in circulation, and had intended to ask him, if I might without indiscretion, whether they were true.

He said they were. He had no doubt they were. He had received no official account of it. The Emperor had not written to him. The multitude of his occupations sufficiently explained this. The Emperor did everything himself. He was Emperor, commander-in-chief, quartermaster, and, in short, superintended everything. It was therefore perfectly natural that he had not found time to write to him; and, from motives of delicacy, he did not permit any other person to write to him; so that he had received nothing official on this subject. But there were letters from the army which ascertained the fact, and indeed Count Löwenhielm had received it officially from the Prince Royal of Sweden, to whom it had been communicated. There was also an article in the Berlin Gazette of 8th June, mentioning that a Russian and a French officer had passed through that city from the respective head-quarters, bound to Hamburg—they were doubtless sent to extend the armistice to the troops in that quarter.

I asked him whether the Prince of Sweden and his troops were included in the armistice. He supposed so. For what length of time was it? "For five or six weeks." I had heard it was to the 20th July. "It must be about that." I had seen also a proposal mentioned for a Congress at Prague.

"Yes, there was such a proposal, and the United States are expressly named among the powers to be invited to it. But in this universal state of war, partial peaces seem hardly" (said he) "to be an adequate remedy. The Emperor Napoleon pro-

posed the armistice. I suppose that it was hunger that led to the proposal. He wished it for a longer time, but the five or six weeks was all that they could agree upon—that will bring them to the new harvest." I said I hoped it would bring them, at least, to the prospect of peace. The Count did not appear to expect it.

I then mentioned the expectation I had of the arrival of my new colleagues at Cronstadt, which might be from hour to hour; and asked if they could be presented to the Empresses in the Emperor's absence. He said he believed they might to the Empress-mother, who had a Court of her own, and received company at Paulofsky; but the Empress Elizabeth was at Czarskozelo, quite in retirement, and saw nobody.

I asked if it would be necessary to give any order, that they might not be delayed at Cronstadt. He said that an order might be necessary for the admission of their baggage, and if I would write him a couple of lines of a note, mentioning my expectation of their arrival, he would take upon himself the charge to make all the proper arrangements.

I told him that I presumed the President of the United States had not made these appointments without being aware that the British Government might reject the mediation and thus leave us nothing to do. I concluded, therefore, that he had a second object in sending them both; that one of them was destined to succeed me here, and that the other would probably have another destination. He said perhaps to France. I said I could not tell, it was merely my conjecture.

He replied, that if it was to France, he should have no objection. He thought the maxim of Cato the Censor very good in politics, though he detested it in everything else. He meant the rule of always hating your enemy as if he was one day to be your friend, and loving your friend as if he might be one day your enemy. He added some expressions of civility upon the information that I expected to have a successor, and to leave this country; with much regret that I should not have the opportunity of taking a part in the negotiation for peace. I thanked him for his good opinion, and assured him that nothing could be so gratifying to my own wishes as to have the means

of contributing to produce peace; but that while England should refuse to treat, I must acquiesce in the consequences, and give up the hope of laboring in so good a work.

I was with the Count about half an hour.

Received an invitation from Princess Golenishtcheff Koutouzof Smolensky to attend the funeral service for her husband, the late Field-Marshal, at the Kazan Cathedral, Friday morning, and a notice from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, that an apartment for the Corps Diplomatique would be reserved at Countess Strogonoff's house to see the funeral procession, at three o'clock P.M., to-morrow.

23d. I went with Mr. Smith, at three o'clock this afternoon, to Count Strogonoff's house, to see the funeral procession. Most of the members of the Diplomatic Corps were there. The Duke of Serra Capriola and Baron Blome were absent. We waited from three until near seven in the evening before the procession went by. Count Löwenhielm went away between four and five, taking with him Mr. Forbes, who was to go as his courier, and from his house after dinner. The Count himself, by orders from his Government, is going to the Emperor Alexander's head-quarters. The procession was as magnificent as anything of the kind I had ever seen. The body had been embalmed at Bunzlau, and transported to the Monastery of St. Serge, at Strelna, about ten miles from the city. At eleven this morning it was placed on a car and drawn by horses to the Tarakanoffka River, the bounds of the city, beyond the Peterhof gate. There the procession was formed. The car bearing the coffin, under a crimson velvet canopy, was drawn by the people. The nobility, the clergy, the high civil and military authorities, and the merchants of the city (bearded Russians) marched in the procession, which was closed by detachments of troops, about five thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry. The body was deposited on the catafalque in the Kazan Church. The Princess Amelia of Baden had come from Czarskozelo to see the procession, but went about half an hour before it passed by.

24th. After dinner Mrs. Adams and Charles went with me to the Kazan Church, where we saw the preparations for the funeral ceremony at the interment of Prince Koutouzof Smolen-

sky. The catafalque is in the centre of the church, immediately under the dome,—a cubic basis, and about twelve feet high, with steps to ascend at the four corners. There is an arch in the middle of it, high enough for a man to pass through; the coffin is placed at the summit, on bars, over a cavity large enough to let it down by machinery. The coffin is said to weigh sixty poods—about a ton avoirdupois. It is surrounded by trophies—French eagles and standards, and bashaws' horse-tails. All around the basis are rows of large tapers to be lighted. The whole fabric, which is of painted wood, appears to be rested on four fluted Corinthian pillars at the four corners. A figure of Fame or of an Angel, with a crown of laurel in one hand, hovers over the coffin, suspended by a rope from the summit of the dome. On the two sides of the catafalque are ranged stools, with velvet cushions, on each of which is placed some mark of dignity which he had acquired—the sword, the Marshal's truncheon, the orders of the Russian Black and Red Eagles, the Austrian order of Maria Theresa, and the Russian orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, St. George of the first class, St. Ann, and St. Wladimir. The church was much crowded, but, by the civility of the Master of the Police, General Gorgoly, we saw everything! The Marshal's truncheon and sword-hilt are superbly studded with diamonds, and the eagle and star of the order of St. Andrew are entirely of diamonds. But the highest distinction of all is the order of St. George of the first class, a plain cross, suspended by a black-and-yellow ribbon. He was the only person in the Empire who possessed it. The Emperor himself hung it on his neck, on arriving at Wilna, last December. It is reserved exclusively for commanders-in-chief of armies, and for achievements of the most signal importance.

25th. I went with Mr. Smith to the Kazan Cathedral Church very shortly after ten this morning, but we found that the ceremony had already begun. It continued until half-past one, nearly four hours, during the whole of which we were standing. The ceremony appeared in some particulars different from those of the same kind I had attended before, but, being totally ignorant of the language in which it was performed, I could not understand the difference. The Metropolitan Ambrose offici-

ated, and the Archimandrite Philarete preached the sermon, which was said to be in the highest style of eloquence and pathos. The manner was temperate, not to say cold; the discourse about half an hour long. The Prince is buried in the body of the church, by the side of one of the walls, under a picture representing the deliverance of Moscow. His nephew, Admiral Koutouzof, was seized with a violent and very distressing fit of asthma immediately after performing the last act of duty to the corpse, as usual at their interments. It was found necessary to take him out of the church. Most of the Corps Diplomatique were there.

27th. Baron Blome called upon me, according to his promise, and had a long conversation with me upon political affairs. He thinks there will be no peace between Russia and France, and, excepting with relation to his own Government, he knows nothing but what is nearly public. He says Denmark has been forced into a new alliance with France, when she would have been glad to join in the alliance against her; that there is neither harmony nor combination in the views or operations of the allies; that Russia and England are not agreed; that the British Ministry sent here "un imbécile" for their Ambassador; that the Prince Royal of Sweden is making dupes of them all; that they are paying him with the design that he should attack France, against which he will never fire a musket, and that he intends to make them pay richly for despoiling and plundering Denmark, and all the time be clamorous at their non-fulfilment of their treaties with him; that England had stipulated the payment of the subsidy should not be commenced until he had landed in Pomerania, but that when Count Bernstorff went to England the Crown Prince sent word that he would not embark for Pomerania unless Count Bernstorff was rejected without a hearing; that he had always protested to the Danish Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm that Denmark should be amply indemnified, more than indemnified, for Norway. He had offered the Hanseatic Cities, and even Holland—anything, anywhere—pushing the hypocrisy to shedding of tears, but well knowing that his promises of indemnity were mere words, signifying nothing. The Emperor Alexander had sent Prince Dolgorouki

to Copenhagen. The Prince, for the sake of conciliating Denmark, had gone perhaps a little further than he was warranted by his instructions. He had declared that Russia had not positively guaranteed Norway to Sweden, but only on the condition that Denmark should be indemnified for the cession. Upon that basis the King of Denmark had consented to treat; but when the Swedish Crown Prince heard what Dolgorouki had done, he immediately insisted that it should be disavowed, and that he should be recalled, which was done; that, after all this, Denmark had renewed her negotiations with France. There had been actual hostilities between the Danes, at Hamburg, and the French. The King had, as a matter of form, disavowed their occupation of that city. Napoleon had demanded that the commanding officer should be dismissed, and punished. The King had removed him from that command, but would not disgrace him. All this, France knew, was mere form. There was no duplicity in the conduct of Denmark. He was sure that in substance they had explicitly avowed to France everything they had done, which was fully justified by the circumstances, and there was not a word of truth in the story the Crown Prince had published at Stralsund, that while President Kaas was treating with Davoust, at Haarburg, he sent a verbal message to General Tettenborn, at Hamburg, that the King of Denmark was ready to join the coalition, with twenty-five thousand men, against France. Blome added that he had had no late information from his Government; his communications were very much interrupted. He could seldom write but through Sweden, and throughout the whole of last winter not one dispatch between him and his Government had been suffered to pass; every one of them had been intercepted. At this outrage, as at many others, Denmark, to avoid bringing things to extremities, had shut her eyes. Count Romanzoff had letters from Lisakewitz to the 8th, and had shown him Thornton's note to Mr. Rosenkrantz when the "troupeau de Ministres" arrived off Copenhagen from Stralsund; with Rosenkrantz's answer, which was in terms of great moderation. The Danish Government had published them both, and the public spirit had been excited to the highest indignation by the terms proposed.

The public spirit was the same in Norway, although in the Grand Baillage of Drontheim the famine was so severe that forty persons perished daily with hunger. They were cut off from all supplies, but they only wanted to go and find their granaries in Sweden. The King had sent the heir to the crown into Norway, but so closely and narrowly was the coast watched that he had been obliged to go over disguised as a sailor. Lisakewitz, on the 8th, had received no order for his departure, but expected it. Blome himself had received no order for his departure, but Count Löwenhielm, whom he had seen at Countess Tolstoy's, and who had received a courier in four or five days from Stockholm, had told him he had official advices of the declaration of Denmark against Russia and Sweden. The object of England, Blome says, in giving Norway to Sweden, is to take Zealand for herself; but that if Sweden has Norway, England can never keep Zealand, because the Sound can at all times be passed in spite of any fleet. He is in great anxiety and alarm, and expects that an attack will immediately be made on the island of Zealand.

July 3d. I received a note from Count Romanzoff enclosing a letter from Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, and one from Mr. Speyer, at Stockholm. The first informs me of the appointment of those two gentlemen jointly with myself as Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to negotiate a peace with Great Britain under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia; of their arrival at Gottenburg, and their intention to proceed as speedily as possible to St. Petersburg; also that Mr. Harris is appointed Secretary to the Legation.

19th. Mr. Harris called upon me this morning, and spent the evening with us. He is in great agitation and anxiety at the delay in the arrival of our gentlemen from America, and I begin to feel no small concern on the same account. While he was with me, I received a letter from Mr. Speyer, at Stockholm, mentioning that they were on the 24th June at Elsineur. His letter anticipates that they would have a long passage, from the late prevalence of easterly winds in the Baltic. They have been in that quarter here, with scarcely the interruption of a day, the whole month.

21st. Mr. Harris came in and told me that Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard had just arrived. I immediately went to see them at the lodgings he has taken for them. I invited them, and Mr. Milligan, Mr. Dallas, and Mr. Gallatin, Jr., who are with them, to go home with me and dine; but they excused themselves, being much fatigued, and having been three nights without sleep. I sat with them about an hour, in which they gave us the latest information from America, and I communicated to them the general state of affairs here. They gave me a large bundle of letters and dispatches from the United States, which, with the exception of an hour at dinner, I was employed in reading until ten at night. I thank Almighty God for the favors communicated to me by these dispatches, and I pray for the gracious aid of his Spirit to discharge with zeal, integrity, and discretion the new duties required of me.

22d. Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard called upon me this morning, and we had some conversation together on the mode of proceeding upon our business. The first object is that they should be presented to the Chancellor, for which some essential preparatory arrangements require a delay of one or two days. I dined at the Count's, mentioned to him the arrival of my colleagues, and requested an interview with him for some particular conversation. He appointed to-morrow, one o'clock P.M.

Baron Blome gave me two letters, which he said came from the Emperor's head-quarters and had been handed to him for me by a person of the Gourieff family. I suppose they came through Count Nesselrode. I found one of them was from General La Fayette, and the other from the Senator Count Destutt de Tracy, asking the use of my influence to obtain the release upon parole, or the exchange, of Mr. De Tracy's son, an officer of infantry taken prisoner last winter with General Augereau, and now at Tambof, between Moscow and Astracan.

Count Romanzoff told me the news of Lord Wellington's new victory in Spain, at Vittoria, and I saw the dispatch he had just received from Count Lieven announcing it. After dinner, the Count introduced me to Prince Alexander Kurakin, late Russian Ambassador in France, who has been only a few days here, and to whom this dinner was principally given. I had

some conversation with him concerning the Americans whom he had seen, and to whom he was always very attentive and obliging. He also told me that he had received information from Mr. Warden concerning the archives of the Russian Legation, which had been deposited with Mr. Barlow, that they were safe in Mr. Warden's possession, and that he (the Prince) had requested they should be transferred to Mr. Barlow's successor whenever he should arrive.

I returned home on foot, for some of the police-officers had taken my coachman from his seat for having run across a drossky the driver of which was drunk, and the carriage was stopped, so that it could not come to me.

23d. Mr. Harris brought the credential letter of the extraordinary mission, of which a copy and translation are to be delivered to Count Romanzoff, and he asked me to make the translation, which I promised. I went to Countess Colombi's to make some enquiries concerning the Major De Tracy whose liberation I was requested to endeavor to obtain. I wished to see Mr. Zea, but he was not at home. I saw Mr. Lys and Don Francisco. They had furnished money to Mr. De Tracy, and I enquired whether they knew anything further concerning him —which, however, they did not.

At one I called, as by appointment, upon Count Romanzoff, and told him that I had received instructions from the American Government to remain here under the commission which I have hitherto held, and that I had been mistaken in supposing that my colleagues had other destinations, independent of the mission here. My conjecture had been founded on the doubt whether the President would have appointed the mission solely upon the expectation that the mediation would be accepted by the British Government. But I was now instructed that the President, considering the acceptance by the British as probable, though aware that if they should reject it this measure might wear the appearance of precipitation, thought it more advisable to incur that risk than the danger of prolonging unnecessarily the war for six or nine months, as might happen if the British should immediately have accepted the mediation and he should have delayed this step until he was informed of it. And a great

object with him was to manifest not only a cheerful acceptance on the part of the United States, but in a signal manner the sentiments of consideration and respect for the Emperor, and to do honor to the motives on which he offered his mediation. Another gentleman, Mr. Crawford, was appointed Minister to France.

The Count said he regretted much that there was such reason to believe the British would decline the mediation; but on transmitting the copy of the credential letter to the Emperor, he would determine whether to renew the proposal; as the opposition in England might make it an embarrassing charge against the Ministry if they should under such circumstances reject it. He spoke of the taking of Yorktown, in Upper Canada, by General Dearborn, and, desiring me not to mention him as an authority, added that he was informed the British Government had determined, in consequence of that event, to send more troops to America.

I told the Count there were two other objects, not connected with either of my public capacities here, but upon which I found it necessary to speak to him. The first was concerning a payment made to the owners of a vessel to which a black man belonged who had entered the Emperor's service. This payment was made by way of indemnity for the detention of the vessel. I had been directed by a verbal message from the Minister of the Police, Balacheff, to offer this indemnity; and I related to the Count the circumstances of the man's having got into the Emperor's service. The Count asked what the amount of the payment was. I said it was about seven hundred dollars, amounting to more than three thousand roubles. He said he would write upon the subject to Mr. Balacheff.

The other subject, I observed, was still more remote from my official functions, for it related to a French prisoner. My only motives, and my excuse for speaking of it to him, were humanity and gratitude. General La Fayette had written to me requesting me to endeavor to obtain a favor for a relation of his, a Mr. De Tracy, now at Tambof, and taken last winter with Augereau. On the score of gratitude for General La Fayette's services to my country, and of a very old personal

friendship for him, I was ardently desirous of rendering him any service in my power. What he and the Senator Count de Tracy, the prisoner's father, asked, was either an exchange or a release on parole.

The Count said he did not think it would be possible. The French had refused to listen to any proposition for exchange. An English officer named Willoughby had come here last summer and offered his services. He had been sent to Count Wittgenstein's army, and, by lending his horse to a wounded Russian, whom he had even carried some way upon his shoulders, he had fallen into the enemy's hands. The Emperor had asked to have him exchanged, and had been positively refused; in consequence of which he had resolved he would listen to no applications of a similar nature. However, if I would give him the officer's name, he would write to the Emperor about it; and although there was no prospect of obtaining an exchange, there might possibly be a permission for his removal, perhaps for him to come to St. Petersburg; that I might then enter into correspondence with him, and his situation might be alleviated.

I replied that I would give him the name, and, as it was altogether a favor I was asking, I should be grateful for anything that might be granted. The Count agreed with me to receive my colleagues with me at eleven to-morrow morning, and said that at twelve he should set out for Czarskozelo, to spend two or three days there.

I spoke of the presentation of myself and my colleagues to the Empresses. He said that the Empresses in the country had received two or three private strangers, but that they could not receive persons in such a public character as that of Envoys Extraordinary unless they had been previously received by the Emperor, or until the Emperor should give his orders, on receiving the copy of the credential letter. He might perhaps direct that the gentlemen should be considered as having delivered the letter to him in person; or if he should return here, as it was sometimes said he soon intended, we might then really deliver it.

This is a change of opinion since the Count spoke with me on this subject before. In general there appears a coolness in

his manner, which leads me to suspect that the Emperor himself is not well pleased at the éclat which this mission will give to the British refusal of his mediation. The Count's politeness is as marked and warm as ever, but there is a reserve and solicitude in his manner which I regret to perceive.

I went from his house to the lodgings of my colleagues, and informed them of the time fixed for presenting them to the Count. Mr. Gallatin then put into my hands the three full-powers, which contain our commissions—one to negotiate the peace with Britain, under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia; one to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Britain, given for the contingency that the pacific negotiation should be successful. In these two, Mr. Gallatin is the first Commissioner, and I am the second. The third power is to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Russia, in which, as well as in the credential letter, my name is the first, and Mr. Gallatin's the second. This arrangement, Mr. Gallatin told me, was made intentionally, and I consider it as a mark of delicate attention in the President towards me; though I should have been perfectly satisfied had Mr. Gallatin's name been first in all the papers. I took the powers for treating of peace with Britain, and of commerce with Russia, home with me, and made translations of them, and of the credential letter.

24th. At eleven this morning I went with Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard to Count Romanzoff's, and presented them to him. He received us in his saloon, above-stairs, with his usual courtesy. After some conversation upon the familiar and ordinary topics, Mr. Gallatin gave him the copies and translations of the credential letter and the two powers, observing that we should address a note to him on the subject, but that we now furnished him with the papers to give him an immediate view by anticipation of the extent of our powers. I mentioned to him that the object of one of them was to form a treaty of commerce with Russia; upon which he answered that we might be very sure of being listened to in everything we might have to say *here*. He said there might be reason to hope that the British Government would be more inclined to negotiate now, as upon the only remaining great object of dispute with us he under-

stood Congress had lately passed a law which must take away a great part of the British grounds of complaint.

Mr. Gallatin added that besides this law, if anything further was necessary to tranquillize Britain upon the point of which she complained, we were authorized to agree to any expedient that might be proposed and which would be compatible with the rights of an independent nation—the only point indispensable on our part being to obtain a stipulation which should protect our seamen from impressment.

The Count spoke of the late capture of York, in Upper Canada, and asked if it would not give us the command of the lakes.

Mr. Gallatin said we might hope it would lead to the occupation of Upper Canada, and that the command of the lakes could not be contested against us, after we had built vessels upon them—the British having always had a few vessels there, and we none until the war.

I gave the Count a paper with the name and situation of Mr. De Tracy on it, as he had yesterday requested. He said he would attend to it, and I might be sure nothing would prevent the application from succeeding but what he had mentioned to me. On taking leave, both the gentlemen presented him private letters which they had for him from Mr. Daschkoff. He asked us on what day we should be disengaged to dinner; he should return from Czarskozelo on Tuesday: would Wednesday or Thursday suit us? We said, either. Then, he said, he should take the shortest day, and would send us cards for Wednesday. I went home with the gentlemen, and sat a couple of hours with them. We agreed to meet on Monday, at eleven o'clock, at my house, to discuss the project of a note to the Count, and to pay personal visits to the foreign Ministers on that and the next day.

Mr. Gallatin enquired of me on what footing Mr. Smith was here, and I told him of the two commissions he had received, and of the number of times I had written to the Department of State concerning him without receiving any answer. He said that the State Department always had that habit; they never decided anything, always postponed. But by the law of May

2d, 1810, no payment could be allowed at the Treasury for a Secretary of Legation, or private secretary, unless regularly appointed, with the concurrence of the Senate. That law of 2d May, 1810, Mr. Bayard spoke of as Bradley's law. Mr. Gallatin said it was Robert Smith's law, or rather the Smiths' law; it was introduced the very last day of the session, carried by Mr. Burwell, the organ of the Smiths in the House of Representatives, into the House, and read three times on the same day—presented to the President at ten o'clock at night, with a number of other bills, at the moment when the session was closing—and afterwards R. Smith had affected to make this very law an article of attack upon the President.

I said I had seen in an answer to Mr. Smith's publication a statement that it would probably be repealed. Mr. Gallatin said that the President had made no appointment under it. Mr. Bayard thought that Mr. T. Barlow had been appointed. Mr. Gallatin said he had been nominated, but some difficulty had occurred, and the nomination had been withdrawn; for in the late dispute between Mr. Warden and young Barlow, at Paris, Mr. Monroe had told Mr. Gallatin that Barlow had been right, because he supposed himself to have an appointment. I observed that a provision was made in the appropriation laws for a Secretary of Legation here, and, no other appointment having been made, I had paid the salary to Mr. Smith, constantly requesting and expecting instructions. I had at least supposed they would have brought some; but there is not a word upon the subject in the dispatches they have brought.

27th. Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard came, and we had a conference of about three hours. Mr. Gallatin took his first sketch of our proposed note to Count Romanzoff, with the translations and the additional paragraphs I had drawn up, for the purpose of making a final draft of the note. Mr. Gallatin had proposed the suggestion of some ideas on the probable rejection of the mediation by Great Britain. I had, accordingly, introduced them. But Mr. Bayard thought it would be best to make no reference to the prospect at all, and Mr. Gallatin finally came over to his opinion. I desired them to determine it between themselves, being ready either to introduce or omit those sug-

gestions, as they should think best. We had much conversation upon a variety of topics connected with the objects of our mission.

28th. Mr. Gallatin called upon me about one o'clock; Mr. Bayard, being still unwell, did not come. He had made a draft of a note to be sent to Count Romanzoff, differing still from that which Mr. Gallatin and I had prepared. We now compared them all together, and agreed upon one to be composed of the three, and which is to be given to Mr. Harris to make out a fair copy to be sent. We dined at Count Romanzoff's with the usual diplomatic company. Prince Kurakin and Count Markoff, and the Generals Tormassoff and Armfeldt, were there. The Duke de Serra Capriola came after dinner. Count Maistre was absent. I sat next to the Chevalier Bardaxi Azara on the one side, and General Gorgoly on the other. Baron Blome told me that the armistice was prolonged to 10th August, with the additional six days of notice. In the mean time, a preliminary to a Congress was to meet at Prague —Count Metternich, from Austria, as the mediator; Count de Narbonne, from France; Arnstatt, from Russia; Humboldt, from Prussia; and Lord Walpole, from England. They were to try to agree upon a *basis* for negotiation, and, if they could, the Congress was to assemble at Prague. In the mean time, it was said that an *eventual* alliance, offensive and defensive, between Russia and Austria was concluded. I asked how the *mediation* and the *alliance* were conciliated together. He said, by the alliance being *eventual*. He thinks, however, the negotiation will come to nothing; that Napoleon is only gaining time, and will finish by breaking all up and renewing the war.

Mr. Bardaxi, as we sat at table, told me that Mr. Dallas had a letter for him from the Spanish Minister, *non reconnu* at Washington. I said that it was to be hoped he would be *reconnu* in time; the American Government had perhaps thought the example of Spain a good one, and, having had three or four years during the war of our Revolution a Minister *non reconnu* in Spain, had reserved the acknowledgment of the Spanish Minister until the end of the contest for Spain. He said Spain had not, to be sure, acknowledged our Minister, but had aided us in

our war. I said we had also aided them in theirs, particularly in the article of provisions; which he admitted.

I spoke to General Armfeldt after dinner, and requested him to repeat my thanks to General Aminoff for the medal he lately sent me.

Count Romanzoff told me that he had written upon the subject of my application in behalf of Mr. De Tracy—not to the Emperor, but to Count Araktcheieff; because the Emperor might have thought he had given the order to permit Mr. De Tracy to come to St. Petersburg, and have said it was very well, and not have answered the letter; but Count Araktcheieff must answer his letter. He had, therefore, written him that my request was that Mr. De Tracy might be exchanged or permitted to go home on parole, that he had not thought himself authorized to give me any expectation this could be granted, but that he had urged his wish to do as much as possible, as a favor to me, and asked that Mr. De Tracy might be allowed to come to St. Petersburg and be put into my custody, which he hoped would be obtained. I had some conversation also on general political subjects with Count Soltykoff.

29th. I stopped at Mr. Harris's to tell him that Count Romanzoff had fixed twelve o'clock this day to receive us. He showed me his commission, which is only for the negotiation of peace and of the treaty of commerce with England. At noon I went with him, and presented him, as secretary to the mission, to Count Romanzoff. He received us with his usual courtesy and urbanity. I asked him if the rumors of the prolongation of the armistice until 10th August, besides the six days' notice, were true. He said he had no doubt they were, but that neither he nor the Minister of War had one syllable of information, not merely of the fact, but even of there being any such intention. He said he had received yesterday a letter from Lord Cathcart, the first he had written him since he had been at the Emperor's head-quarters. He notified him of the intention of the British Government to send a Secretary of Embassy to remain here at St. Petersburg, and in the mean time requested him to deliver passports on the application of Mr. Bailey (the British Consul). He had certainly never refused Mr. Bailey

any passports, and did not know why this request was addressed to him. The Count expressed without reserve his disapprobation of the armistice and of its prolongation. He said that everything was done too much in a hurry to be well done.

I said that I supposed he would not consider the Congress at Prague, to settle whether there should be a Congress at Prague, as an over-hasty matter.

Yes, he thought it was. There was a very simple preliminary question—Was a general peace at this time possible? Everybody must answer, no; it was obviously Napoleon's object, by the armistice, to gain time, and nothing more. He would improve that time to the utmost for his own advantage, and he (the Count) therefore thought it was wrong to let him have the opportunity. Another instance of hastiness, the Count said, was in the Council of Administration, which had been very formally organized for the countries between the Oder and the Elbe. "Je me reproche encore ma gaieté," said he, when Count Löwenhielm came to me very gravely, to give me notice that his Court had appointed a member of the Swedish Council to take his seat in the Council of Administration. He seemed to expect that it was a step which would have met with some opposition, for he laid it down somewhat elaborately that, according to the spirit of the alliance, Sweden considered herself as having a right to appoint a member to the Council of Administration. I laughed, and told him I was very glad to hear it; that I presumed the more members there were appointed to the Council of Administration, the more there was to administer. But really there seems now but little for the Council of Administration to do. If they were an assembly of Solons, it is but a small number of people indeed that they can make happy by their laws.

I asked if Count Löwenhielm had arrived at the headquarters. He had no news of his arrival, and the messenger he had given to accompany him had not returned.

After going home with Mr. Harris, I called upon my colleagues. Mr. Bayard was gone out; I saw only Mr. Gallatin, with whom I had two hours of conversation, all upon general subjects. I desired Mr. Gallatin to consult Mr. Bayard upon

the propriety of our taking notice of this negotiation for a general peace, of which there appears to be now a considerable prospect. On the supposition that Great Britain should eventually reject the mediation of Russia, and that the Congress for a general peace should be held, I thought it should excite our particular attention. Mr. Gallatin asked me to make the draft of a note to Count Romanzoff on the subject of the treaty of commerce with Russia. I wrote one immediately after dinner, and took it to their lodgings, but found nobody at home.

30th. I called at the lodgings of my colleagues, but found nobody there. They came to my house about noon, with Mr. Harris, having the note to Count Romanzoff concerning the negotiation for peace prepared. We signed it, and Mr. Harris took it with him and sent it to the Count. It has been the work of a week, and might have been done by either of us in two hours. It is a sufficient specimen of the method of negotiating by commissions. In the multitude of counsellors there is safety, but there is not dispatch. I gave at the same time to my colleagues my draft of the note concerning the treaty of commerce with Russia. It was in French, and Mr. Bayard wished to have it in English before he would take it into consideration. Mr. Gallatin returned it to me to make the English translation. At one I called upon them, and we went to pay visits to the foreign Ministers, to Baron Blome and the Chevalier Bardaxi Azara, in the country, and to Count Maistre, Captain Guedes and Mr. Zea, and Don Francisco Colombi, in town.

31st. I close this volume of my diary, containing four years, within four days, of my life, with sentiments of gratitude to God for all the favors, preservations, and blessings received at his hands during that period, of humble resignation under the afflictions which his wise Providence has mingled in my cup, and with conscious sorrow for the deficiencies, and omissions of improvement of the time which has been indulged me—imploring at the same time his further blessing upon my wife, my parents, my children, my friends, and my country, and the whole world of mankind, and especially asking for the aid of his Spirit, that my future life may be more thoroughly devoted to his honor and glory, and to usefulness on earth!

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MEDIATION.

PREFIXED to the fourth volume of the manuscript is this invocation:

Lord of creation! thou from whom proceed
Each honest thought and honorable deed;
Parent of life! without whose quickening ray
The soul's deep darkness knows not how to pray;
Oh! let thy mercy teach my lips their task,
Or freely grant the boon they ought to ask!
Let not yon glorious orb's returning light
Once from these eyes dispel the shades of night,
But from my heart spontaneous may arise
A prayer sincere and fervent to the skies,
That all earth's choicest favors may attend,
And all thy joys, upon my bosom's friend,
That thou wouldst bless with ever-bounteous hand
My parents, children, friends, and native land;
Nor be my vows to these alone confined:
Forgive my foes, and bless all human kind;
And whatsoe'er thy wisdom shall decree
My future portion on this earth to be,
Let thy good Spirit ever nerve my will
To thee, and man, my duties to fulfil.

August 3d, 1813. Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard came about one o'clock; we considered the answer we had received from Count Romanzoff to our first official note, and concluded that no reply to it would be necessary for the present. We finally agreed upon the note to be sent relative to the treaty of commerce with Russia. Mr. Harris's commission not extending to this object, I requested my colleagues to take some order concerning it. Mr. Gallatin said that, however the commission might be, he knew it was the intention that he should be the secretary for all the objects of the mission; and that he had

been appointed by an intimation from the Russian Government itself, or at least from Mr. Daschkoff. It was therefore determined that Mr. Harris should act as secretary upon all the powers. Mr. Gallatin took with him the draft of the note concerning the treaty with Russia, as finally settled. He also took my formal instructions from the Department of State on this subject, with the heads of a treaty as they were sent to me. Mr. Gallatin told me that he and Mr. Bayard had requested, and had, an interview with Count Romanzoff on Sunday morning, in which they had suggested the wish to the Count of being informed as soon as possible if Britain should finally reject the mediation, that they might not be unnecessarily detained here, with no prospect of accomplishing any useful purpose.

5th. On returning home, I found an answer from Count Romanzoff to our note yesterday sent in, and a note to me requesting me to call upon him to-morrow evening, between six and seven, in the country; also a letter from Mr. Speyer, and an enclosure from Mr. Beasley, with the Times of 9th July, containing the account of the capture of the "Chesapeake." I went with what appetite I might to Mr. Pflug's, in the country, to dinner,—the company, ladies and gentlemen, thirty-three or thirty-four persons. All our Legation Extraordinary were there, and Messrs. Lewis, Willing, and Redwood. The rest of the company chiefly Germans. We came home between nine and ten. Colonel Milligan and Major Dallas were here for an hour afterwards. There were English newspapers, which it could give me no satisfaction to read.

6th. Immediately after dinner I went to Count Romanzoff's, according to his appointment—in the country. He told me the Empress Elizabeth was coming into the city for a few days, and that while she would be here strangers, as travellers, might be presented to her. He wished to consult me whether the young gentlemen who came with Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard would be desirous of being presented, and whether those gentlemen themselves would wish, as private gentlemen, to be presented. I said that I could not answer for the ideas of my colleagues, but if they thought as I did, they would prefer waiting until the Emperor's orders should arrive, as it would

be more respectful to him and the Empresses. But if the young men wished to be presented, I did not perceive any objection to that. I would consult my colleagues, and give him a definitive answer on the whole matter. He thought as I did, that it would be best for the Envoys themselves to wait. He told me that he had received the German newspapers, by an estafette, but there was nothing in them. I observed that I had heard the war was likely to break out even before the end of the armistice. He said it was expected, and the very silence of the German papers made it the more probable, as they would naturally prefer saying nothing at such a crisis, and wait "pour voir éclater la bombe." I asked him if the preliminary Congress which was to have met at Prague had actually been held. He did not know. He said he had seen in the English papers the account of the capture of our frigate "Chesapeake," and the exultation in England upon it, which he thought was high testimony in honor of the Americans.

8th. At three o'clock I called upon my colleagues. They were reading their letters and dispatches from America—with news not of the cheering kind. Mr. Dallas showed me a letter from his father, who was at Washington 18th June. The nominations to the Senate for the Mission Extraordinary had been a fortnight before them, not confirmed. The objection was, that the appointment of Mr. Gallatin while Secretary of the Treasury would be unconstitutional. The nomination of Mr. Russell as Minister to Sweden was likewise opposed, probably on the argument that a mission to Sweden was unnecessary. We went out, the Envoys, with Mr. Smith and Mr. Harris, and dined at the Duke de Serra Capriola's, in the country. We met there Mr. Rosenzweig, whom I had not seen for many months. We saw at the Duke's the Courier de Londres of 20th and 23d July. After dinner, with Mr. Gallatin and the Duke, I walked round the gardens, which are spacious and beautifully laid out, covered with forest-trees planted by the Duke more than twenty years ago. We came home about nine in the evening.

9th. I received letters from Paris, Copenhagen, and Stockholm, with one enclosed for Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, which

I carried to them. Mr. Bayard appears to be not a little uneasy in his situation. Mr. Gallatin has more tranquillity, though with more cause for uneasiness. His temper is more equable. They have concluded to postpone the presentation of the young gentlemen as well as their own.

10th. I received this morning a note from Count Romanzoff, requesting me to call upon him at his house in the country between six and seven, which I did. He said that in consequence of a note from Mr. Harris, mentioning the desire of the Envoys to visit the several public institutions of this city and neighborhood, he had written to all the superintendents of those institutions, and had received answers from all, expressive of their readiness to show the gentlemen whatever was to be seen; with the exception of the corps of cadets, the director of which had requested a postponement of their visit two or three weeks, it being now their time of vacation. From the palace at Czarskozelo, he was notified that the Empress would be absent at Kammenoi-ostrow, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, and that on either of those days they might see it better than they could at any time when the Empress should be there. He asked me whether they had determined upon the presentation of the young gentlemen. I told him they had concluded to wait, that all the presentations might be at the same time. He said that would suit him well, as he expected very soon to receive the Emperor's order authorizing him to take and forward to him the credential letter, and then all the presentations to the Empresses might be at once. He then said there was another and a more important subject, upon which he had asked me to see him. Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard had promised him a little note, not official nor signed, but a sort of historical recapitulation of the state of our controversy with England upon the great question of the war; that he wanted it to draw up his official note to the Ambassador, Count Lieven, renewing the offer of mediation; that he had now received the Emperor's answer to his dispatch communicating the appointment of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard previous to their arrival (see my Journal of 22d June last); that the Emperor had answered him "haut comme çà," all at once, and had given him a whole

history how his time had been taken up. From the extreme pressure of business, and the military operations, there had been only two days during which he could find time to read the pieces annexed to the dispatches and to answer them. He had entirely approved of the Count's suggestion that the offer of mediation should be renewed to England on the arrival of the extraordinary mission from the United States, and had so fully authorized him to do it that he should send his dispatch by a courier directly to Count Lieven, without even forwarding it to the Emperor's head-quarters. He had promised Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard that when his dispatch for Count Lieven should be prepared he would show it to us, and make any alteration in it which we should desire, as he had done with me on occasion of a former dispatch to the same person; that the only object and motive of Russia was to produce the reconciliation, and in renewing the offer of mediation he wished to enable Count Lieven to present every consideration that might prevail upon the British Government to accept it. This occasioned his wish to have the little note historique promised by Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard. If the British Government should eventually reject the Mediation, it would have the effect of putting them in the wrong—not with us, because our only object and purpose is to conciliate, but with their own opposition, who might charge them with the rejection of so fair an opportunity of making peace.

I told the Count that my colleagues had mentioned something of this note, which they had promised him, but we had been in no haste to prepare it, under the uncertainty whether the Emperor might not say that the British Government having declined his mediation, he did not think it expedient to renew the offer of it; but that I would immediately inform my colleagues of what he now said, and that the note could in a very short time be prepared.

He replied that we might take as much time as would suit our convenience; that to-morrow he should go to Czarskozelo, and he should be Thursday and Friday at Pavlovsky. If the note could be ready on Saturday, it would be as soon as he could receive it. The gentlemen had mentioned to him their wish, in

case the mediation should be finally rejected by England, to be informed of it as soon as possible, that they might not be detained here without any prospect of being useful to their country. This was so just and proper that he could say nothing in objection against it, and it was his only motive for wishing to expedite his courier to Count Lieven. The saving of time, when the object was peace, was itself a precious object, and it was urged with irresistible force in the motive assigned by the President of the United States for the appointment of the extraordinary mission, without waiting for the certainty that Great Britain would accept the mediation. Between the mere chance of an unsuccessful mission, on one side, and that of a war unnecessarily continued for perhaps nine months, on the other, the disproportion of evil was so great that it was impossible not to approve the alternative the President had chosen. But there would be now no occasion for precipitation. Perhaps the renewed offer might have a better chance of being accepted at some interval of distance after the first effect of the great victory in Spain. The sensation which that had produced in France was very great indeed. He knew it not only from Russian sources, but also from others, and authentic ones. But it was now to be seen what would be done with Suchet, after General Murray's re-embarkation and abandonment of all his artillery. He seemed to have been in tremendous fear of Suchet, and takes great pains to charge himself with all possible blame, by acknowledging that Admiral Hallowell entreated him in vain at least to take time to save his cannon.

I asked the Count if there was any information of the renewal of hostilities. He said, none. He had received the German papers which are to arrive by the post to-morrow; they are brought by estafette to the Minister of Foreign Affairs from the frontiers, and arrive about eighteen hours before the post. He read me an official article from the Berlin Gazette, announcing the prolongation of the armistice to 16th of August, which we knew before. I observed that I had seen an article from a Vienna gazette, speaking of the preliminary Congress at Prague. The Count said he really could not see why the farce of holding that Congress was kept up. It was perfectly well

known it could come to nothing. Very great events were at hand, and a few weeks would bring them forth. He mentioned to me the arrival of General Moreau at Gottenburg—said he had received a letter from him, and that he was gone on to the Emperor's head-quarters.

I told him I had received an answer from Mr. Fulton to my letters informing him of the terms upon which he could obtain the privilege for navigating the Russian waters by steamboats. I stated Mr. Fulton's wish to obtain the patent without coming here in person. The Count desired me to write to him on the subject, which I promised.

I spoke to him of the French translation of our manifesto which I gave him some weeks ago for publication. He said it should certainly be published, and now immediately if I wished; but he had delayed the publication, thinking that just now, on the arrival of the Envoys, and at the moment of renewing the offer for mediation, it might be more expedient to wait a few weeks longer. With this arrangement I expressed myself satisfied.

He then said that he had something to say to me, upon which he must lay aside entirely his official character and ask me to do the same with mine. He knew me, and the confidence with which he might speak to me. It was impossible he should so well know my colleagues; though what he had seen of them had inspired him with a very high esteem for them. They were men apparently very different from each other, but each having a distinct and peculiar merit. Mr. Gallatin had a facility of communication, which gave him more readiness; but he thought that the remarks Mr. Bayard had made indicated a strong, judicious, and discerning mind, seizing at once upon the essential points of a subject, and discarding all the immaterial incidents to it. The Emperor had felt particularly gratified with the honorable notice the American Government had taken of his offer of mediation, and wished to show his sense of it by some peculiar token of distinction to the extraordinary mission. He had instructed him to think of something for that purpose, and there were only two ideas which had occurred to him as adapted to the object, if they were compatible with the usages and forms of our country:

the one was, to defray the legation, and the other, to present the Envoys some particular production of the Russian manufactures. He wished merely to consult me, and asked me freely to give him my sentiments.

I answered that I would consult my colleagues for their opinions; that for myself, I felt highly grateful to the Emperor for his intention; I was very sure that my colleagues, our Government, and country, would all concur with me in this sentiment; that as to the two expedients, without pledging either of the other gentlemen to my opinion, I believed neither of them compatible with the ideas of our country; that our Constitution forbade our public officers from accepting presents, or personal donations of any kind, from foreign sovereigns.

He said he was aware of that, but he had thought that this was not to be considered in the nature of a present or donation, but merely as a manifestation of respect to distinguish the legation from an ordinary mission. I replied that I would mention it to my colleagues, and they would judge for themselves.

He enquired how they were lodged, and how they were satisfied with their apartments. I told him they were tolerably good, but with not quite room enough for both the gentlemen and their families.

The Count spoke finally of the President's last message on opening the session of Congress, in which, he said, there was a passage that had appeared to him not altogether clear, and he had seen some animadversions upon it in the English newspapers. It spoke of the English pretension to search foreign ships as being no right either of war or of peace. It might justly be asserted that it was no right of peace to search neutral vessels; but surely the right of search could not be denied—the right of search in an enemy's ship. The right of war was to do your enemy all the harm you could.

I said that I did not recollect the particular passage to which he alluded, but believed it referred only to search for men to impress, which the President said could be no right either of war or peace.

The Count said it was hardly possible to limit the right of war as against an enemy.

I answered that limits there must be. You could not, for instance, poison a prisoner. You could not put him to death in cold blood. You could not compel him to serve against his own sovereign.

The Count said a prisoner might be put to death by retaliation—which I admitted, but said it proved my position, that you cannot put him to death but by retaliation.

He also said he had not known that the English now forced the impressed Americans to fight against their own country. He asked me to read over again the President's message and notice the passage to which he had referred, which I assured him I would.

From his house I went to the Jesuits' College, and delivered to the Father General the letters I had received for him. Thence I went to the lodgings of my colleagues, and communicated to them the substance of the whole conversation I had just had with Count Romanzoff. As to the historical note for the Count, Mr. Gallatin gave me a sketch which he had drawn up, as a minute of what the note should contain, with the request that I would return it to him to-morrow. As to the honorary propositions, both the gentlemen thought, as I did, that neither of them would be suitable to the ideas of our countrymen. Mr. Bayard thought the legation would rather be degraded than honored by being defrayed. He said he could only compare it to the Tunisian Embassy, which had been defrayed by us in America. Mr. Gallatin was a little surprised that Count Romanzoff should have imagined we could feel ourselves honored by being defrayed. I thought that things of this sort should be estimated by the intention, and I was very confident that the intentions both of the Emperor and Count Romanzoff were sincerely to show the sentiment which the Count had professed. They finally concluded that a proposition to provide them with apartments might be acceptable, because that might have the appearance of a mark of respect to the mission, and that instead of being a pecuniary benefit to the Envoys personally, it would prove an additional expense to them, by the presents it would oblige them to make.

16th. Went with Mrs. Adams to Czarskozelo. Mr. Gallatin

and his son, and Mr. Dallas, accompanied us. Mr. Bayard, who still continues very unwell, with Colonel Milligan, came about two hours after us, and Mr. Todd alone. Mr. Bayard, after being there about an hour, was so ill that he was obliged to leave us and return to the city. We left home at half-past ten, and arrived at the palace at Czarskozelo at a quarter-past twelve. The distance is twenty-two wersts from the Fontanka. Miss Bode had given a letter for Miss Bussy, a lady of the family of the Duchess of Würtemberg, requesting her to order that Miss Bode's apartments and servant should be at our disposal. We went therefore first to her rooms. Mr. Gallatin having been directed to apply to the Chamberlain, Count Ozarovsky, sent to him, and he came to us in a few minutes. I went to the inn, and ordered a dinner for seven persons; but Count Ozarovsky invited us all to dine with him, and urged us so strongly that we accepted, and dined with him—upon which I sent and countermanded the dinner at the inn, for which, however, I paid the bill. We went over all the apartments at the palace, and walked over all the grounds of the gardens. The palace is spacious, and has had an additional wing built to it within a few years. On each side of this wing is a porch, supported by a colonnade, and filled with flowers in pots. Under the colonnade is a large collection of busts in bronze, cast at the Academy of Science here—copies from antiques, with only two exceptions; one of which is the poet Lomonossoff, and the other is the late Mr. Fox, placed between Demosthenes and Cicero. The Empress Catherine sent for this bust at the time when Mr. Pitt threatened a war with Russia, in 1790. But the Count told us that Mr. Fox having afterwards made speeches against Russia, the Empress had the date inscribed under the bust, to say it was Fox in 1790.

There is another singular date in this palace—an apartment the walls of which are entirely of amber. It was a present from Frederick II. of Prussia to the Empress Elizabeth, in the year 1760, whilst she was waging against him that inveterate war. The date is therefore inscribed on the wall. The floor and the doors of another apartment are inlaid with mother of pearl, and the furniture, sofas, and chairs are of Lyons stuff, presented by

Louis XVI. to Catherine II. The work (flowers and birds) is of the most exquisite kind, but the colors, which were originally pink, are faded. There is a rostral column of marble, standing on a foundation of granite, and surmounted by an eagle, placed on an island in the centre of a lake in the garden, and to which we went in a boat. On another island is a hall for concerts, where the Empress sups two or three times a week. The supper-hall, with tables made to wind up and down with machinery, is entirely disused, and out of repair. We did not see it. There is a pyramid in honor of Marshal Romanzoff, like that fronting the marble palace in the city. The rostral column on the island is in honor of Count Alexis Orloff and his victory at Tchesmé. The inscription is in Russian, and there are three representations in bronze, in basso-rilievo, of the action. Together with Catherine's generals and human favorites, her dogs are also here commemorated. There are gravestones for three greyhounds, with inscriptions as long, probably much more ingenious, and certainly more intelligible, for they are in French, than those in honor of Romanzoff and Orloff. The dogs were Sir Tom Anderson, Duchesse, and Zemire. The epitaph of the last is in very elegant French verse, by the Count de Ségur; they say that Zemire loved very much her whom everybody else loved; but, "Comment aimer en repos, quand on a cent peuples pour rivaux?" and, finally, that the gods, witnessing her tenderness, had given her immortality, "pour qu'elle fut toujours auprès de sa maîtresse." I believe there is nothing like this for Orloff and Romanzoff.

We dined at Count Ozarovsky's, and met there a company of about twenty persons of both sexes—with none of whom we were acquainted. The Countess was a Miss Mouravieff, and has been married between three and four years. She is young and handsome, and has a very lively little daughter nearly three years old. After dinner the Count went with us to the Alexander Palace, at which the Emperor resided before his accession to the throne. This is a much smaller building than the Imperial Palace, but built in a more modern style and with newer furniture. The theatre is a separate edifice, but altogether disused. Two of the boxes are fitted up as Chinese apartments,

more peculiar for rarity than beauty or elegance. We had some difficulty, after returning to Miss Bode's apartment, to get our carriage from the inn. Timosei, the servant, on the authority I had given him to take with the other servants the dinner I had bespoken, had made himself so drunk that he knew not what he was about. Between eight and nine in the evening we left the palace, and reached home about ten. We met the Empress returning to Czarskozelo on the road.

17th. In the evening, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Dallas, and Mr. Harris were here. Mr. Gallatin had received a letter from Mr. Alexander Baring, relating to our mission, which he left with me to read, and requested me to call on him and Mr. Bayard to-morrow morning. Mr. Baring writes that the British Government have refused the mediation, but offer to treat with us directly at London, or, if we prefer it, at Gottenburg.

18th. Called this morning on Messieurs Gallatin and Bayard, and returned the letter from Mr. Baring, upon which we had a conversation of about two hours. We concluded that it was not a foundation upon which any measure could be taken by us. The letter is very well written, and shows the English feelings on the subject of mediation clearly enough. The wish to draw us to London is very freely avowed, but nothing, other than vague and general expressions, to encourage a hope that we should have any prospect of success there. My colleagues are anxious and uneasy under the responsibility of staying here with the knowledge that England has declined the mediation. They desired me, if I should see Count Romanzoff, to ask him for an official notification in writing of his intention to renew the proposal of mediation to England; and Mr. Bayard intimated his wish that in that notification the Count would invite them to stay here for an answer. When I returned home I found a note from the Count, asking me to call upon him at his house in the city to-morrow at noon.

19th. I called at the lodgings of my colleagues, and saw Mr. Gallatin. I mentioned to him that I was to see Count Romanzoff at twelve o'clock, and enquired if there was anything further that he wished me to say to him. He said he only desired me to hasten as much as possible the Count's further

measures, and again hinted how irksome it was for him and Mr. Bayard to be here *in prison*, not allowed to see anybody, and uncertain what to depend upon. I asked him whether he would have me say anything respecting the proposition to have apartments provided them by this Government. He said, no. He would not have any such idea go from them. He had only meant to observe that if the proposition had come in that form from this Government it would have been proper to be considered.

I called upon the Count at noon. He said that he had received our historical note, which he had read with great attention and satisfaction; first, because it was very well done; and next, because it was so fair and moderate that he could not forbear to hope it would lead to a happy result, unless England was determined at all events against making peace at all. If that was the case, indeed, no proposition could be of any effect. But he could not presume such to be their intention, because they had uniformly professed the contrary, and because, "whenever we" (said he) "have urged how much our commerce suffers by this unfortunate war, they have always answered that their own commerce suffers by it in a much greater degree. The proposals which you have to offer, as you observe, have never been considered by the British Government. They have declared that it was a subject upon which they had never refused to treat for a substitute to their present practice, and you offer an alternative which discards the question of right, and tenders a compromise which Britain may accept even without the sacrifice of any of her pretensions. I entertain a strong hope that England will take these proposals into consideration, that she will finally agree to negotiate, and eventually be perfectly satisfied that the affair has taken this direction.

"But before I prepare my official dispatch to Count Lieven, I wish to anticipate all the contingencies that may happen, and sent to ask you whether, if England should propose to transfer the negotiation to London, you would have any objection to going there."

I said, first, that I could answer only for my own opinions, and begged to be understood as not pledging those of my col-

leagues. Next, that the proposition to transfer the negotiation to London might be in one of two very distinct forms. One was to treat, though at London, still under the mediation of the Emperor, and the other was to set aside altogether the mediation and treat directly; that with regard to the second, he would find by the inspection of the full-powers, of which we had furnished him a copy, that our commission was limited to negotiate under the mediation of the Emperor, and we could not treat otherwise than under that mediation.

As to going to London, to treat there under the Emperor's mediation, I did not know that we were forbidden to do that. For my own part, I should much regret the transfer—not only as it would remove me from my post here, but as it would deprive us of the advantage of having his (the Count's) aid; as I had calculated very much upon the successful effect of his spirit of conciliation. But if England chose to make a point of it, I supposed we had sufficient authority to justify our going to London, if it should be advised by the Emperor.

The Count enquired, observing that it was not with a wish to elicit any secret or draw any indiscreet communication from me, whether we had not another power to treat with England directly—as it seemed a contingency which might have been anticipated by our Government. I said we had no such power to treat of peace; that the object of the American Government was to accept the Emperor's mediation in the most respectful manner, and with the same frankness that it had been offered; that it was not their intention to sue for peace, nor was there anything in our condition, or in the result of the war hitherto, which could make it suitable for the American Government to send a special mission to England for that purpose; that the President might have thought it not altogether respectful to the Emperor even to anticipate that England, his ally, making common cause with him in their great war against France, should refuse his mediation, while the United States, though, as enemies to Britain, having a common cause with France, the Emperor's enemy, had yet accepted his mediation without an instant of hesitation.

He said the acceptance of a mediation was always a voluntary

thing, and he had more than once advised declining offers of that sort which had been made to this country. I admitted that it was always voluntary, and that to decline it might often be perfectly proper, but in such cases there should be, I thought, a motive for declining; and it was scarcely possible to conceive such a motive in this case, unless it was that England did not choose to consider us as upon a level with other nations. He had heard from Count Lieven that they alleged the dispute with America involved principles relative to their internal government, as a motive for their objection to the mediation.

The Count said I was mistaken—that he had not received such information from Count Lieven. But he certainly did tell me so, on the 22d June. I reminded him of the conversation in which he had mentioned it, but he seemed to have no recollection of it.

There had been, he now said, no refusal on the part of England to accept the mediation, but the last autumn, when the offer was made to them, they had said that they did not think the time favorable for a negotiation of peace, on account of certain pretensions which they said the American Government had then advanced, as he had informed us by his note. The only way I can account for his denial now of what he told me on the 22d June is by supposing that Count Lieven's report at that time was of an inofficial conversation, which, as the Emperor has determined to renew the offer, the Count chooses at present to consider as nothing. Confident as I am that he told me of it, as I recorded in my journal of the day and wrote to the Secretary of State at the time, I should still think I had actually mistaken him, were not the precise idea which he stated to me as having been alleged to Count Lieven the whole burden of Mr. Baring's letter. Baring, when he wrote that letter, was fresh from Lord Castlereagh, and avowedly communicates the sentiments of the British Government. The objection to the mediation there is exactly the same as that which had been stated to Count Lieven—a family quarrel—a question about the rights and duties of sovereign and subject, and much more to the same purpose.

I told the Count I had also information by a private letter

that England in accepting the proposal of the Congress at Prague had expressly excepted the American question. He would remember that the Emperor Napoleon had proposed that the United States should be invited to send Ministers to that Congress.

The Count said he much doubted whether England had made any such exception. It was certain that in her communications to this Government not a syllable about America was said.

I observed that I supposed the answer must have been made to Austria. The Congress was proposed by the Emperor Napoleon—acceded to by Austria as the mediator. The proposition to England must have gone from her, and to her the answer would of course be made.

He said that was true, but "on se communique de telles pièces, and, as far as I know anything about that Congress, nothing concerning America has been said by England. The Congress itself is one of those things against which I should have advised, if I had been consulted, and I own I do not yet understand in what sense the approbation of it by England is to be taken. Diplomatic affairs were formerly managed by few persons. They were like a convent of monks, and accordingly there was some gravity in the manner of transacting business. But now there are so many *dilettanti* that I, for my part, cannot see through it. As to the Congress, it does not appear that England has sent anybody to it, nor does the Austrian Envoy in England appear to be in activity. The Congress has not even been opened. Count Metternich is there. Count de Narbonne is there too; but he says he only came there on a party of pleasure. M. de Caulaincourt seems to have been going between there and Dresden, to and fro, and to have had conferences with Count Metternich; but all this can come to nothing."

I asked if the hostilities had commenced, as was reported. He said, not yet, but very great events were at hand. I mentioned an article in the gazettes stating that two English Plenipotentiaries had landed at Helvoet-Sluys and were proceeding to the Congress. He said he had seen the article,

but it was merely gazette news. He questioned its authenticity.

I then mentioned to him the wish of my colleagues that he would inform us, by an official note, of his intention to renew the offer of the mediation. I said they were very anxious under the responsibility of remaining here, with the knowledge that England had declined the mediation, and with the prospect of doing nothing; that they wished to be released from their uncertainty as soon as possible, and flattered themselves that he would hasten the business as much as he conveniently could. He said that he was going to-morrow to Czarskozelo; that he would endeavor to prepare his dispatch to Count Lieven there before his return; that when it was ready he would communicate it to us all, as he had promised, and then furnish us with a copy of it, which he thought would answer their purpose better than a note merely announcing his intention to send the dispatch. He readily conceived the anxiety of persons employed in important stations at home not to be detained unnecessarily abroad; but he thought they should not permit any impatience to gain upon them. There must be some time allowed for business of such importance as this.

I take it for granted, from the tenor of his conversation this day, that he does not intend to dispatch his courier to Count Lieven until he shall have heard again from the Emperor. He then asked me as to the petite commission that he had in charge from the Emperor, of showing some special mark of honor to the mission. I told him that I found the ideas of my colleagues coincided with those I had expressed to him: with regard to the Emperor's intentions, they felt highly gratified and grateful; but they considered both the proposals, of defraying the mission and of making presents from the manufactures of this country, as incompatible with our Constitution; that any token of respect from this Government to the mission, applying to the American Government and nation rather than personally to the Envoys, would be very highly valued, but nothing which could assume the shape of personal advantage and profit to the Envoys themselves. Without presuming to indicate a mode of expressing favor to the Emperor, we have thought that the very

words in which the mission and its reception should be announced in the official gazettes might be made fully to manifest the Emperor's intention to do honor to it, and have its proper effect on the opinions of Europe generally, and in particular on those of England.

He said he should take care of that, and hoped we should be satisfied in this respect; but that would not be what was the Emperor's intention. However, if it was not compatible with our Constitution, there was nothing further to be said. Every country had its "manière de voir," and it was not worth while to run counter to it. His own idea had been entirely to defray the mission, but it was only to treat it in a more honorary manner than as an ordinary mission. As, for example, when he had been to Paris, the Emperor Napoleon had made it a point to treat him in a manner totally distinct from the treatment of an Ambassador. He asked me if the gentlemen would be disengaged, so that they, with the young gentlemen attached to the mission, could come and dine with him next week in the country. I said I presumed they would be.

I asked him if Lord Walpole had arrived. He said, not here, but he might be gone to head-quarters. I gave the Count a letter I had written him concerning Mr. Fulton's business. He lent me the English Morning Chronicles to 27th July, containing some British dispatches from America. I went immediately from the Count's, and informed Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard of the substance of my conversation with him. Mr. Bayard intimated his wish that the Count, instead of reading to us his draft of a dispatch to Count Lieven, would send us a copy of it, to discuss, before he transmits it.

23d. Austria declared war against France on the tenth of this month, at Prague, and the Russian troops have entered Bohemia.

24th. Count Romanzoff sent notes to my two colleagues and me, requesting us to call at his house in the country between half-past five and six o'clock this evening. At the time appointed I went to their lodgings, but they were already gone. I found them at the Count's. He told us that he had received a letter from the Emperor, dated on the twelfth of this month, saying that the "Simulacre d'un Congrès" at Prague had

broken off, and that on the tenth, at midnight, Count Metternich had delivered to the Count de Narbonne the Austrian declaration of war against France, to be transmitted to the Emperor Napoleon. "Which event," adds the Emperor Alexander, "fully justifies my conduct towards Austria." Because, said the Count, he knows that he has been reproached for his confidence in Austria. He says, further, that this will give three hundred thousand men more in support of the common cause, and that more than one hundred thousand of *our* troops (by which expression the Count did not know whether he meant all Russian, or joint Russian and Prussian troops) had already entered Bohemia. The Emperor proceeds to say that he was going to Prague, to have an interview with the Emperor of Austria. Count Wittgenstein commands the troops that have entered Bohemia; the hostilities were to commence on the seventeenth, and the allies were to assume the offensive. The Count said the courier who brought the dispatches reported that the French troops in Silesia had already commenced their retreat. He was a little surprised that the Emperor Napoleon had not been the first to attack, as he was much in the habit of anticipating his enemies. A few days must bring the news of some great events. General Moreau has passed through Berlin, going to the Emperor Alexander's head-quarters, and was accompanied by Mr. Rapatel. Lord Walpole was gone the same way, and was styled in a Prussian passport Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia. He is not coming here. The French pretend to have had some new success in Spain, in which they took five thousand prisoners; but perhaps they were only of the guerrillas. The English gazettes from 27th to 30th July say that Joseph Bonaparte had collected about twenty thousand men at Bayonne, and had been joined by ten thousand more of the militia.

The Count lent us these English papers, and Mr. Gallatin took them with him.

After the general conversation, the Count read to us the dispatches to Count Lieven, directing him to renew to the British Government the proposal of the Emperor's mediation. They consisted of a short letter to Count Lieven, instructing him to

present the official note to Lord Castlereagh—the official note itself ready drawn, and only to be signed by Count Lieven, and a longer letter to him, urging arguments to induce the acceptance of the mediation by the British Government. This letter Count Lieven is authorized to communicate in extenso to Lord Castlereagh. There was one passage in the official note, and one in the long letter, to which Mr. Gallatin suggested objections, and which Count Romanzoff altered. That in the letter was, in stating the wish of my colleagues not to be detained here without any prospect of being useful to their country. The Count had alleged as a motive for this wish the places which they occupy (as he believes) in the administration of the American Government. Mr. Gallatin preferred to have the motive omitted altogether. The Count struck it out.

The other, in the note, was a reference to the last paragraph of Lord Castlereagh's letter to Mr. Russell of 29th August, 1812. In the Count's quotation, he had understood Lord Castlereagh as having expressed a positive refusal of Britain to *suspend* the exercise of the right of impressment without qualification. But the refusal, as Mr. Gallatin remarked, was conditional—until they were sure that other means could be devised. Mr. Gallatin asked to have the word *suspendre* in the note changed for the word *abandonner*.

The Count changed it.

In both instances, however, he manifested some little repugnance. In the first, on the question of the motive, he seemed at first inclined to argue the point, but observed that he had promised to make any alteration we should suggest. Mr. Gallatin said we thought the best way we could show our sense of his obliging confidence was to avail ourselves of it. At the question upon the word in the note, the Count insisted that he had used the very words of Lord Castlereagh, and turned to the printed document itself. He found that he had the very word *suspend*, but that by quoting it as unqualified he had not the exact sense of it, which was conditional.

Mr. Gallatin said that his motive for asking the change was that the very heart of our negotiation depended upon that word. The British Government had refused to abandon. We did not

now ask them to abandon. We should ask them to suspend; which they had not yet refused. The Count, on reading over the paragraph of Lord Castlereagh's letter, acknowledged that Mr. Gallatin was right, and changed the word in his note.

Neither Mr. Bayard nor I made any objection or asked any alteration to the papers. I was gratified in observing the Count's candor in acknowledging his mistake in the quotation, as well as the quickness and readiness of Mr. Gallatin, his perfect possession of the subject, and the address with which he averted the allegation of the motive upon which he and Mr. Bayard were desirous of not being unnecessarily detained here.

The Count said he should send off his courier with the dispatches to Count Lieven in three or four days, without transmitting them first to the Emperor. He promised also to send us copies of the note and instruction. Mr. Bayard enquired how long it would probably be before the answer would come. The Count could not tell—it depended upon the winds; but said we should dine at his house to-morrow with young Count Woronzoff, who is attached to the Russian Embassy at London and came as courier. He could tell us how long the passage was, though, indeed, he first came to the Emperor's headquarters. The Emperor had sent him on here to spend some time with his friends and then return to England.

We now resumed the general conversation, which turned upon the Spanish colonies in South America, and the prospects of their returning to the dominion of Spain. Upon the state of our manufactures in the United States, Mr. Gallatin said he had some statements and returns upon the subject, which he promised to give the Count. Our conference was little short of an hour.

25th. I dined at Count Romanzoff's, in the country. My colleagues and their secretaries, Mr. Harris and Mr. Smith, were there, Mr. Kosodavleff, the Minister of the Interior, Captain Krusenstern, and eight or ten others. The Count had more news—Lord Aberdeen had arrived at Gottenburg, having sailed from England the 10th of this month. The Government had just received a telegraphic dispatch announcing a complete victory of Lord Wellington over Marshal Soult. The Count

told me he had already sent off to the Emperor copies of the papers which he read to us last evening, and should dispatch the courier to Count Lieven in two or three days. He also said he should soon send a courier to Vienna, and offered to forward any letters for me there.

I sat next to Mr. Bayard at table; he told me more in detail what he had hinted soon after his first arrival, of the manner in which Mr. Pope had lost his seat in the Senate of the United States. It was by supporting what he thought were the views of the Executive for the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank; and he thought that Mr. Pope had been abandoned by those whom he supported. He also gave me some information concerning the state of parties in the United States Senate. He thought Mr. Crawford the ablest and most influential man in it at the time of his appointment to France. Mr. G. W. Campbell he considered as anxious to acquire influence, but without ability to maintain it. He says Mr. Lloyd resigned his seat for fear of being obliged to fight Campbell; that Campbell was continually insulting him; that by shooting Gardenier he had got a formidable reputation, and that Lloyd, though excessively testy and irritable, had become averse to fighting now he was married. Campbell, he said, fairly drove him out of the Senate, and at the close of the last session he (Bayard) was very sure Lloyd would never come there again.[1] He further said he was sure the Senate would not confirm the appointment of Mr. Gallatin to the mission unless another appointment was made of Secretary to the Treasury. As to himself, he could not hold his place as Senator with this appointment. He had therefore written to the Governor of Delaware, communicating the fact of his appointment, and the Legislature had chosen Mr. Wells to his place in the Senate. "But when I go back," said he, "I can have my seat in the Senate again, if I please. Either of the gentlemen would immediately resign for me; for Mr. Horsey was brought in by myself, and Mr. Wells is my particular friend." We had much more conversation about

[1] This intimation seems scarcely to be just to Mr. Lloyd; neither was the prediction verified, for he did return to the Senate in 1822, and remained there some years.

American politics and American characters—Randolph, Quincy, Clay, and others. After returning from the Count's, I walked in the Summer Gardens. Mr. Gallatin and his son, Mr. Bayard, and Mr. Harris passed the evening with us. I agreed with my colleagues to meet them at their lodgings to-morrow at noon.

26th. Morning visit from Mr. Montréal, who said that Count Romanzoff was making preparations to go out of office; on my expressing some doubts, he mentioned a circumstance which happened yesterday, and which indicates that the Count is really preparing for events, and expects to resign or to be dismissed. I went at noon and met Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard at their lodgings. We had some conversation concerning the letter to be written to our Government. Mr. Gallatin proposed to me to make a draft of it; but I thought it more proper that it should be drawn up by them. Mr. Gallatin asked me if I would then make the translation of our inofficial historical note, which I readily promised, and offered to take upon me anything of mere labor which they would see fit to assign to me; adding that I would decline nothing of any other kind with which they would charge me, but, if they preferred it, would leave the drafting to them. It has appeared to me that each of them was at first a little tenacious of this originating part of the business, and I determined, from the first moment I perceived it, to accommodate myself entirely to their wishes. Mr. Bayard hinted to me that from the composition of the mission, the people of America would have high expectations of the ability of all our official papers; and that to make them as perfect as possible, we must animadvert very freely upon each other's work. This may be very proper, particularly if there should be controvertible papers to be drawn; but to make three drafts of every formal note or letter we have to write, which any private secretary would be as competent to write as either of us, would seem to me making a mountain of a mole-hill; so I intend to leave all compositions to them at their discretion.

We considered the manner in which it would be most advisable to report our interviews with Count Romanzoff. My practice has been to give the whole substance of my conversa-

tions with him, in my dispatches to the Secretary of State; but, as all our joint dispatches will be published, we concluded it would not be proper to pursue this method, but only to notice what was material, and in such a manner that the Count may have no occasion to regret any confidence in conversing with us. If it be necessary to write anything which ought not to be made public, it must be addressed to the President himself. Mr. Gallatin gave me the historical note, which I took with me, and began upon the translation this evening.

29th. Made several alterations, and one additional paragraph, to the draft of a joint dispatch to the Secretary of State, sent me yesterday by Mr. Gallatin. I then called at his lodgings, and left the draft with him and Mr. Bayard to be copied.

30th. Received letters from Mr. Speyer and Mr. Beasley; one of the last enclosing a long dispatch from the Secretary of State to the joint mission, dated 23d June, and almost entirely in cipher. I deciphered it, and then took it to my colleagues. Mr. Gallatin, after reading it over, drily said he might have saved himself the trouble of writing that whole letter.

31st. Mr. Harris called at my house with the dispatch of the joint mission to the Secretary of State for me to sign. Mr. Gallatin afterwards sent it to me, with a note suggesting a question whether the publication of some parts of it might not give offence here, particularly the paragraphs I had introduced, and whether it might not be advisable to divide the dispatch into two parts, one for publication and the other confidential. I did not think it necessary.

September 2d. Baron Blome paid me a visit to inform me that he was recalled. Mr. Lisakewitz, the Russian Minister at Copenhagen, received an order from the Emperor, through Count Nesselrode, to quit that country. It was dated 7th August, in consequence of which he (Baron Blome) was likewise ordered to ask for his passports. He should write this day to Count Romanzoff, and ask for a vessel with a safe-conduct; for he could not return either through Sweden or through Prussia, where there is a Swedish army. He keeps the house that he has taken, and all his furniture, thinking that the war will not be long; for either Denmark will be utterly destroyed, and

he must come out of it as he can, or the allies will be successful and will make peace with her, or they will be unsuccessful, which may lead to a result of the same kind. He promised to send me the Berlin gazettes containing the French news from Spain. They claim a victory on the 28th July, but so faintly that it portends perhaps a defeat. The English accounts at least pretend so. Blome thinks that, whatever may happen, the Swedish Crown. Prince, at least, is sure of having great success.

After my evening walk I went to the lodgings of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, and spent the remainder of it with them. They had called at my house, and I met them returning home. Mr. Gallatin showed me the copy of his letter to Mr. Baring, and a letter which he has received from General Moreau, who is at the Emperor Alexander's head-quarters. He says he has come to fight Bonaparte, and does it without repugnance; that if he contributes his share to overthrow Bonaparte, he shall have the thanks of France, as well as of the rest of the world. Peu importe la bannière lorsqu'on réussit. The rest of his letter is upon American politics. We had some conversation on this topic, and I sat with the gentlemen until near one in the morning.

4th. I received this morning an answer from Count Romanzoff to the application I had made in behalf of Mr. De Tracy.[1] The Emperor has granted him permission to come from Tambof to St. Petersburg and lodge at my house.

6th. I wrote a note to Count Romanzoff, asking a passport for Captain Stanwood, and requesting to see him. He sent me an answer, appointing half-past five this afternoon, at his house in the country. I was engaged to dine at Mr. Raimbert's, but I thought I could leave the table in time to go to the Count's. I did leave the table, but not until a quarter before seven, and it was ten minutes past seven when I reached the Count's house.

[1] The Marquis Destutt de Tracy, the son of the philosophical writer of the same name, had become connected with the family of La Fayette by the marriage of his sister with George La Fayette. After his return to France he acquired distinction in public life, down to the time of the coup-d'état, in 1851, when, like so many others, he retired in disgust to his estate in the country, where he remained until his death, in 1864.

He had waited for me until seven, and then went out to Madame Narishkin's, his aunt.

7th. I wrote this morning a note to Count Romanzoff, apologizing for having called so late at his house last evening; but before I had sent it I received a note from him apologizing to me for not having been at home when I called, and appointing one o'clock this afternoon at his house in the city. I went at that time, and, after thanking him for the permission which the Emperor had granted for Mr. De Tracy to come to St. Petersburg, I asked him if by that of his lodging at my house it was understood that he would be restricted from lodging elsewhere if it should be more agreeable to himself.

The Count said no, that was only a compliment to me; as there might otherwise appear some impropriety that a prisoner of war should lodge at the house of a foreign Minister. The Emperor had done the same thing to the Princess de Tarente, by sending a M. de Castres to lodge at her house, at which she had been quite thrown into consternation—she having in such excessive horror all the present state of things in France, and having taken this interest in favor of M. de Castres not from any regard for him, whom she did not know, but for his father, who had been her friend.

I also asked the Count if anything further was necessary to be done to give Mr. De Tracy notice that he might come to St. Petersburg. He said he would immediately write a letter to the Minister at War, to enquire whether he had received any order on the subject. He called in one of his clerks, and directed him to write the letter for him to sign. We had little conversation besides.

He told me that Mr. Gallatin had called upon him this morning, and had mentioned to him the substance of the letter he had received from Mr. Baring. But he (the Count) still thought that the British Government would eventually accept the mediation, and he supposed their reluctance to it hitherto might have arisen from their habit of considering the people of the United States as a part of themselves, and all their differences with them as a sort of family quarrel. Yet, by their proposal of treating at Gottenburg, he thought they might be willing to

treat, under the mediation of the Crown Prince of Sweden or the Swedish Government. I told him they had already refused that. The Count spoke of the last battles in Spain as not decisive in their issue, and said there were no official accounts from the armies in Germany. He had heard of private letters from Memel and Königsberg, saying that the Crown Prince had taken six thousand prisoners; but he thought it was no more than that the French had attempted to penetrate towards Berlin and had been repulsed. The Count complained of having been very ill, and said he was still quite indisposed.

8th. I received a note from the Duke de Serra Capriola, saying that the other foreign Ministers here had agreed to go on Saturday next, without invitation, to the Church of St. Alexander Newsky, to the celebration of the Emperor's name-day, as a mark of attention to the two Empresses, and proposing to me to join in the compliment.

11th. At a quarter-past eleven this morning I went with Mr. Smith and attended the celebration of the Emperor's name-day at the Monastery of St. Alexander Newsky. It was within ten minutes to twelve when we came there, and the crowd made the church almost inaccessible. The Empresses, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and the Grand Duchess Ann, came in about half an hour. There was a mass, a consecration of the medals, and a Te Deum. The medals are of silver, about the size of a half-rouble, struck in commemoration of the campaign and deliverance of 1812. On one side is an eye enclosed within a triangle, an emblem of God's providence, and on the other the inscription, in Russian, "Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name." This medal is to be distributed, and worn, suspended by a blue silk ribbon, at the button-hole of every individual who took part in the campaign of 1812, from the highest officer to the private soldier, inclusive. The Emperor's ukase concerning this medal was read by the Minister at War, Gortschakoff. The consecration was performed by the Metropolitan Ambrose. The mass had been said by another archbishop. The imperial family performed their prostrations at the shrine of the saint. The courtiers were all radiant with good news from the armies—the Emperor within hearing of the bells of

Dresden, and the French defeated in all quarters, with the certain expectation of more important victories in a few days. It was past three o'clock when we got home. Napoleon's drama draws to its catastrophe.

12th. I read prayers for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity. Dined at Count Romanzoff's with a company of about sixty persons, the usual anniversary dinner for the Emperor's name-day. There was a hand-bill before dinner, with the account of General Blücher's victory of 26th August, but with no other particulars than those I had seen last night in the papers sent me by Mr. Krabbe. I sat between Alexander Soltykoff and the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Kosodavleff. The band of music performed in an adjoining chamber during the whole dinner.

After the Emperor's health had been drunk, according to the usual custom, in champagne, the company all rising, a Court footman came in with a note from the Empress-mother to the Count, which he immediately opened, and read aloud to the company. Its purport was, "Thanks be rendered to the Most High, our dear Emperor is in good health. He has won the most complete victory over our enemies—eighty pieces of cannon, several generals, two thousand prisoners, etc. I am in too great emotion to say more. Praised forever be the Supreme Being!" Immediately afterwards a second note was read by Count Markoff, which came, I believe, from the old Field-Marshal Count Soltykoff. It repeated the same tidings of victory, with the addition of Blücher's victory in Silesia, and another victory won by the Crown Prince of Sweden. This note added that among the generals taken prisoners was Vandamme, who was already sent off to Moscow; that the victory was decided by the regiments of guards Préobrajensky and Semènoffsky, and the regiment of chasseurs, which had greatly distinguished themselves.

Count Romanzoff called up the footman who brought the note, gave him a glass of wine, and embraced him, kissing him on both cheeks. A second glass of champagne was ordered all round the table, and the Emperor was toasted over again. A tempest of exultation burst forth from all quarters, and it was universally agreed that Bonaparte's career was now finished.

The Empress-mother's note was passed from hand to hand, and instead of two thousand prisoners, as Count Romanzoff had read, it was found to be four or nine thousand.

In the midst of the hurly-burly came a note to Mr. Kosodavleff, the Minister of the Interior, from the director of the post-office, saying nothing more than that the courier left Töplitz the $\frac{18}{30}$th. This circumstance cast some little damp upon the tumult of joy that was raging. How the courier should have come from Töplitz occasioned some surprise. It was remarked that there were three Töplitzes, one in Bohemia, one in Saxony, and one in Silesia, and the question was from which of them the courier came. Then it was noticed that neither the Empress's nor Marshal Soltykoff's note mentioned either time or place at which the battle was fought. General Armfeldt said that Töplitz was forty wersts from Dresden; but it is at least sixty. It was known that before the battle the Emperor Alexander was at the gates of Dresden, and his troops were bombarding the city. Why the courier, after the battle, should have come from Töplitz, was not enquired into, nor accounted for. It was said that the Russian accounts never gave dates, either of time or place. It was unanimously concluded, however, that there was now a total dissolution of the French army, and the doubt and distrust occasioned by the name of Töplitz were perceptible only on the countenances and in the eyes of two or three persons. I came from the Count's immediately home.

13th. Early this morning I received a notification from the Department of the Ceremonies for a Te Deum at the Kazan Church at twelve o'clock. I attended it with Mr. Smith. All the mystery of the courier's having come from Töplitz was explained by Count Litta. The Russian, Austrian, and Prussian head-quarters were at Töplitz. The victory of the 30th August was complete—the divisions of Victor and Vandamme totally destroyed—Vandamme himself, and seven other generals, prisoners, with seven thousand men, eighty pieces of cannon, standards, eagles, and ammunition-wagons. The allies had commenced the siege of Dresden, and had taken one of the outworks. Gouvion St.-Cyr had thrown himself with thirty thousand men into Dresden; on the 27th Napoleon came with

sixty thousand men and ten thousand cuirassiers, and attacked the allies before Dresden—they fought the whole day, and he made no impression. He renewed the attack the 28th, with no better success. The 29th he turned about, crossed the Elbe at Königstein, marched down the river-side, crossed it again, and entered Bohemia. The Russian army followed him down on the other side of the river. Kleist, with the Prussians, at the same time went down and crossed the mountains. Schwartzenberg and the Austrians came in a still different direction, and on the 30th, from all quarters at once, attacked the French army, which was entirely cut to pieces, and in a state of total dissolution. Barclay de Tolly covered himself with immortal glory. The three nations rivallized with each other in achievements. The Grand Duke Constantine distinguished himself at the head of the Guards, and the Emperor has given him a sword of honor, and a cipher on the shoulder. The Emperor Francis has promised to erect a monument in honor of the Russian guards on the plains at Töplitz, where the battle was fought. He said to the Emperor Alexander, "I put my person, my armies, and my dominions into your hands." In a postscript, the Emperor Alexander says, "They are still bringing in prisoners by thousands, found dispersed about in the woods. Blücher, on his side, has defeated the French in Silesia, and, as I dismount my horse, I learn that the Swedish Crown Prince has defeated Oudinot, taken twenty-five pieces of cannon," etc. Count Litta further said he had read an intercepted letter from a certain General Catar to Lauriston—a long letter, which concluded by saying, "I cannot disguise to your Excellency that three-fourths of the soldiers can no longer be made to fight. They throw away their arms, and neither entreaties, nor threats, nor honor, nor blows, can bring them to their duty. They say that it is better to be taken prisoners than to perish with hunger and misery. My heart is rent with affliction, but your Excellency may nevertheless rely upon it that I shall do my duty." Count Litta said that all this was charming news, but when the details should come, then would be the time for the heartaches of wives and mothers and sisters. It was impossible that such a battle of four days should have been won without great losses.

Only one general was said to be killed—a General Melissino. Count Ostermann had lost an arm, and General Moreau both his legs. He was at the Emperor's side on the 27th, and had just dismounted from his horse, when a cannon-ball carried away his two feet. His two legs were amputated the same day, and on the 30th the Emperor writes that Wiley gives him more and more hopes of his recovery. The Emperor had made him his first aide-de-camp général, and Count Litta said the accident which had befallen him was unfortunate in itself, by the loss of his services, and of the impression he might have made on the French troops; but it was terrifying, when it was considered where he was. Whose turn might it be to-morrow? What might the next courier have to bring? It was wrong for commanders-in-chief to expose their own persons without necessity, and it could never be necessary, but by way of example, when the soldiers did not of themselves show sufficient ardor. The Te Deum was like all the rest, and we came home about three o'clock.

30th. Received a notification from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies for a Te Deum at the Imperial Chapel at half-past eleven this morning, for the victory of the Prince Royal of Sweden, at Dennewitz, the sixth of this month. We went at the hour, and mustered only four Ministers of the Corps Diplomatique—the Duke de Serra Capriola, Count Maistre, and Mr. Bardaxi, who told me he should go out to-morrow on the road to Abo to meet his lady, who has passed through Gottenburg. These gentlemen all arrived so late that the Empresses waited for them some time to begin the ceremony. Prince Alexander Galitzin, the Minister of Religious Worship, observed that we were few in number, but that it was an occasion for judging by the quality, and not by the quantity; that there had been sometimes here a numerous Corps Diplomatique, but—— The Prince spoke also of his exile by the Emperor Paul; the object of which was to remove him from the person of the Grand Duke Alexander. He was ordered to reside at Moscow, and not to go without the bounds of the city—a restriction which was nothing in winter, but which he found very disagreeable during two summers.

The Minister at War read from a printed gazette a very long bulletin of the Crown Prince of Sweden, which has been published these ten days. The Te Deum was short, and the company not so exulting as at some other times. The courier that brought the order left the head-quarters at Töplitz the 14th. Nothing of importance has happened in that quarter since the affairs that finished by the destruction of Vandamme's corps, 30th August.

October 1st. Mr. Victor de Tracy paid me a visit this morning, and thanked me for the steps I had taken in his behalf. He is very anxious to obtain the permission to go to France upon parole, but that is now impossible. He is much out of health, and has a complaint in his eyes, which he says the physicians are apprehensive is gutta serena. It will make him henceforth incapable of performing any military service. He appears to be affected in spirits as much as in health. He gave me some particulars concerning the French prisoners in this country and their treatment, which differs much in the different governments. He says that of all the prisoners made in the year 1812, there are not twenty-five thousand now remaining alive. The treatment of them is the worst in the government of Novogorod.

10th. Received a note from Count Romanzoff, asking me to call upon him at half-past twelve o'clock, at noon, which I did. He said he had received yesterday a number of letters from the Emperor, and, among the rest, some concerning our affairs. In one of them, he was ordered to receive from us, and forward to the Emperor, our credential letter, as he (the Count) had suggested, so that we might be completely recognized, and the mission fully received as a foreign legation at this Court; that he had written to us to ask for the credential letter, and he left it entirely to our option to enclose it under a cover to him or to deliver it to him in person. If we preferred the latter mode, we should only have to mention it in a note, as he should in that case receive us formally in his apartments of ceremony; that with regard to our being presented to the Empresses, we need give ourselves no trouble. He would consider the application as made, and would take the directions of the Empresses as to the time; that the reigning Empress would probably give

us our audience next Sunday; unless in the interval there should be a Te Deum. In that case, he would endeavor to procure us the audience prior to it, that my colleagues might have the opportunity to attend it, and he requested me to ask Mr. Harris to send him the names of the persons attached to the Legation who wished to be presented to the Empresses. He observed that he had addressed the letter in which he asked us for our credential letter, generally, to the Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States, without naming us, because he had not known which of us to name first; that in the credential he observed I was first named, and that Mr. Gallatin's name was first in the full-power to treat with England.

I told him that it had resulted from a delicacy of attention in the President towards me; that in the power to treat with England, Mr. Gallatin's name was first—to which I could have no possible objection, he having held many years an office of higher rank than any one in which I had been placed; but the President had perhaps thought, as I had already been here some time, it would be in some sort displacing me, to give precedence to another Plenipotentiary before me at the Emperor's Court, and in the credential letter had therefore put my name first. It was, however, a point on which I had no feeling to gratify, and I should be obliged to him if he would always consider Mr. Gallatin as the first of the three Plenipotentiaries.

He asked me if he should send his communications to the mission to Mr. Harris, as Secretary to the mission, or continue to send them to me. I said, either way, or to the other Plenipotentiaries. They would always be received with equal pleasure to whomsoever they might come. But he might observe from this expedient that little punctilios of precedence were apt to arise in republics as well as under other forms of government.

He said that he thought that republics might naturally be liable to such questions *more* than other Governments; which remark was very just. Because in other Governments such questions for the most part are *settled;* in republics they are always open.

The Count asked me if I would take the letter myself; which I did. He also showed me one of the Emperor's letters to him. It was a note of four lines in the Emperor's own handwriting, without direction or signature, dated Töplitz, 8th September (O. S.). Its purport was this:

"J'approuve complètement, Monsieur le Comte, votre lettre au Comte de Lieven, sur les affaires d'Amérique, et je vous prie de poursuivre cette affaire de même. Tout à vous."

This was the whole letter, and the first and last words precisely as I give them; of the others I only recollect the substance. He said that in another of the letters the Emperor had directed him to apologize to us for the delay of his answer, which was owing solely to his having been constantly on horseback and in presence of the enemy for several weeks. He had also sent him orders to furnish Baron Blome with a ship to go home in and to take with him the effects belonging to the Legation. The Count gave me the two collections of intercepted letters from the French army, taken with the army mails of 12th and 16th September. One of these letters, he told me, was from the Duke de Vicence, and the other from the Prince de Neufchâtel. The courier who brought these dispatches left Töplitz 25th September (N. S.); the Emperor's letter to the Empress-mother was of the day before. The Emperor expected immediately afterwards the arrival of General Benningsen with his army to join them, and then the main army was to march forward. The Emperor expected great events from day to day. Napoleon had attempted several times and on various quarters to penetrate into Bohemia, but had everywhere been repulsed. Mr. Alopeus had written to him (the Count) that Napoleon's marches and countermarches, and the extraordinary circumspection of his present movements, had considerably affected his military reputation. But, the Count added, he did not join in that opinion; he thought his circumspection was a new proof of his ability. For my part, I believe the man is abandoned of God, and that Heaven is breaking one of the instruments of its wrath. The only prayer I dare to form is, that by his ruin still more terrible scourges may not be substituted in his place.

I took the Count's letter immediately to Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard. We all concurred in the opinion that we should ask an audience of the Count and deliver to him the credential letter in form. Mr. Bayard said this was something, but he had much rather have received the answer from England. He thought our audience of introduction to the Empresses might at the same time be an audience to take leave. I wrote the note to Count Romanzoff, asking him to appoint a time for us to deliver the credential to him, and I sent it in the evening to Mr. Gallatin, to be copied, if approved by him, and sent to-morrow morning to the Count by Mr. Harris.

11th. Mr. Montréal paid me a morning visit; he told me that Colonel Rapatel had arrived with the body of General Moreau, which is to be buried from the Catholic church. Rapatel has told all the circumstances of Moreau's death. He was reconnoitring with the Emperor before Dresden, 27th August. The fourth cannon-ball that was fired struck him, killed his horse, crushed both his legs, killed another horse under an officer standing by him, and passed under the Emperor Alexander's horse's head. Moreau fell with his horse, instantly raised himself upon his two hands, and said, "Je suis perdu." Rapatel had sprung from his horse, and raised Moreau by holding him up under the arms, at the same time endeavoring to cheer and comfort him with hopes. After a few minutes, he said, "Que ce coquin de Bonaparte est heureux!" He was placed upon a litter, and soon after asked Rapatel to feel in his side-pocket, where he would find a flint and steel and some cigars. He struck the fire and lighted a cigar, from which time he never manifested a sign of complaint. The legs were amputated the next day. He was removed on the litter to Töplitz, where he died the 2d of September.

12th. At noon, according to appointment, I called upon Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, and we went together to Count Romanzoff's. I delivered to him our credential letter to the Emperor, and he repeated to us almost everything he had said to me on Sunday. He said he had already spoken to the Empress to request that, if there should be a Te Deum, we might be presented to her before it, that Mr. Gallatin and Mr.

Bayard may have the opportunity to attend it; and he should rejoice in having so happy an occasion for our presentation—I consider it as infallible. He told me that he had written this day to Mr. Narishkin, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, to take the orders of the Empresses on the subject. The reigning Empress went yesterday to visit the Empress-mother, at Gatschina, where she would stay until to-morrow night. The Empress-mother would stay until the $\frac{14}{26}$th, her birthday, at Gatschina. That day she would come to Pavlofsk, where the reigning Empress and the imperial family would dine with her. She would stay there until the $\frac{17}{29}$th, when she would come to the city for the winter.

Mr. Bayard asked the Count whether Lord Walpole was coming here. He said the letters from Vienna mentioned that Lord Walpole was there, and coming here. As the Emperor Francis and Count Metternich, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, were both absent from Vienna, he did not know why Lord Walpole had chosen precisely that moment to go there, unless it was that, having to arrange the matter of a subsidy, his business might be with the Minister of the Finances at Vienna. Lord Aberdeen had presented his credentials to the Emperor of Austria as British Ambassador. He had been commissioned and dispatched from England before the end of the armistice, upon the confidential communications of Russia to the British Government of the disposition of Austria to change her system; and he had arrived at the head-quarters and found all prepared for his reception, as had been anticipated. It was now said, upon very good authority, that the King of Bavaria had detached himself from his alliance with France, and made arrangements with Austria. He had no official account of this himself, but it was reported on authority which deserved full credit.

Mr. Gallatin asked whether in any arrangements which might be negotiated between Austria and Bavaria, the Tyrol would not come in for something. The Count answered that the Tyrol was in a state of insurrection; that Count Stachelberg had written him so from Vienna, and that they had refused a passage to the French troops. He then asked us if we had ever seen any Tyrolians. Mr. Gallatin said he had once seen

one. The Count said he had seen numbers of them on his mission in Germany, and afterwards, by the Emperor's orders, he had been in relations with their deputies. They were a very singular people—a loyal, brave, honorable people—but their coquetterie consisted in opposition. He had asked them what sovereign they themselves would prefer. They said the House of Austria, but upon condition they should be better treated than they had been. They were willing to try the House of Austria again; and if, upon trial, they should not be satisfied, they would look out elsewhere.

14th. At ten o'clock I went with Mr. Smith to the Roman Catholic church, and attended the funeral ceremonies for the interment of General Moreau. His body had been transported to this city for that purpose, by the Emperor's orders, and was accompanied by Colonel Rapatel, who had been the General's aid-de-camp, and whom the Emperor has now appointed one of his aids. The church service was performed by the Archbishop of Mohileff, the Roman Catholic Metropolitan of the Empire. The music was the same that had been composed for the funeral of the late King of Poland. The singing was very good. The sermon was preached in French by Father Rosavel, the Professor of Philosophy at the Jesuits' College. His text was from the Wisdom of Solomon, ch. ix. v. 13: "For what man is he that can know the counsel of God? or who can think what the will of the Lord is?" It was delivered from memory, short—not exceeding fifteen minutes—remarkable for moderation in the sentiments, and without one word of invective against Bonaparte, or even of allusion to him. The biographical sketch of Moreau's history was such as might be collected from the gazettes; his military exploits sufficiently, and not too much, detailed; his famous retreat particularly dwelt upon; his refusal to execute the decrees of the Convention against the emigrants, and for giving no quarter to the English and Hanoverians, justly alleged as instances of the humanity and magnanimity of his character; his equivocal transactions with Pichegru at two different periods, and his accusation of Pichegru at one of them, slurred over as points too strong to be discussed. His trial was only mentioned, to say that it cost him the greatest

part of his fortune. The panegyric of the Emperor Alexander was well interwoven with that of the General, and his medal for the year 1812 adduced as a proof of his modesty and piety. The style of the discourse was altogether temperate, with scarcely one oratorical movement, excepting an apostrophe to the inhabitants of Augsburg, which was not very well placed. In truth, the whole ceremony was languid; excepting Colonel Rapatel, there was not perhaps a real mourner in the church. He appeared to be much affected, and lamented to me that the ball had not struck him instead of the General. The Ministers and Generals of the country were there, but none of the foreign Ministers except Count Maistre. The Chevalier Bardaxi was said to be ill. The catafalque was elegant, but plain, without ornaments or trophies. The church was partly hung in black. The body was deposited in a vault at the right hand of the central aisle of the church. There were troops drawn up in front of the church, who fired several volleys of musketry at the moment of the interment. The whole ceremony was about three hours long. It had begun when we arrived—about a quarter-past ten.

19th. Mr. Lewis called upon me this morning, and read to me a letter which he received yesterday from Mr. Gair, at Gottenburg. It contained, with some other information from America, the statement that the nomination of Mr. Gallatin to the Russian mission had been negatived in the United States Senate by a majority of one vote—General S. Smith's—seventeen and sixteen.[1] The other two, it says, were confirmed, twenty-seven and six, and thirty-three (for twenty-nine?) and four; but which had the six and which the four opposing votes he did not know.[2] Mr. Bayard and Mr. Harris came in while Mr. Lewis was here. He then left me. He had informed them of the contents of Mr. Gair's letter; but they are not yet known to Mr. Gallatin. Mr. Bayard proposed to me to send Mr. Gallatin Mr.

[1] This proceeding was based upon the fact of the President's retention of him at the same time in the place of Secretary of the Treasury. So soon as that post was vacated there was no further opposition to his confirmation to this mission.

[2] On the nomination of J. Q. Adams, the voters in the negative were Messrs. Dana, German, Lacock, and Varnum.

On that of Mr. Bayard, they were Messrs. Dana, German, Lacock, Morrow, Robinson, and Varnum.

Speyer's letter to me. I consented, if he would take it as the bearer, which he declined. He then thought it would be best to wait some days; perhaps there might be official dispatches communicating the fact, with some softening to take off its unpleasantness.

Mr. Bayard came again, and passed an hour with us in the evening. He was then anxious to have Mr. Gallatin informed of the fact, thinking he might take it as no kindness to have it withheld from him. I advised Mr. Bayard, if a favorable opportunity should occur to mention it in a manner which would indicate kindness, to let him know it; thinking myself that a studious concealment of it for any length of time would scarcely be consistent with candor.

25th. Received a letter from Mr. Speyer, enclosing one for Mr. Bayard, and a packet of National Intelligencers to 5th August; that of the third of that month contains the whole proceedings on the appointments for the extraordinary mission to Russia, from the nominations until the final votes of the Senate upon them. The votes for Mr. Gallatin were seventeen against eighteen; for Mr. Bayard, twenty-eight against six; for myself, thirty against four. The vote that it was inexpedient to send a Minister Plenipotentiary to Sweden was twenty-two to fourteen. Mr. Gallatin's son came in almost immediately after I had received these papers, to ask if I had any letters. I sent them by him to Mr. Bayard.

30th. I went to the lodgings of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard; while I was there, Mr. Todd came in with further reports contained in English newspapers of an action between the American and British fleets on Lake Ontario, in which the British were defeated. I had received the account in a letter from Mr. Speyer last Monday; but as it rested upon very remote and indirect authority, and there was then no other account of it received here, I had not indulged myself to give it credit. I may now hope it is not entirely without foundation. Mr. Todd's further news was, that Count Wittgenstein had won a decisive victory near Dresden, for which there would be a Te Deum to-morrow, and that Lord Walpole had arrived last evening, and would be presented to the Empresses to-morrow.

31st. Just after one o'clock I went to the lodgings of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, and accompanied them, together with Mr. Harris, Mr. Milligan, Mr. Todd, and young Gallatin, to the palace, where we were presented first to the Empress-mother, then to the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and lastly to the Grand Duchess Ann. There had been some question whether, according to the etiquette, we should be presented in mourning; to solve which Mr. Harris had written to the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and had received for answer from Mr. Swistounoff that we should. We accordingly wore crapes round the arm, at the sword-hilt, and in the hat. Mr. Swistounoff also mentioned as points of etiquette the three bows on advancing to the presence of the imperial personages and the three on retiring from it, with the precaution of stepping backwards without turning round.

The Empress-mother, however, on our entering her apartment, immediately advanced towards us, and scarcely gave time for the three bows. She expressed very courteously her satisfaction at my new appointment, and her hope that it would prolong my stay at her son's Court; and she was equally polite in her addresses to Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, spoke of America, of the long voyage, of this city, the river, the climate, etc. On her enquiring whether my colleagues had visited the places in the vicinity of the city, Mr. Gallatin mentioned that they had seen with great admiration the beneficent institutions under her patronage. This was a favorite topic for her, and she conversed upon it several minutes. She said that she did not approve the principle of the foundling hospitals, because she thought it was encouraging immorality; but as they had been instituted by the Empress Catherine, it was just to respect her intentions and carry them as far as possible into effect. The late Emperor had always had it much at heart, and her son had never ceased to take great interest in it. She mentioned it as a great evidence of the morality of the Russian people, that when, in consequence of the last year's disasters, the enemy penetrated to the very capital of the empire, and the children under the care of these institutions had been dispersed all over the country, yet the people into whose hands they had fallen had generally taken

so good care of them, that out of seven thousand, to which their number amounted, there were only eighteen of whom there was yet no account what had become of them; and the mortality among the rest had scarcely been greater than in ordinary years. She spoke also of our benevolent institutions in America, and particularly those relating to the management of prisons. She had read with great pleasure the accounts of these; and she admired the idea of aiming at the reformation, rather than the punishment, of offenders. She said she had heard there was a great similarity between the Russian and the American people, for which reason she rejoiced the more in the good qualities of her countrymen. The Grand Dukes and the Grand Duchess Ann spoke only of the common topics of weather, climate, the city, and the country. Our audiences were all over and I returned home in the space of an hour.

November 1st. On my return home I found a note from Mr. Gallatin, with the draft of a note which he proposes to send to Count Romanzoff, informing him that by an American gazette of 3d August it appeared that, the United States Senate having judged the offices of Secretary of the Treasury and of Envoy to a foreign Court incompatible with each other, and the President, nevertheless, not having nominated another person to the Treasury, the Senate had refused to confirm the nomination of him as one of the Envoys to this Court; that from the character of the gazette, and the details given in it, he has no doubt of its authenticity; that neither of the members of the mission had received advices from America of a later date, but that he would not continue to exercise functions no longer belonging to him; that no inconvenience would result from this circumstance, the two other members of the mission being authorized by the original appointment to act as well without him as with him. He therefore requested the Count to add to the civilities with which he had honored him that of an interview for an extra-official conversation, to make arrangements for the most suitable manner for him to ask for his passports and take leave. Mr. Gallatin requested me, by a minute on the back of this draft, to look over it, and give him freely my opinion of the propriety of his sending it.

2d. Mr. Lewis gave me the first news of the great victory of the allies over Napoleon and his army near Leipsic—there had been a rumor of this battle yesterday. The report now comes from the Empress-mother—Leipsic taken by storm, four French Marshals, fourteen Generals, thirty-six thousand men, and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon taken.

Mr. Harris soon after called upon me. At the request of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, he had applied to Mr. Bailey, the English Consul, to ascertain from Lord Walpole whether he had any instructions from his Government relative to the American mission extraordinary. Mr. Bailey called yesterday upon Mr. Harris and told him that Lord Walpole had informed him that on the 20th September Lord Cathcart had delivered to Count Nesselrode, at the Emperor's head-quarters, a memoir from the British Government, stating at full length their reasons for declining any mediation in their contest with the United States, and requesting the Emperor not to insist upon it any further; that the Emperor, after perusing this memoir, had said, "En ce cas là, je ne puis plus rien y faire;" but that the British Government had offered to treat directly with the American Envoys, either at Gottenburg or in London.

When Mr. Harris reported this to Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, they thought it advisable that he should apply to Count Romanzoff to know if he had received any communication upon the subject. He had just come from the Count, who told him that he had received from Count Lieven a dispatch in answer to the instructions he had sent him to renew the offer of the Emperor's mediation; that Count Lieven had not presented to the British Minister the note renewing this offer, which the Chancellor had sent him by the courier dispatched from hence 28th August, because when Count Lieven received that dispatch he had already received from the British Government and transmitted to the Emperor the memoir formally and explicitly rejecting the mediation. Count Romanzoff said he should in a day or two ask a conference with us and communicate this information to us. But he had received no orders from the Emperor, nor even any information from him of the memoir transmitted to him directly from England. He should

now dispatch a courier to the Emperor, requesting his final orders upon the subject.

Mr. Harris observed that Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard were now embarrassed how to proceed — wishing to avoid any unnecessary delay of their departure, and still thinking it unjustifiable to go without written and official information from this Government of the rejection of the mediation. The Count had said nothing to Mr. Harris of the news from the armies. I called before dinner at the lodgings of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard. Mr. Gallatin only was at home. I showed him the letter I had received from Mr. Crawford. Mr. Gallatin had sent to Count Romanzoff the note of which he had yesterday shown me the draft, and the Count had appointed nine o'clock this evening to see him. Mr. Gallatin thinks Mr. Bayard ought not to go until we have from this Government an official and explicit written notification of the rejection of the mediation by the British Government. He said it might be mortifying to the Chancellor and the Emperor to have this communication to make, but that they must come to it.

3d. Mr. Gallatin gave me an account of the conversation he had last evening with Count Romanzoff. He informed the Count that it was his intention to go, without waiting for any official communication of the decision of the United States Senate concerning him. The Count told him that he could not judge how far this might be congenial to the Constitution of the United States, but he thought there was not a Government in Europe from which an Envoy would take such responsibility upon himself, as to withdraw upon such unauthenticated information, and without formal instructions from his Court. But if he had concluded upon it, the form in which he thought it would be best to apply for audiences to take leave would be to state that he had received a *congé;* to which Mr. Gallatin objected that it would not be conformable to the fact. The Count then said he might state "que des circonstances majeures" had induced him to withdraw, and that he should thereupon obtain the necessary audiences. Mr. Gallatin then adverted to the situation of Mr. Bayard, and his wish to go with him, if, as we now know the fact to be that Great Britain had definitively rejected the Em-

peror's mediation, we could receive it in such form as to warrant his departure. The Count said he was not yet in possession of such facts as would justify him in making to us a written communication of that rejection; that he intended to ask of us a conference to-morrow, to give us all the information he had. He had received two dispatches from Count Lieven—the one some days ago; Mr. Gallatin inferred about ten days ago; but the Count, he said, was a little shy about giving dates, probably from a belief that we might think he ought to have given us immediate notice of what he did receive. This first dispatch acknowledged the receipt of Count Romanzoff's instruction to renew the offer of mediation, and promised to answer by Mr. Gourieff's courier, who arrived about the same time and would soon return, it being Count Lieven's intention to dispatch Count Romanzoff's courier directly to the Emperor's head-quarters. The second dispatch Count Romanzoff received two days ago; and in it Count Lieven observed that he had not presented the note offering the renewal of the mediation, according to his instructions, because before receiving it Lord Castlereagh had communicated to him a long and detailed memoir, giving at large, and, from the expressions used by Count Romanzoff, Mr. Gallatin understood that Count Lieven meant to say, in a manner satisfactory to him, the reasons why the British Government declined any mediation to settle their dispute with America, which memoir had been transmitted directly to the Emperor at his head-quarters. Mr. Gallatin said Count Romanzoff appeared to be greatly mortified at this conduct of Count Lieven's, and that he felt it peculiarly as affecting himself. He said he had sent the dispatch itself immediately to the Emperor, without any comment, but requesting the Emperor to read it wholly through, and to give him his orders what to do upon it. He then observed that the offer of the mediation had originally been the Emperor's own idea; that he had spoken several times to him upon the subject; that when he first gave him the order to make the offer, he (the Count) had hinted to him that England might reluct at a mediation, from a sort of remembrance of their former dominion in America, and a disposition to think themselves a sort of elder brother,

and to consider it as a family quarrel, with which strangers should have nothing to do. The Emperor said that was nothing to him; he entertained no such idea, and would make the offer. The Count had then asked him if he would not first ascertain whether England would accept the mediation before he offered it to America. He said, no; that would not be fair. He must make the offer to both at the same time.

The Count further remarked that Lord Walpole, since his arrival here, had very bitterly complained of an article in the Conservateur Impartial, concerning the presentation of the American Envoys to the Empress—not on account of that part which was complimentary to America and the Envoys, but because it expressed a hope that the mediation would effect a peace, when in fact it had been rejected by England.

Mr. Gallatin added, that this morning Mr. Harris had met Lord Walpole at Mr. Bailey's, and Lord Walpole had there told him that before he last left England, which was on the 5th of August, he had a conversation with Lord Castlereagh on the subject of this mediation. Lord Castlereagh had told him that the first time he had heard of the mediation was upon the notice of the passport given by Admiral Warren for the vessel that brought the two American Envoys; that on this information a Cabinet Council was immediately held, where it was unanimously determined that the mediation ought not to be accepted, but that the British Government would be willing to treat directly with the Envoys, either at Gottenburg or in London; that he (Lord Walpole) then went to Prague, where, on the 22d of August, Lord Cathcart told him that he had informed the Emperor of this determination of the British Government, and that the Emperor had thereupon said that, such being the case, he could do nothing more in the business. Lord Walpole went then to Vienna, and when, on his return to come here, he was again at the Emperor's head-quarters, Lord Cathcart told him that he had in the interval received new and more particular instructions to explain to the Emperor the reasons of the British Government for declining the mediation; that on his speaking of it to the Emperor he had said that it was unnecessary to go into any further details, as he had

already instructed his Chancellor to express his regret to the American Envoys that England having declined his mediation, he could take no further measure in it. Lord Walpole added that he had told all this to Count Romanzoff; that he regretted the American Envoys had been so long detained here; that the contest between England and America was now reduced within so narrow a compass, and the disposition to peace was on both sides so strong, that he believed if they could but get to treat, they would easily come to terms.

Mr. Harris said that we had no authority to treat otherwise than under the mediation; to which Lord Walpole replied, that if we would treat, he was confident the British Government would admit our authority, such as it is, without hesitation.

Mr. Gallatin remarked that there were several things in these statements of Lord Walpole manifestly incorrect in point of fact; but altogether he thought the circumstances stated by him, compared with the proceedings of the Emperor and of Count Romanzoff, were very extraordinary and unaccountable.

I told him that Lord Walpole had been very free in telling the same story about the communication to the Emperor of the British rejection of his mediation, and of what he had said relating to it; that I had heard it from various quarters, and it was mentioned to me particularly by Mr. Montréal, whom I met this morning in the streets, and who, I suppose, had it from the English merchant Mr. Anderson.

I found a notification from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, for a Te Deum at the Kazan Church this day at twelve o'clock, for the illustrious victory of the Russian and allied troops over the enemy's army, and for the taking of the city of Leipsic. I attended accordingly. Count Romanzoff showed me a letter to him from the Emperor, as nearly as I can recollect in the following words: "Je m'empresse de vous annoncer, mon cher Comte, que la victoire est complète. La bataille a duré le 3., le 4., le 6. et le 7.; nos trophées sont, 22 généraux, 320 canons, 37,000 prisonniers; et soyez sûr que je les mets en moins, plûtot qu'en plus. Dieu a tout fait. Je suis de cœur et d'âme, tout à vous. Leipzig, le 9. Octobre, 1813." The Minister at War read a long account of the battle; there

are no Marshals prisoners, but two killed, Poniatoffsky and Augereau. Among the Generals prisoners is Count Lauriston. The King of Saxony is also a prisoner. The Minister of the Interior, Kosodavleff, had received this morning another estafette from Memel, with the further news that the King of Naples, Murat, with ten thousand men, had been overtaken at the passage of the Saale, and had surrendered; that Blücher had crossed the Saale in pursuit of Napoleon's army, had overtaken and beaten them again, and taken fifty pieces of cannon; that Würtemberg had declared for the allies, and Würtemberg troops already had taken possession of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Lord Walpole was at the Te Deum, having had his audiences this morning. Messieurs Gallatin and Bayard were also there. We all dined at Count Romanzoff's. I sat at table between the Minister of the Interior, Kosodavleff, and Mr. Bayard. Count Romanzoff said to me before dinner, "Il faut que vous veniez un de ces jours *forcer ma porte*, afin que nous ayons quelque conversation ensemble, sans que nous ayons l'air de nous avoir donné rendezvous." I told him that it was a force I should always be happy to commit, and should lose no time in availing myself of his permission. Mr. Bayard intimated to me his wish to call upon Count Romanzoff for some explicit statement of the rejection of the mediation by the English Government, and also that I would ask Lord Walpole to say *distinctly* what he had mentioned to Mr. Harris as having been done and said on the matter at the Emperor's head-quarters. We had the band of music at dinner, and the Emperor's health drunk in champagne. Prince Gortschakoff, the Minister at War, and Counts Litta and Markoff, came in after dinner. The city was illuminated in the evening.

5th. At twelve o'clock I went to Count Romanzoff's, according to the hint he had given me yesterday, and was received. I had about an hour's conversation with him, in which he repeated to me the substance of what he had said the other evening to Mr. Gallatin. The first dispatch he had received from Count Lieven in answer to the instruction to renew the offer of mediation, he said, he had received by the post, or by a foreign courier (a courier who came to Mr. Bailey, the British

Consul). In that dispatch Count Lieven told him that he had communicated confidentially and verbally with Lord Castlereagh concerning the former answer given by the British Government to the Emperor's offer; that Lord Castlereagh had expressed himself in very civil and obliging terms with regard to him, the Chancellor, and admitted that the former answer from England was not a rejection; that in Count Lieven's second dispatch, received a few days since, he stated that he had not presented the note renewing the offer, because, in the interval since his last dispatch, Lord Castlereagh had confidentially communicated to him a long and particular memoir, which had been sent directly to the Emperor at his head-quarters, proving the utter impossibility that the contest between Great Britain and America should be settled by any mediation, and requesting the Emperor not to press the subject any further.

The Count said that the Emperor had not given him any orders in consequence of this memoir from England, nor even informed him of it. In the midst of the events which were passing, and which so fully occupied the Emperor, he might perhaps have forgotten it; but he had shown me the instruction from the Emperor in his own handwriting, which approved of the note to renew the offer of mediation which he had directed Count Lieven to present. He had now sent Count Lieven's dispatch to the Emperor, and was waiting for his orders concerning it. Lord Walpole had rather insinuated than directly asserted that Lord Cathcart had informed the Emperor of the refusal of England to treat under a mediation, and at the same time had declared the readiness of the English Government to treat directly with the Envoys, either at Gottenburg or in London.

I told the Count that I had heard Lord Walpole had gone further, and reported here in public companies that the Emperor had told Lord Cathcart he had given orders that the American Envoys should be informed that he could proceed no further in the business.

The Count asked me to give him my opinion what it would be best for America to do on this proposal from England.

I said that I could only conjecture what course the President

might adopt. Perhaps he might send us new powers to treat directly.

He asked when I thought it probable we could receive such new powers.

I supposed not before next April; perhaps not before June. He asked if we had not already informed our Government of what might probably be the ultimate proposal of England to treat directly. I said we had. Possibly the President might act immediately upon that information, and give us an eventual new authority to treat, in case the proposal should be made by England. If so, we might receive it much sooner.

He asked me what was the President's character. Was he a man that made up his mind promptly and with decision, or was he more inclined to deliberate, and judge slowly? I said the President's character was neither slow nor precipitate; that he took his measures with firmness and decision, but not without solid grounds to act upon.

The Count said he thought if we were over-hasty in the purpose of concluding this peace, it would not be permanent. The war would be to begin again in six months' time. But if we had successes in the war, they would be the best of all possible aids to negotiation. He than asked about the action on Lake Ontario, and whether we had any account of it. I said only those in the English newspapers, which, if true, must give us the command of that lake. He said he had also seen in an English paper that an American privateer had taken an English vessel having dispatches from the English Ambassador in Persia to the British Government in India, and that they had been published in America. They were said to be curious, as containing particulars of the war between Persia and Russia.

I had not seen them.

Returning to the subject of our negotiation, the Count said that as the British Parliament were about to assemble, *les aboyeurs* (the opposition) would of course attack the proceedings of the Ministry, and might charge them with having slighted this opportunity of making peace with America. "Car il était échappé à *quelqu'un* de dire que je leur avois donné un tort. C'est un reproche qu'ils me font."

This might have been Lord Walpole; but the English opposition will never blame the Ministry for rejecting the Russian mediation. I spoke also to the Count of the anxiety of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard to return to the United States. He said he thought neither of them could go until official and positive information should come to them to warrant their departure.

As I alluded to the peculiar situation of Mr. Gallatin, the Count said he had been long informed of it, though he had thought it best to say nothing to us about it; that Mr. Daschkoff had written him, first, that the President was likely to be thwarted (tracassé) about the mission generally. Afterwards he had written that with regard to the mission there would be no difficulty, but that upon the appointment of Mr. Gallatin there would.

I mentioned to him the forms of our Constitution which had occasioned this state of things, and observed that it had been decided in the Senate by a majority of only one vote. He asked if the Senate could not reconsider their decision. I said they were not in session, but at their next meeting Mr. Gallatin might be nominated again. He said that at all events he thought Mr. Gallatin could not go away without official communication from his Government of the event.

18th. I this day discovered a new particular of my own ignorance of things which I ought to have known these thirty years. One clear morning, about a fortnight since, I remarked from my bed-chamber windows a certain group of stars forming a constellation which I had not before observed, and of which I knew not the name. I marked down their positions on a slip of paper, with a view to remember them hereafter and to ascertain what they were. This day, on looking into the Abridgment of Lalande's Astronomy, one of the first figures that struck my eye in the plates was that identical constellation. It was Orion. That I should have lived nearly fifty years without knowing him, shows too clearly what sort of an observer I have been. The evening was clear, and I saw him rise from the roof of the house on the other side of the street from ours. With the aid of Lalande's Abridgment, I found in the directions from him Aldebaran, Procyon, and the

Bull's Horns, between which the Ecliptic passes. But I am ashamed at my age to be thus to seek for the very first elements of practical astronomy.

19th. Mr. Gallatin's son brought me a draft of a letter to the Secretary of State, written by Mr. Bayard, for a dispatch from the mission. It contained a part of the information we have informally received concerning the intentions of the British Government, a statement of the course which Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard mean to take in returning home, and particularly that they have it in contemplation to stop in England to ascertain the views of the British Government in relation to peace. I wrote what I thought a very material addition to this draft, stating what we actually know of the British Government's views in relation to peace. They seemed to me very clearly and explicitly unfolded in Mr. Baring's letter to Mr. Gallatin, and I thought there was no sufficient motive to omit all notice of them in the dispatch. I took this addition to them, but found an insuperable reluctance in them to inserting it in the dispatch. They thought it would be sufficient to send to the Secretary of State a copy of Mr. Baring's letter. That letter urges the mission to go to England to treat directly with the British Ministers; but says, in the most decisive terms, that the British will agree to no article abandoning the practice of impressment. The mission has no powers to treat with the British Government but under the Russian mediation, and is most pointedly instructed to sign no treaty without a stipulation that the practice of impressment shall be abandoned. I told my colleagues that the motive of ascertaining whether the British Government persevered in their principles, and also what they proposed as expedients to guard against the abuse, as they called it, of impressment, was sufficient, in my mind, to justify their touching in England, and they were to judge for themselves as to the responsibility which they assumed by it in regard to our Government. I thought that responsibility not inconsiderable, as, without any powers to treat at all, they were going to treat with a full knowledge that it must be upon a basis directly in the face of our instructions.

Mr. Gallatin said that the whole of that responsibility must

rest upon Mr. Bayard; that *he* (Gallatin) was no longer a member of the mission—he was a private gentleman, and might go home by the way of England, or any other way, as he pleased; that as to the approbation of the Government, he should not trouble himself about it. He would not disobey their orders, but if he was right, he should not much regard whether they liked it or not. Mr. Baring's letter did indeed speak of the decision of the British Government upon the point of impressment in the clearest and strongest terms, but he believed the point might still be presented to them in a manner which would induce them to judge of it otherwise. This, he thought, would be the utility of their going to England. For his purpose was to convince the British Ministers that unless they should yield on the article of impressment, there was no possibility of treating at all.

Mr. Bayard's ideas were altogether different. He thought they could not only treat with the British Ministry, but even settle all the principles and articles of a treaty. He appeared perfectly prepared to concede the point of impressment, and said the British had professed a readiness to modify it entirely to our satisfaction. He was for making *distinctions*—for conceding the right of search, without admitting it for the purpose of impressment. On the article of responsibility, he saw no difference between his situation and that of Mr. Gallatin. From the moment their mission to this Court terminated, they would both be private men, and neither would be more responsible for his subsequent acts than the other.

I observed there was a material difference in their situations, inasmuch as Mr. Gallatin, quoad this mission, was no longer in the public service, which Mr. Bayard was, and would be until his return to the United States. Finding, however, that they were both averse to my proposed addition to the dispatch, I remarked that it would be necessary to make some change in the paragraph of Mr. Bayard's draft, stating their intention of stopping in England; for, without hinting at the invitation to the mission, or at the hint given by Lord Walpole that the British Ministers would ask no questions about powers, Mr. Bayard simply said that Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard had it in

contemplation to stop in England, with a view to ascertain the intentions of the British Government in relation to peace. I said I thought those intentions very fully and unequivocally stated in Mr. Baring's letter; and they offered, as the only basis upon which they would treat, a principle to which we were most pointedly forbidden by our instructions to accede. If Mr. Gallatin thought he could persuade the British Government to relax from their obstinacy, or Mr. Bayard thought he could settle a treaty with them that would be satisfactory to our country, it was a justifiable motive for them to go to England; but it could hardly be said they were going to ascertain the intentions of the British Ministry in relation to peace. These we knew already perfectly well, and, by omitting all notice of the invitation in Mr. Baring's letter, and of the avowal of the only principle upon which his Government will treat, we had the appearance of suppressing what I thought by far the most important part of the communication due from us to our Government.

Both the gentlemen agreed that the communication must undoubtedly be made. The only question was in what form. They thought it sufficient to enclose to the Secretary of State a copy of Mr. Baring's letter, and merely refer to it in the dispatch, adding that Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard contemplated stopping in England on their way home. Mr. Gallatin proposed even to make this a separate dispatch, or rather a private letter, and to say nothing at all in the dispatch about their intention to go to England; which, after all, he said, was quite uncertain whether they should or not. Perhaps they should finally conclude to go north-about. He added that unless the British Government were sincere in the wish for peace, this proposal for a direct negotiation was insidious, and they had connected it with the avowal of their basis with the intention of having it rejected, and thereby throwing back upon the American Government the odium of refusing peace, which otherwise, by the rejection of the mediation, would fall upon them.

Mr. Bayard seemed anxious to discuss the expediency of giving up the point of impressment. He said half the American nation were for giving it up. The State of Massachusetts

had called upon the Government explicitly to give it up. I told him I thought it would be time enough to consider this question when our instructions should authorize us to give it up. In the mean time, it was proper for our Government to know that the British will not negotiate on any other principle. Our Government must decide for themselves. I did not know how high-spirited they would feel at this juncture; but I well knew that half the nation—not the half that he spoke of, but the other; the half which approved the war—would never approve, or be satisfied with, a peace which should give up the point of impressment. After much conversation on these topics, I took back with me the sketch of an addition to the dispatch which they did not approve, and left Mr. Bayard's draft to be modified as they shall think proper.

20th. At noon I attended with Mr. Smith at the palace; and, after waiting about an hour, the Empresses held their Court; after which the Grand Duke Michael separately held his circle. The topic of discourse, as usual, was the weather. Mr. Bayard engaged Lord Walpole in conversation—in which Lord Walpole, apparently with intention, spoke loud enough to be heard by all the circle. He said that he left England on the 9th of July; that the last thing Castlereagh said to him was, that the British Government had never had one hint of a Russian mediation until a dispatch from Borlase Warren informed him that he had given a passport for the vessel in which Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard came; that this did really embarrass them, as it was a very unpleasant thing for them to reject the mediation; that having found it, however, absolutely necessary, they had immediately given notice of their intention to the Emperor; that he had received this notice first, verbally, at Bautzen; that it had been repeated in writing on the 6th of July, and afterwards by an official note dated 13th July and sent to Count Nesselrode, of which he (Lord Walpole) had among his papers a copy. He spoke of it in a style of complaint, and said that Russia might have had the civility to make the offer of mediation to both parties at once, or at least to have given the British Government *notice* of the offer to America.

I had heard before that Lord Walpole had said the British

Government had not been informed of the offer of Russia to mediate until last summer, which appeared extraordinary; and now, hearing him say so expressly, to be sure of not mistaking his meaning, I asked him if I had understood it correctly.

He said I had; repeated over again what he had said to Mr. Bayard, adding that they were the last words Castlereagh said to him when he left England. Lord Walpole has an apparent frankness and some coarseness in his manners. He said they kept Michaelmas in England the 29th September; that it was a universal and indispensable custom to dine upon goose; that it was called goose-day; that members of Parliament always dined that day with their constituents. He dined with the mayor of the place he represented. The constituents gave very good dinners, and "we do not get drunk—but something devilish near it." He told me that he had been two or three years in the Admiralty; that the Admiralty cost twenty millions a year; that he and the other members proposed in 1811 to reduce it two millions, but the First Lord would not consent, and his voice weighed more than all the others put together. He said that Vansittart was a devilish fine fellow; that Pitt had undoubtedly been one of the first men in the world for finance, but Vansittart, who had been only a Secretary of the Treasury under him, was a much bolder man, and had done things from which Pitt recoiled with horror. He and Sidmouth, after the peace at Amiens, by one dash had raised in one year of peace the supplies to pay off all the floating debt—a measure which struck Pitt with horror, but in which Vansittart had been perfectly successful. This year he was taking part of his supplies from the sinking fund; which some thought one of the best, and others one of the worst, measures in the world. The Court was over about three o'clock.

30th. *Day.* I rise, on the average, about six o'clock in the morning, and retire to bed between ten and eleven at night. The interval is filled up as it has been nearly two years, or, more particularly, as since I placed Charles at school. The four or five hours that I previously devoted to him I now employ in reading books of science. These studies I now pursue not only as the most delightful of occupations to myself, but with

a special reference to the improvement and education of my children. I feel the sentiment with which Tycho Brahe died, perhaps as strongly as he did. His "ne frustra vixisse videar" was a noble feeling, and in him had produced its fruits. He had not lived in vain. He was a benefactor to his species. But the desire is not sufficient. The spark from heaven is given to few. It is not to be obtained by entreaty or by toil. To be profitable to my children seems to me within the compass of my powers. To that let me bound my wishes and my prayers. And may that be granted to them!

January 1st, 1814. Mr. Bayard spent part of the evening with us, until eleven. He proposed a meeting on Monday at two o'clock, to consult together on the propriety of fixing a time beyond which he should not wait here for the official information from this Government that the British Ministers have rejected the Emperor's offered mediation. I agreed to the meeting.

3d. Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard came, according to appointment, at two o'clock. Mr. Bayard spoke of his anxiety to go away, and proposed that we should send a note to Count Romanzoff, urging an answer of information what had been the determination of the British Government concerning the Emperor's offer of mediation. We agreed to send such a note, which Mr. Bayard asked me to draw up. I told him that as its object had particular reference to his own conduct and his wish to go away, I thought he would best express his own ideas; to which he assented. Mr. Gallatin mentioned that he had had a conference with Count Romanzoff respecting his own departure, in which he had asked him when an answer might be expected from the Emperor. The Count could not tell, but had observed to him, as in confidence, that it was solely and entirely on our account that he had hitherto delayed to resign his office of Chancellor; that he could not transact the Emperor's business; that the Emperor had forbidden any other person to write to him, choosing to correspond with him himself. He occasionally wrote him short letters, which were all kindness and condescension, but answered nothing upon matters of business. It was impossible for him (the Count), therefore, to do the business of

his office, and his sole motive for continuing in it had been his wish to close the affair of our mission.

In the course of our conversation I found that the project of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard now is, to go to the Emperor's head-quarters, and apply to Count Nesselrode for the answer, which does not come through the channel of Count Romanzoff. The first intimation of this intent was given me by Mr. Harris last week, but it was then confined to Mr. Gallatin. It was this day repeatedly suggested by both of them, apparently with a view to elicit my opinion of its propriety. But, as I made no remark upon it, Mr. Bayard at last asked me whether we ought not to ask Count Romanzoff whether it would not be proper.

I then said that, as I did not myself think it proper, I could not think it expedient to ask Count Romanzoff's opinion of its propriety.

Both the gentlemen appeared to be very strongly affected by this expression of my opinion. They both started instantly from their seats, and walked to and fro in the chamber, in directions crossing each other, and in great apparent agitation. I observed that there was no proper channel of communication for them with the Emperor at head-quarters. Mr. Bayard said there was Nesselrode. I said he was not Minister of Foreign Affairs, and would certainly receive no communication from them without an express order from the Emperor. Mr. Gallatin said it was not his idea to go themselves to the head-quarters, but to go near enough to them to send Mr. Harris to them; if Harris would go. Mr. Bayard said that Harris was willing to go, which Mr. Gallatin confirmed, and of which I have no doubt.

I said that as it was a matter relating to their personal conduct they must judge for themselves, and were not at all bound by my opinion.

Gallatin said we might be blamed for not having already sent a courier of our own to the Emperor's head-quarters, after the delay that had occurred in the former instance. Bayard said that he was under a great responsibility if he stayed, and there was also great responsibility in going away. But the head-quarters project is Gallatin's, who acts without any responsibility at all. Bayard has repeatedly expressed his astonishment

to me that Gallatin should presume to act at all, knowing the rejection of his nomination by the Senate; and told me the other day, at Count Romanzoff's table, that if *he* had received such information he would not have stayed here two days after receiving it. Bayard said he had thought upon fixing on the twenty-first for his departure, as it would be that day six months since they arrived. He told me on Saturday that Gallatin had said he should go between next Monday and Wednesday. We finally rested upon sending a note to Count Romanzoff, which Mr. Bayard is to draft.

6th. The Russian Christmas. About nine this morning I received from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin, a notification for a Te Deum at eleven, at the Kazan Church, for the splendid successes of the allies, the taking of several cities in Holland, and the peace with Persia. I attended with Mr. Smith at the hour. The Empress-mother, the Grand Dukes, and Grand Duchess Ann were there. Of the Corps Diplomatique, only Count Maistre, Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin, and Mr. Jouffroy, the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires. Neither the Duke de Serra Capriola, Lord Walpole, the Chevalier Bardaxi, nor Captain Guedes was there. The Court circle very thin, and the crowd not great. The cold had abated to about —25, but the church doors were so continually opening and shutting that we had a constant fan upon us during the two hours that the ceremonies lasted, and before they finished I was thoroughly chilled. Instead of a hand-bill read by the Minister at War, there was a proclamation of the Emperor's, dated at Carlsruhe, read by a Chamberlain. Mr. Narishkin told me it was an order for a Te Deum in all the churches throughout the Empire, to give thanks to God, for that whereas one year ago all Europe was against Russia, now all Europe was united with Russia in support of the good cause. Count Maistre told me that one of the bishops who usually officiated at these ceremonies, Theophylact, had lately, by a ukase from the Emperor, been ordered away to his diocese, for having translated a work of Ancillon, a Protestant clergyman at Berlin, which the Metropolitan had taken offence at, as containing atheistic or pantheistic doctrines, or what they call in Germany transcendental Spinozism. The

Metropolitan had first employed Philaretus to answer the book, which he had done with great acrimony. Theophylact had prepared a reply, which he was refused permission to print, and the whole matter was laid before the Emperor, who had ordered Theophylact to go to his diocese, and, in consequence of the censurable doctrines which he had countenanced, he was forbidden to preach anywhere but in his diocese, which the Count thought a strange decision. The Count said he believed there was no atheism, but some Protestantism, in the doctrines, but that Ancillon was determined to justify himself, and would publish an account of all the proceedings, so that the affair, which had already made a "très-grande sensation," would finish by making "un bruit épouvantable."

Mr. Bayard spent the evening with us, until half-past eleven, and was very full of conversation. He spoke, particularly, much of Mr. Gallatin, and not in a very friendly style. He said they had not more communication with each other than there was between him (Bayard) and me. He spoke sarcastically of the representation Gallatin had made to Count Romanzoff of the motive for the rejection of his nomination by the Senate; as if it was only the President's extreme anxiety to keep him in the office of Secretary of the Treasury. I said that might be the idea conveyed by his note to Count Romanzoff, but that he had only stated the facts as they were, and I thought the representation a very natural and allowable one. Bayard said he had never seen that note; which surprised me. He added that Gallatin had now another project, which was, on his return to America, to ascribe the whole failure of the negotiation to the rejection of his nomination, and Bayard thought it was a pretension extremely likely, in the temper of parties, to take, and generally to prevail. He mentioned again his own great anxiety to return home, but said he had concluded to be governed by the opinion of the majority, either to stay, to go to head-quarters, or to go home. He had drafted a note to Count Romanzoff and given it to Mr. Gallatin the day they were here, and Gallatin had returned it to him, not until just as he was going out (to Princess Michel Galitzin's) this evening. I observed that, as to a majority, I did not know how he would

now find one, as Mr. Gallatin had declared he considered himself as no longer belonging to the mission, and had very plainly told us that he was aware he was acting without any sort of responsibility; which he very certainly was, being neither accountable to the Executive nor impeachable by the House of Representatives. Mr. Bayard concurred explicitly in this opinion, and he repeated what he has said to me many times before—that he had a very short notice of his own appointment; that he had barely time to make his preparations for the voyage and to settle his domestic and professional affairs; that his only motive for accepting the appointment was the belief that it might tend to a conciliation of parties; but as soon as he got on board ship and turned his mind to the subject, he had not an instant of doubt but that the British Government would reject the mediation, and he told Mr. Gallatin so before they had been three days at sea; that what the British called their maritime rights were their pretensions, and they would never submit them to the judgment of another nation, but would support them with their power.

9th. Mr. Bayard spent the evening with us, and told me that he should send me to-morrow his draft of a note to Count Romanzoff. He expressed his determination to go away with Mr. Gallatin, at the latest, in a week or ten days from this time.

10th. Mr. Bayard called, and left with me a draft of his note for the Chancellor, which he requested me to take and correct or alter as I should think proper. He left with it a minute by Mr. Gallatin, suggesting great alterations, omissions, and transpositions. He said Mr. Gallatin had, however, told him that he should not sign the note. At my request he left it with me, but wished me to return it in time to have the note sent to-morrow. I devoted the evening to it; translated into French the part of his original which was left after Mr. Gallatin's retrenchments from it, and drew up an additional paragraph, notifying to the Chancellor Mr. Bayard's intention shortly to ask for his passports, which he has so repeatedly stated to me in strong terms, and which, if sincere, I thought it indispensable to be communicated to the Count.

11th. About two o'clock in the afternoon I called upon Mr.

Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, with the draft of the note for Count Romanzoff, as I had prepared it. They both read it over, and suggested some verbal criticisms and emendations, Mr. Gallatin to the French, and Mr. Bayard to the English. I readily assented to all the alterations they proposed. At length Mr. Bayard said he did not altogether like the closing sentence of my additional paragraph. It was the one stating his intention to ask for his passports. He said that it had the appearance of his deserting his duty. No; if there was any duty to do, he should certainly not go away and leave it for me to do. His idea was, in going away, to *terminate the mission*. I observed that it was neither in his, nor in our joint, power to terminate the mission; that could be done only by the Government which sent us, or the Government to which we were accredited. And as to the desertion of his duty, what was the duty to be performed? Simply to receive from this Government, and to transmit to our own, an official document, the substance of which was already perfectly well known to us all. He had conceived himself competent to go alone to the Emperor's head-quarters and ask there for this very document, without needing my co-operation. He had even conceived himself competent to go to England alone, and there make a treaty, without needing any concurrence of mine. If he, therefore, could perform separately duties of the mission of that magnitude, I could not conceive that the mere act of receiving and transmitting an official paper was such as he could not leave to be performed separately by me, without any desertion of his duty.

He said that any idea he might have had of going to England was not in an official character, but it was only to sound the disposition of the Government there; and as to the project of going to head-quarters, that was merely an idea that had occurred to him, but upon which he had formed no determination.

I did not reply to either of these answers, because, after bringing to Mr. Bayard's mind the comparison between his own grounds for being prepared to do so much separately himself, and yet so averse to leaving so little to be performed separately by me, I thought it unnecessary to push him too

hard in argument. In his projects of going to England to make a treaty, all but the signing (which he explicitly avowed in one of our former conferences), and of going to the Emperor's head-quarters, the thought had never entered his head that he would be taking the whole mission upon himself, and dismissing me from my share in it as effectually as if I had never been joined in the commission. I made no objection against his going to England, because, supposing it possible that the door for a negotiation would thereby be kept open which might promote the work of peace, I felt it my duty to sacrifice all personal considerations to the furtherance of the great public object. I was nevertheless fully aware that the negotiation, if practicable, will be accomplished by Mr. Bayard, the only commissioned Envoy, and by Mr. Gallatin, no longer even in the commission, to the total exclusion of myself. I did think that Mr. Bayard, before he came to the determination of going to England, ought to have thought of this, to have weighed the consideration, and consulted me concerning it. I believe he never thought of it. Certain it is that he never gave me the remotest hint that he had thought of it. He has now for some weeks been declaring his intention to go away without waiting any longer for the official communication from this Government of the rejection by Great Britain of the mediation. He has been asking and urging for my advice to him, and expressing the most extreme anxiety to go. I had in the paragraph I drew up announced his intention of going, and put it on a footing altogether inoffensive to this Government; saying that he would leave to me the care of receiving and transmitting the paper when it should suit the convenience of this Government to give it. But the instant the idea was presented to Mr. Bayard of my performing separately the mere act of receiving and enclosing an official paper without his participation—No; it would be a desertion of his duty; and if there was any duty to be performed, he would stay. I thought it therefore proper to bring to his view the parallel of his principles in the two cases, and, as a bare glimpse was sufficient to make it glaring, I forbore to press the comparison upon him; leaving it to the operation of his own mind.

Mr. Gallatin said there was an *intrinsic difficulty* in Mr. Bayard's returning to America without having first received the document which we expected from the Government; that it related not merely to himself, but to the public interest,—since the odium of rejecting the mediation would, in the public opinion, be thereby transferred from England to Russia. This, therefore, had suggested to him the idea of going, not to head-quarters, but near enough to send Mr. Harris to them; as Mr. Harris had offered himself to go. I then said to Mr. Bayard that I had drafted the paragraph only on the supposition that he had determined to go. If there was any doubt on his mind concerning that point, my paragraph became useless and improper, and I requested him to strike it out. He said that he should wish to wait for Count Romanzoff's answer to the *main point* before he notified to him his intention of going away. Perhaps that answer would contain something which might vary that determination. He expressed himself perfectly satisfied that my intentions had been good, and it was agreed the paragraph should be struck out. The remnant of the note was dispatched by young Gallatin to Mr. Harris, to be prepared for our signature to-morrow morning; and, as the gentlemen were about dressing to go and dine at Princess Beloselsky's, I took my leave of them and immediately returned home.

12th. Mr. Harris called with the note to Count Romanzoff prepared for signature. He said that Mr. Gallatin had asked for his passports and his audience of leave of the Empress-mother. He also mentioned his own intention of going away. His visit to me on the 31st of December I have since perceived was a sounding. Mr. Gallatin's project was to go round by the Emperor's head-quarters, taking Bayard and Harris with him, and make the occasion to have a direct communication with the Emperor. To effect this it was necessary to have my acquiescence, and Harris was sent to me to try the experiment, without informing me what the real plan was. Harris told me then that Mr. Gallatin had concluded to go, and having received a letter from one of his relations in Geneva, who was very desirous of seeing him, and had proposed to meet him in Switzerland, he would probably go round by the way of Frankfort, now

the Emperor Alexander's head-quarters; but that it was very strange Mr. Bayard would insist upon staying here and waiting for a document which perhaps this Government never would communicate; so that Mr. Gallatin would have to go away alone. It was the next day after this that Mr. Bayard came and proposed a conference to fix upon a time beyond which he should no longer wait, and which he proposed should be the 21st of this month, six months from the day of their arrival. Mr. Bayard, who had uniformly expressed great anxiety to go, then said that Mr. Gallatin *hitherto* had always given it as his opinion that he (Bayard) could not go away without receiving the Emperor's answer. In the conference, the plan of going to head-quarters was very gradually disclosed to me, and it was only the great agitation of both the gentlemen, when it became necessary to express my opinion of it, which showed me how thoroughly it had been concerted before I was even given to understand that it was thought of. The plan, as well as that of going to England, is entirely Mr. Gallatin's, who, notwithstanding the vote of the Senate on his nomination, has no inclination to lose any possible opportunity of being still engaged inofficially in the negotiation. But Mr. Harris told me on the 31st of December that it was Mr. Gallatin's opinion that we must yield to Great Britain upon the point of impressment; because we should never obtain peace without it, and because we should be unable to carry on the war, for want both of funds and credit. Mr. Bayard has expressed this opinion to me, but Gallatin never did. Every intimation of his opinion upon the subject to me has been directly the reverse. He has, indeed, said nothing on the point of impressment lately; but since our late accounts from America have informed us of the facility with which the Government obtained the late loan of seven millions of dollars, Gallatin says that he never supposed we should find any difficulty in raising money after once adopting the English manner of making lists, instead of the clumsy one of subscriptions. But with both the gentlemen prepared to abandon the point of impressment, and with the determination of the British Government concerning it, as signified in Mr. Baring's last letter, I doubt whether they will do much good by going to England,

unless our Government has totally changed its principles since they gave our instructions, and are as much prepared as Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard to yield the point of impressment. I received this afternoon a notification from the Grand Master of the Ceremonies for a Court to-morrow. Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard spent the evening with us. Mr. Gallatin told us he was to have his audience of leave of the Empress-mother to-morrow.

13th. The morning of the Russian New Year is always occupied in receiving the visits of all the Court servants and messengers of the public offices, who come for their customary presents. At noon I went with Mr. Smith to the palace, and attended at the Empress-mother's Court; after which we attended the circle of the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and finally that of the Grand Duchess Ann. We kissed the hands of the Empress and Grand Duchess. We were also shown into the hall where the table was laid for the Empress's dinner, a table of about sixty covers, and we were allowed to admire the Russian costumes of the ornaments on the tables. The Empress-mother was still in ecstasies at the state of political affairs, and rejoicing at the happy auspices under which the new year is commencing. As between the Empress's Court and that of the Grand Dukes we were kept waiting about an hour, we were served with a cold collation, consisting of the leg of a cold roast fowl (we were about twenty-five in number), with bread, Madeira wine, and a cordial, in cups and glasses containing each about a tablespoonful. This collation was an extraordinary impromptu of the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Narishkin. Mr. Gallatin and his son took leave at the circles. The Chevalier Bardaxi told me of the accident which had befallen his lady, whose clothes caught fire yesterday at one of the stoves, and she was very badly burnt.

15th. Mr. Bayard spent part of the evening with us. He is still anxious to go, and determined not to wait more than ten days longer. He told me that he had sent Mr. Harris to Count Romanzoff to ascertain whether he would give a direct answer to our last note; that the Count had said it was impossible for him to give any other answer than that he had received, and would transmit it to the Emperor. The Count

was much distressed, and determined to resign his office. He had, however, told Mr. Harris that he thought Mr. Bayard would be justifiable in going away, and at his request would furnish him with passports. Mr. Bayard proposed sending a new note to the Count, stating the evidence *we* have of the rejection of the mediation by the British Government as the motive for his departure, and asked me if I should have any objection to joining in such a note.

I told him, not if it could be drawn up in such a form as to avoid giving offence to this Government, and everything that might irritate our country against Russia. For I could not but feel the neglect of the Emperor in delaying the answer we had been so long expecting, and I thought our country, when acquainted with the facts, would feel it still more sensibly.

He said he would make a draft of such a note to-morrow, and send it to me for consideration. He is so much embittered against the Emperor that I have some apprehension he will betray his feelings in the note. He says Lord Walpole told him that, after their former conversation together, he had written to Lord Cathcart, asking from him the confirmation of the statements he had made, and also to Lord Castlereagh for instructions concerning it; that he had received from the Emperor's head-quarters a letter mentioning that the day after it was written Lord Cathcart was to dispatch a courier to him with his answer. He added that Mr. Gallatin last evening paid a visit at Mr. Kosodavleff's, and that he showed him a patent made out for Mr. Fulton's privilege, which he considered as a proof that the Emperor could find time for attending to objects of minor importance.

But I told him I had made the application for Mr. Fulton in August, and had been ever since waiting for an answer.

18th. Mr. Bayard called upon me this afternoon with a note from Count Romanzoff, in answer to that which we sent him last week, and a draft of a reply, in which he asks for his audiences of leave and his passports. He desired me to make a translation of it into French, to be ready to-morrow morning, as he hoped to have his audiences of leave next Sunday. His intention is to go next Tuesday, until which time Mr. Gallatin, who is now

ready to go, will wait for him. I made the translation this evening.

19th. I called upon Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin between two and three in the afternoon. In my translation of the note to Count Romanzoff I had made but one alteration from the original: it was in relation to Mr. Bayard's determination to go away. He had mentioned it as a resolution jointly concluded as indispensable by us both. I expressed it so as to appear his own determination, as it really is. He said that he had intentionally stated it as our joint conclusion, because he had wished it to be the result of my advice, as well as his own opinion. I observed that by signing the note I made myself responsible for all the reasoning upon which his resolution to go had been formed; but I thought it best that the resolution itself should appear as his own. He said, if so, it should go as I preferred, and perhaps there might be a point of delicacy in my appearing to advise his going away. Mr. Gallatin, at my request, revised the French of my translation. He made no remark this time upon the language, but observed that an alteration was to be made in the English draft to make it conformable to the French note. It was accordingly made, and the note was sent to Mr. Harris to be copied. The draft and translation had both asked an audience of leave for Mr. Harris, as well as for Mr. Bayard. Mr. Gallatin remarked that, according to the etiquette, no *audience* could be granted to a Secretary of Legation, but that he must take leave at an ordinary circle. We therefore struck out that part of the note. Mr. Bayard then asked Mr. Gallatin whether he would mention the additional paragraph for the note, which he had suggested to him as advisable last evening —"Not dissembling." Mr. Gallatin said that he had thought we should state the ill impression which the Emperor's neglect of sending the answer which we have been so long expecting might make in the United States, and intimate the wish that if he meant to answer, and particularly if Great Britain in refusing the mediation had expressed any disposition for a direct negotiation, he would still dispatch the answer in time for them (Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard) to receive it before they should leave Europe, as otherwise the Emperor's conduct might actually

retard the restoration of peace, which it had been the object of his offer to promote. But, he said, Mr. Bayard had thought there might be an objection to such a paragraph.

I said that I thought it would be best to avoid any direct written censure upon the Emperor, because, however it might be expressed, the Count would feel himself bound in duty to defend his master, and it might lead to a disagreeable and useless discussion. But in taking leave of the Count, Mr. Bayard might verbally express any ideas of that kind which it might be useful to suggest. We had gone far enough in our reply to the Count's note when, without noticing at all his zealous apology for the Emperor, we merely say we had hoped after so long a lapse of time he (the Count) would have been able to give us a definitive answer. I believed the Emperor would feel the force of that remark, and I hoped he would feel it in a proper manner. They both said they thought the paragraph might be so worded as to give no offence; but it was finally concluded to leave it to be given verbally by Mr. Bayard to Count Romanzoff.

21st. Mr. Harris came, and showed me a statement, in the form of a letter to Mr. Bayard, of his two last conversations with Count Romanzoff, to whom he first went at Mr. Bayard's request, to solicit an answer to the former of our two recent notes, and afterwards, a second time, at the Count's own request. Mr. Bayard had desired Harris to draw up this statement in writing, and then to put it on record in the official book of the mission. On reading it over, it immediately struck me that it ought not to be recorded as an official document. First, because there was nothing official in the transaction; and secondly, because if so recorded it would be liable to be published in America; and many things were said by the Count, in the letter, which he could not have intended or supposed would ever be published, but which might be the cause of giving him great trouble hereafter. I observed, therefore, that if Mr. Bayard thought proper, he might have a copy of this paper either on a loose sheet, or entered into his separate book; in which case I should wish to have a copy of it also entered upon mine, as the letters of Mr. Baring to Mr. Gallatin had been;

but not upon the official records of the mission. Mr. Harris remarked that, besides the objections I had stated, by making the paper an official document it might appear an improper proceeding on his part towards Count Romanzoff—as it certainly would.

22d. After breakfast I called upon Mr. Harris, to see the state of my book containing the copies of letters and documents relating to the extraordinary mission, and I found several letters still to be copied into it. He said Mr. Bayard had been satisfied that the statement of his (Harris's) late conversations with Count Romanzoff should be copied into his separate book and not upon the book of official records. He also told me that Mr. Bayard had received notice that he would have an audience of leave of the Empress-mother the day after to-morrow.

I called again upon Mr. Schubert, whom I found at home, and to whom I took the little volume published at Boston, by Judge Davis, upon comets. I had much conversation with him upon astronomical subjects, and he promised to lend me Bode's Uranographia. I mentioned to him Adam Smith's fragment on the History of Astronomy, of which he had never heard, and which I promised to send him. I asked him about Kepler's manuscripts which are in the library of the Academy of Sciences, and of which he told me he had made great use in composing his popular astronomy. He did not recollect among Kepler's manuscripts having seen the one against Calvin, but he had not paid much attention to the theological works. He would, however, look over them again, and see if he could find the one about which I enquired. There were twenty-four volumes of the manuscripts, among which was a collection of letters, but there were few of them that were interesting so as to deserve publication. One of the letters is to his wife, in answer to a request from her that he would send her some money to buy firewood in the midst of a severe winter. He writes that he has no money to send her, and can get none; but he advises her to apply to Tycho, and hopes he will lend them so much as she wants for firewood. Mr. Schubert spoke of the comet of 1811, which he said had been observed by one of the travelling members of their Academy long after it had been supposed

that it would be no longer visible; and from those observations it was ascertained that the period of that comet was more than three thousand years.

23d. I called upon Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, and took with me the note yesterday received from Count Romanzoff. I found Mr. Harris there. Mr. Bayard had this morning had his audiences to take leave of the Empress-mother, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and the Grand Duchess Ann. He was much gratified with the graciousness of the Empress. Mr. Harris had also taken leave. He told me that he had asked Mr. Gallatin about inserting in my separate book copies of his letters to Mr. Baring, and that he had objected to it, saying they were private letters, and had no relation to the mission. They certainly were private letters, but their contents do principally relate to the objects of the mission, as Mr. Gallatin sufficiently showed by putting them into Mr. Harris's hands to be copied, Mr. Harris being the Secretary of the mission, and not the private secretary of Mr. Gallatin. However, as he objects to my having copies of his letters, I shall not insist upon them. We agreed to write a dispatch to the Secretary of State, enclosing copies of our last two notes to Count Romanzoff, and his answers. Mr. Bayard asked me to draft the dispatch. I said that as it would relate altogether to his proceedings, I thought he had better make the draft. He said he had not time, being engaged in his preparations for departure, and if I declined doing it he should be obliged to postpone it until his arrival in England. I accordingly made the draft this evening—a dispatch of three lines, barely referring to the enclosures. I asked Mr. Gallatin for the copy which I had deciphered of the dispatch from the Secretary of State of 23d of June last. He offered me, laughing, four of the undeciphered copies, if I would let him take that; but I did not relish the labor of deciphering it a second time, and advised him to let his son James take a copy from mine, to which he at last assented.

25th. The reigning Empress Elizabeth's birthday; on account of which the Empress-mother, Marie, held a Court, to which I went with Mr. Smith at noon. It was very thinly attended.

The only other foreign Ministers there were Lord Walpole and Count Maistre, with Mr. Jouffroy, the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires. The Empress-mother continues ecstatic at the state of political affairs. The Emperor, she said, crossed the Rhine on the anniversary of the day on which he had crossed the Niemen, and the allies are penetrating into France without meeting anything like resistance. General Bétancourt and the Minister of the Interior, Kosodavleff, spoke to me about Mr. Fulton's patent, which Mr. Kosodavleff said he could not deliver until there should be a specification, as the law required; but he promised to write to me on the subject. I told him I should be perfectly satisfied that he should keep the patent until Mr. Fulton can send a power to receive it, and a specification. After the Court was over, I called upon Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, who were packing and upon the point of departure. I took leave of them. Madame Bardaxi, the Spanish Minister's lady, died at eleven this evening, of the consequences of the dreadful accident she met with the day before the Russian New Year.

February 1st. I found myself this morning far from well; but so much better than I was last evening that I was able to go out, and at eleven o'clock went with Mrs. Adams to the Roman Catholic Maltese Chapel and attended the funeral obsequies of Madame de Bardaxi Azara, to which we had been invited by her husband. The chapel was full, and all the foreign Ministers were there, excepting the Duke de Serra Capriola, who is unwell. On my return home, I found a note from Count Romanzoff requesting me to call on him at nine o'clock this evening at his house on the English quay; I went accordingly at that hour.

The Count said that as he was on the point of *abdicating*, he wished to persevere until the last in the habits which he had formed and constantly observed with me, and would therefore show me the dispatch from Count Lieven, which he had received yesterday by a courier from the Emperor's head-quarters. He then put it into my hands.

It was numbered 260, dated $\frac{\text{26th November,}}{\text{8th December,}}$ 1813, and marked that a duplicate was sent to Count Nesselrode. It stated that

the British Government having been informed of the definitive refusal of the American Ministers at St. Petersburg to negotiate directly with them for peace, on account of the limitation of their powers to a negotiation under the Emperor's mediation, Lord Castlereagh had communicated to him (Count Lieven) that, in order to avoid some of the delays which would arise from waiting until the Envoys could write to their Government for further instructions and powers, he himself had just written to Mr. Monroe, proposing to him to send his instructions through the medium of Sir John Warren, and explaining the motives upon which Great Britain had declined treating with the United States under a mediation; that as this measure had been taken at a period so splendid for England, it would prove to the Emperor of Russia that they entered cordially into his views in the disposition to terminate a war which they considered as not conformable to the interests of the British nation.

The Count asked me if I had already received intimation of this. I had not. He had supposed it might have been communicated to me by Lord Walpole. I had seen him this morning, but he had said nothing of it to me.

The Count told me he had received no other communication on this subject from the Emperor or from Count Nesselrode; that the courier who brought it to him had also brought an immense number of packets, addressed to him, which had been accumulating there for several weeks; but not even the ratifications of the peace with Persia, the term for exchanging which was already past. Mr. Harris had been with him this evening, and had told him he should call upon him again to take leave. Mr. Gallatin had written to him at the time of his departure, requesting him to write to them whatever might occur after their departure in reference to the mission. Mr. Harris had offered this evening to take his letters. He would write with pleasure to Mr. Gallatin, as an evidence how much he valued his correspondence. But he had told Mr. Harris, and Mr. Gallatin himself must be sensible that, as Chancellor of the Empire, after the departure of those gentlemen he must consider their mission as terminated, and could write nothing to them concerning it. Nor could he have any occasion to

regret this, since I was here, to whom he should naturally make every proper communication of business, and who would of course transmit all the material information to them. He had therefore not mentioned this dispatch this evening to Mr. Harris, because I was the person to whom he thought proper to make it known. When Mr. Dallas went from hence, Mr. Gallatin had asked him (the Count) to recommend him to the Ambassador, Count Lieven, and to hear what he should say to him respecting the state of our negotiation here. He had accordingly strongly recommended Mr. Dallas to Count Lieven, and with much pleasure, as he knew it would procure to the Count an agreeable acquaintance. And the Count had informed him that he had received Mr. Dallas with pleasure.

I said I hoped he was not in earnest in what he had said, and repeated several times, about abdicating. Altogether in earnest, he said. He had more than once written to the Emperor, requesting him to accept his resignation. On the occasion of sending to him the treaty of peace with Persia he had renewed the request. The Emperor had answered him, that he justly appreciated the high and honorable character and the importance of this treaty, and concluded by saying, "Il y a dans la dernière ligne de votre lettre une idée à laquelle je ne puis pas me faire." "Upon which," said the Count, "I have replied to the Emperor, insisting upon my resignation, and recalling to his recollection that after the peace of Tilsit, with which I had nothing to do, when he laid his commands upon me to take the Department of Foreign Affairs, he told me that he had then two wars upon his hands—that with Turkey, and that with Persia—and had just contracted the engagement of commencing two others, with Sweden, and with England. These four wars are now all brought to a termination; the peace with Persia closes the last of them; it brings to a natural conclusion all the business upon which I came into office, and affords to the Emperor an opportunity to dismiss me 'avec bonté.' I have in truth now no other business to do. The Emperor, when he went away, determined to write to me on business exclusively himself. He has entered upon other business, other engagements. He not only commands his own army, but he

oversees and superintends the interest of all the allies. Insensibly he has dropped the habit of writing to me at all. His time is absorbed; he is always intending to write to me in one or two days. Multitudes of letters come from the head-quarters upon business, saying that the orders on this, that, and the other affair will certainly be dispatched to me in one or two days; and the orders never come. I have nothing to do. To be Chancellor of the Empire for the sake of signing passports, and giving orders about lawsuits, is not worth while, and yet the office keeps me here in a state of perpetual subjection. I cannot sleep out of St. Petersburg, I cannot attend to my private affairs, I cannot visit my own estates, which I very much desire to do. I therefore entreat the Emperor to give me my discharge, and leave me to bless him for all his favors and to wish him all happiness and prosperity. I expect now every day to receive the Emperor's acceptance of my resignation; it is not more than four or five days since it would have been possible, by the course of time, that I should have received it. Now it may come every hour, and an answer must be given to my application."

I told the Count that I could not but express my personal regret at his determination.

He said that as to his personal sentiments, they would always remain the same; but he must do as his old grandmother told him once, after she was turned of eighty, she was resolved to do. After two years more, she told him she was determined to turn over a new leaf—to change entirely her course of life—and to go and live at Moscow. "I," said the Count, "am not quite so old as my grandmother was then, but I am sixty, and have not so good health as she had. I shall not wait two years to turn over my new leaf. My feelings are entirely American (je puis dire que j'ai les entrailles Américaines); and were it not for my age and infirmities, I would go now to that country."

In the whole of this conversation there was not a syllable uttered by the Count in the nature of complaint. His tone was altogether that of cheerfulness and pleasantry. The wounded spirit was only to be seen in the allusion to the four wars, of which he reminded the Emperor, and which hung upon him

when the Count entered upon his office. All these wars have been closed honorably, three of them gloriously, for Russia, during the Count's administration. The commemoration of them must carry a reproach to the Emperor's heart; but it indicates a proud consciousness in the Count of his own services, and a firm and independent spirit in referring to them.

He said that from the commencement of the new year he had removed from the hotel of the Department of Foreign Affairs to his own house, and was there quietly waiting for his discharge.

I spoke to him about the translations of the official documents concerning our war with England, which he had promised me should be published in the gazettes, and which afterwards, at his request, I had consented to leave unpublished until the determination of the British Government on the offer of mediation should be known. He said he thought that after this new step of England towards a direct negotiation there was still the same reason to avoid the publication—to forbear from all irritating acts; that if I absolutely insisted upon it, they should be published, but Lord Walpole had already reproached him for what he had published concerning the American mission, and any such publications would be entirely imputed to him.

This is certainly true, and it might in the present state of things be of such consequence to him personally, that I concluded not to insist upon the publication. I told him that as he placed the matter upon the ground of a personal favor to him, I should say no more; but that he had formally and repeatedly promised me the publication should take place; that I had asked it because the English documents to which these were answers had been previously published in the same papers; that the Emperor had declared himself neutral between the United States and England; that he had offered them his mediation, which the United States had accepted. They had not merited any act of his Government indicating partiality against them; and if I consented now not positively to demand the publication of these papers, I should at least not expect to see any more extracts from the English newspapers, concerning their war with us, injurious to my country and its Government; that such paragraphs did even now appear.

He asked in what paper. I named the Invalid. He said he had no control over that paper, though it was under the control of the police; that the papers under his direction were the political part of the St. Petersburg Gazette, Russian and German, and the whole of the Conservateur Impartial; that there was a paragraph in that of this day, stating that there had been a bloody battle in Canada, in which three hundred English had totally defeated eight thousand Americans. It had appeared to him ridiculous and self-contradictory; a bloody battle and three hundred men was a contradiction in terms. But it was merely an extract from an article in a German gazette. I told him I had been going to mention that very article to him, together with that in the Invalid. He said that he would to-morrow give orders that nothing respecting the war between America and England should be published in either of those papers excepting the mere statement of military events.

Mr. Harris came, and brought me my book of papers relating to the mission extraordinary. He confirmed what Count Romanzoff told me last evening, that Mr. Gallatin, upon leaving this city, had put into his hands, together with some other papers, a letter to Count Romanzoff, the contents of which had been unknown to him; that the Count, last evening, had told him that it contained a request from Mr. Gallatin that he (the Count) would write to him, and transmit to him any official document that he might receive from the Emperor relative to the mission, and urging the ill effects it would have in America if the Envoys should return without any further communication from his Majesty; that the Count had desired Mr. Harris to tell Mr. Gallatin that he would with pleasure write to him about la pluie et le beau temps; but that he (Mr. Gallatin) must himself be aware that from the moment of his departure from St. Petersburg the Chancellor of the Empire could no longer write to him upon subjects relating to the mission; that I was the person through whom the communications were to be made, and to whom alone he could write. Harris says that Mr. Gallatin's expectation is confident of a reappointment upon the new commission for a direct negotiation.

4th. Mr. Harris called upon me this morning, and told me

that he should postpone his departure until next Tuesday. He brought me my letter-book of the joint mission, to which some additions are still to be made. I told him that before he went away there were two subjects upon which I thought it best to have some explanation with him. The first was to enquire whether he had formed a commercial connection with Mr. Lawrence Brown, an English merchant in this place; and if he had, whether he considered it as compatible with the office of Secretary to a Legation for negotiating peace. He said he had not; that Mr. Norman had formed, or was forming, some such connection with Mr. Brown, though he had told him this morning there were some difficulties in it of which they had not been aware; that he himself had told Mr. Brown that he could not think of any such connection previous to the peace; but as Mr. Brown had been unfortunate, and was a very worthy man, he had promised him that if the connection between Mr. Norman and him should take place, he (Harris), upon returning to America, would do everything in his power to promote their interests of a commercial nature. For he assured me that he did consider any commercial connection with a British subject as altogether incompatible with the office of Secretary to the Legation.

I told him I was satisfied with his positive assurance that he had formed no such connection; that I had asked the question not for the sake of prying into his private concerns, but because I had heard he had formed a partnership with Mr. Brown; and had the fact been so, I thought my duty to the public required me to give him my opinion that such a connection was not compatible with the office of Secretary to such a Legation, or at least that, during the existence of the Legation, it would interdict all correspondence whatsoever between him and his partners. He said he was fully sensible of that, and had declined any connection of that sort with Mr. Brown, and before that with Mr. Lewis.

The second object of my enquiry was, whether Mr. Bayard had ever said anything to him with regard to my disposition towards him. He said Mr. Bayard had once said to him, "Mr. Harris, I have reason to believe that Mr. Adams is no friend of

yours;" that he (Harris) had asked him upon what grounds he had formed such an opinion; that he had avoided particularizing, but had repeated he had very good reason to believe I was not friendly to him, or that he was no favorite in my family. All he would say further was, that I did not like Harris's politics, and that my motive for being unfriendly to him was, that he was the Secretary to the extraordinary mission instead of my nephew. Harris said that these suggestions had given him great pain; that, excepting on one occasion, which he had hoped would be forgotten, he was conscious of never having given me occasion to be unfriendly to him; that as to his politics, he could have none but those which favored the interests of his country, and that he had taken no step whatsoever to obtain the office of Secretary to the Legation.

I told him that I would deal with him in perfect candor. It was possible that, in conversation with Bayard, I might at some time have lightly said, "Harris is more of a Russian, or takes more pleasure in the success of the allies, than I do;" but that I had certainly never said anything to him which could warrant him making the inference that I was unfriendly to him, and that his imputation of the motive was as false as the insinuation itself; that I had never wished that my nephew should have had the appointment of Secretary to this mission; and if I had, I should never have been unfriendly to him (Harris) because he had been preferred. Mr. Bayard and I had formerly been in strong opposition to each other in the Senate of the United States. When he came here, one of my most earnest wishes was to harmonize with him. I had uniformly treated him with respect and attention. There had been no misunderstanding or variance between us; but he had repeatedly made attempts to injure Mr. Gallatin in my opinion, and I had now reason, since their departure, to believe that he had made similar attempts against me upon the mind of Mr. Gallatin; that he had quarrelled with Milligan, which had been the occasion of Milligan's leaving him; that he had asked him (Harris) to speak to Milligan and effect a reconciliation between them; that he had spoken to Milligan accordingly, but without success; that Milligan was so exasperated with what he thought

Bayard's ill treatment of him that he would listen to nothing. I said I had heard that Bayard had reported to him something said of him by Mr. Gallatin, with which he would naturally be displeased. He said that one morning Bayard said to him, "Mr. Harris, Milligan will tell you some conversation we had last evening about you;" that he had asked Milligan what it was; that Milligan had endeavored for some time to put him off, and said it was all mere joking; but on Harris's insisting, he had said that Mr. Gallatin the evening before at supper, being warm with wine (which Harris said he had never observed Gallatin to be, but which Milligan told him he certainly had been at that time), had said something about Harris and women—a mere trifle, which, as Milligan told it, was nothing but that Bayard himself had afterwards told it to him, and given it a turn which was certainly displeasing. Harris was not more explicit; but the conversation was this. Bayard asked Gallatin why Harris did not visit more intimately at Princess Michel Galitzin's. Gallatin answered that the Princess was a woman of too much sense to take notice of such men as Harris. "No, sir; it is such men as me that Princess Michel distinguishes by her notice." And this was the speech of Gallatin that Bayard was so studious of reporting to Harris.

I observed to Harris that I hoped never again to be placed in relations which would make it necessary to associate with Mr. Bayard; but as I possibly might, and should have reason to expect a continuance of his favors, like those I had learnt of since his departure, I asked of him (Harris) that should Bayard ever again report or insinuate anything to him, the tendency of which was to excite enmity or dissension between us, he would immediately inform me of it, and give me the opportunity of clearing it up. He solemnly promised that he would. I told him that I neither asked nor wished him to tell me anything else that Bayard might say to him of me, for I cared very little what a man capable of such conduct said or thought of me. I added that I had found no difficulty in getting along with Mr. Gallatin; and, excepting his last letter to Count Romanzoff, requesting the Count to correspond with him on the business of the mission, which the Count, as well as myself, had thought

a little singular, I had no cause to complain of him. Perhaps he might explain that. I had a much higher opinion of Mr. Gallatin's abilities than of Mr. Bayard's. Mr. Bayard was an eloquent speaker in a popular assembly; but of his abilities for anything else I had seen little evidence here. Mr. Gallatin's had struck me very powerfully in our conferences with Count Romanzoff, in his note upon the impressment of seamen, and in his letter to Mr. Baring.

Harris agreed with me, and said he had been surprised to see how weak and clumsy the papers drawn up by Bayard were. Gallatin, he said, had uniformly spoken well of me to him; only he had once hinted he thought I did not make show enough here in my living; that he (Harris) had told him that I lived to the extent of my salary, and Gallatin had said there was no chance that the Government would raise the salaries of the Ministers abroad during the war. I have noted down the particulars of this conversation with Harris, because they show the character of one of the men with whom I have been associated, and with whom it is possible I may be associated again. The public interest requires a suppression of all the feelings of resentment which his conduct deserves; but this record may serve as a monitor of circumspection to myself, if I should be destined ever to act with him as a public servant again.

7th. Mr. Harris came, and introduced to me Mr. Dobell, an Irishman, who resided several years at Philadelphia, and who now comes from China. He has travelled overland from Kamschatka upwards of ten thousand miles, sometimes on foot, carrying his baggage upon his back; sometimes floating down a river on a raft; sometimes drawn over the snow by dogs, and sometimes by reindeer—having experienced 37 degrees of cold by Réaumur's thermometer, which, he says, is sometimes at —45 at Irkutsk in Siberia. He left Canton in January, 1812, and Kamschatka in January, 1813. He is going, if he can obtain the permission, to the Emperor's head-quarters. I asked him what was the name of the present Emperor of China. He said it was Kai-King, a son of Kien-Long, and a very unworthy representative of that excellent monarch; that he has been ten or eleven years on the throne, and that since he reigns, the

revolts among the people of the provinces have become more frequent, and the pirates on the rivers more numerous and formidable, than they had ever been before. Mr. Dobell said he had once been completely plundered himself by pirates, under the command of a woman, and at another time had saved himself from others only by hard fighting.

9th. At noon I went with Mr. Smith to the palace, and attended the Empress-mother's Court. It was the Grand Duke Michael's birthday, and after the Court the Grand Dukes held a circle. They are going to the Emperor's head-quarters, but are afraid of arriving too late. They are to leave the city the seventeenth of this month. The Court was the thinnest and most deserted that I ever attended. Lord Walpole was the only other foreign Minister there, and was so much out of humor that he asked Mr. Narishkin, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, between the Court and the circle, how much longer we should have to wait, and told him that he was sorry he had not taken yesterday's Conservateur Impartial in his pocket, as he had not read it. The Duke de Serra Capriola and the Chevalier Bardaxi sent their excuses. How Count Maistre came to be absent was unaccountable. There was much conversation about Count Romanzoff, and much exultation at his fallen condition. Jouffroy said that he regretted it personally, because he had always treated him well. Lord Walpole said he regretted it, because he gave good dinners; and that was the only regret he had about it. I mentioned to Lord Walpole that I had heard Lord Castlereagh had written to Mr. Monroe proposing a direct negotiation, and had been gratified to hear it. He said he believed Castlereagh had written, in consequence of what he himself had written to him from this place, after his arrival here. I asked Lord Walpole what relation he was to the Lord Orford of Strawberry Hill. He said his relation was by the female side—that his grandmother was a daughter of Sir Robert Walpole's, and sister to Horace Walpole.

20th. At eleven this morning I went with Mr. Smith and attended the Te Deum. It was preceded by a mass, much to the annoyance of Lord Walpole, who told the Grand Master of

the Ceremonies that their religious services were "diaboliquement longs." The relation of the victory at Brienne was contained in a letter from the Emperor to his mother, which the Minister of War, Gortschakoff, read before the Te Deum commenced. It concluded by saying that the allied army was in the direct march upon *Paris*, a word which he pronounced with a strong emphasis. Count Maistre said, "Il a mis un bon accent sur Paris," and Lord Walpole answered, "J'espère qu'on y mettra bientôt *une bonne main*." I walked out before dinner, and saw the procession of sledges and carriages round the palace corner and square, and the crowds of people upon the river, which were uncommonly great. The Empress-mother was in the procession, and the hand-bill announcing the march of the allied armies upon Paris was circulating eagerly among the crowd.

23d. I received this morning a note from Count Romanzoff—a circular to the foreign Ministers, informing them that being unable, by reason of ill health, to perform for the present the duties of the Department of Foreign Affairs, he requests them in future to address their official communications to the Senator Weydemeyer, a member of the Department, until the Emperor shall make known his determination. I suppose this is to foreclose the mortification of any further notice of his dismission. I sent a short answer to his note, and presume that this will close all my diplomatic relations with him. They have all been, so far as depended upon him, of a pleasing nature. I esteem and respect his character, and consider the loss of his counsels as a serious loss to this empire.

25th. The weather continues fine, and the skies as clear as ever can be expected in this climate. I surveyed as much as I can see of them from my house, and reviewed almost every star that I have hitherto discovered. I found none new, but ascertained the side and left foot of Perseus, the head of Medusa, the foot and girdle of Andromeda, the armpits and knees of Boötes, and Mount Mænalus at his feet. I have hitherto sought in vain for the square of Pegasus, and the Dolphin. They are, in the evening, below the horizon, or so near it as to be concealed by its vapors. The Swan's-tail and Lyra never set. Jupiter hangs,

"like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear," between the Lion's heart and tail; but the most magnificent object of the night is the great square of Orion, with his splendid vicinity of Sirius, Procyon, Aldebaran, the Twins, and the Pleiades, moving majestically along, as they pass in the meridian before my chamber-windows, now between seven and ten in the evening. Manilius very justly remarks that a man who does not know this constellation need give himself no trouble about any others.

26th. Mrs. Adams had a visit from Countess Colombi, who told her that Baroness Koscull, alias Mrs. Hall, had commenced prophetess, or fortune-teller, and foretold so much that the Grand Master of the Police, Gorgoly, had paid her a visit and advised her not to be so knowing.

27th. Three. I rose at this early hour to have the benefit of seeing a clear sky without moonlight. I was able just to discern two of the stars of the sixth magnitude in the Lion. I spent two full hours at the chamber-windows on both sides of the house, and, besides all my former celestial acquaintance, recognized the Crow, Hercules, the head of Ophiuchus, and the star of the second magnitude in the first claw of the Scorpion, from my own chamber, and the Dolphin and Antinoüs from the front side of the house. The head and folds of the Serpent of Ophiuchus, down to the two stars at his hands, I saw very distinctly. I might have seen Antares by going into the street, but it was too cold. At five the day dawned, and all the stars of less than the first magnitude vanished, while I was seeking for the square of Pegasus. At precisely seven the sun rose. And from this time I shall have no inclination to inspect morning stars; at least before another winter. Six days and nights in succession of clear weather are so rare an occurrence in this country that I am not to expect it soon again.

March 5th. At nine o'clock this morning I went to the Institution of St. Catherine, and attended the examination of the young ladies who have completed their education there and are now about leaving the school. It was in all respects similar to that which I attended at the same place three years ago, excepting that the examination in experimental philosophy was omitted, the teacher in that department having been long

ill. The examinations in the German language, Arithmetic, French Literature, Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric were short. The most trying of the exercises was the translation of passages from a French book opened at random by the visitors, and of which a few sentences were read into Russian by several of the young ladies. The music and the dancing took up at least three-fourths of the time. The whole examination was finished about two in the afternoon. The works in embroidery, artificial flowers, carpet-work, and drawing were exposed as usual, and all done in the ordinary style of perfection. There was a cold collation served in one of the outer halls. Of the two most distinguished of the young ladies who exhibited, one was a French name, Mademoiselle Prévôt de Lumian, and the other a German, Engelbach. The first was most remarked for her beauty and elegant accomplishments. The other, less handsome, was nearly as conspicuous in the literary exercises, and surpassed all the rest in the specimens of needle-work, tapestry, and embroidery. The crowd, both in going and returning, was impassable; the heat oppressive. No other of the foreign Ministers was there but Lord Walpole.

6th. Read prayers for the second Sunday in Lent, and Massillon's Sermons, upon Les Écueils de la Piété des Grands. His doctrine, that the principles of Christianity apply to the government of states as much as to the conduct of individuals, is more congenial to my opinions than that of Paley, who maintains the contrary. Massillon's morals are discolored by religious bigotry; Paley's are infected with the poison of the world. Paley seems to think Christianity was a law made only to keep the peace between shoemakers, blacksmiths, and lamplighters. Massillon sees no Christianity out of the pale of the Church. Merciful God! in how many and how different shapes do the passions and vices of men disguise themselves to corrupt the purity of thy Word! Massillon and Paley are among the most distinguished defenders of the Christian cause; yet Massillon incessantly preaches unrelenting persecution to heretics, and Paley curtails the jurisdiction of Christianity within narrower bounds than that of a justice of the peace.

8th. Dr. Galloway was here this morning, and prescribed for

me a vial of Sacred Elixir. I am very unwell, and have strong symptoms of the jaundice; a lassitude which has almost, but not yet quite, suspended all my industry; a listlessness which, without extinguishing the love of life, affects the mind with the sentiment that life is nothing worth; an oppression at the heart, which, without being positive pain, is more distressing than pain itself. I still adhere, however, to my usual occupations. I feel nothing like the tediousness of time, suffer nothing like *ennui*. Time is too short for me, rather than too long. If the day were of forty-eight hours instead of twenty-four, I could employ them all, so I had but eyes and hands to read and write.

9th. Dr. Galloway visited me again, and now pronounces decisively that I have the jaundice. He also favors me with a prospect of its long continuance, and with a much deeper shade. He sat and conversed with me on literary subjects for more than an hour.

12th. Morning visits from the General of the Jesuits, Brzozowsky, and from Mr. Montréal. The good old father certainly has hopes of bringing me back within the pale of the Church, for he seldom slips an opportunity of urging upon me the doctrine of adhering or returning to the faith of our forefathers. I told him that principle would make us Jews or heathens. He was ready enough with his answer. They are so thoroughly bred to controversy that they can never be surprised in argument. And, as I wish to preserve the terms of good humor upon which we are, I forbear coming to the essential points, upon which the separation of the Churches ensued. I told the Father General that I was seeking instruction from the ornaments of his order, and showed him the folio volume on my table. He thought it was Bellarmin—it was Petau. Yes, he said, Petau was a great man, and so were Suarez, and five or six others whose names have escaped me. I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with any of them.

16th. Evening visits from Count Maistre and Mr. Lewis. The Count came to ask me to return the books he lent me, and principally Petau's Doctrina Temporum. The Count is a religious man, a Roman Catholic, with all the prejudices of

his sect. He is a great admirer of Malebranche, and has Locke and Condillac in horror. He thinks it a very sublime idea of Malebranche's, that God is the *place* in which spirits exist, as space is the place of bodies. So differently are the minds of men constituted, that this comparison conveys to my understanding no idea at all. It rather detracts from the idea I have of the Deity, because it takes away its most essential characteristic, *intelligence*. It draws closely to the absurdities of the Greek philosophers, who thought water, air, fire, and what not, God. The Count was particularly harsh upon Locke for his doctrine that we have no innate ideas. He insists that all our ideas are innate, and that a child can never learn anything but what he knows already. He expressed a very mean opinion of Locke's genius, and said he was the origin of all the materialism of the eighteenth century; that Condillac was the corrupter of France; that Kant, the German metaphysician, though an atheist himself, had gone far to demolish Locke's pretence that experience was the source of our ideas; and that there was now wanting only a *coup de pied* to demolish such fellows as Locke and Condillac altogether.

20th. I read Massillon's Sermon for Easter-day—on the Triumph of Religion. The sermon, like all the others in this collection of the Petit Carême, has no reference, and scarcely an allusion, to the festival upon which it was delivered. They are all moral and political discourses, preached in the presence of Louis XV. when he was a boy of nine years old. They are all upon the duties, the temptations, the vices, and the virtues of the great. Whether Louis was of an age to understand them, I know not; his life proved that, if he did, it was to little purpose. Instruction is lost upon fools. Mr. Lewis sent me this morning a letter he had just received, by the way of Holland, from Mr. Diamond, in London, dated 15th February. It says that the Fair American Cartel had arrived at Liverpool with letters from New York to 22d January, and with Nathaniel H. Strong as Consul at Gottenburg, who was bearer of dispatches for Mr. Bayard and me; that we, together with Mr. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Mr. Jonathan Russell, had been appointed to treat with the British Govern-

ment, upon the invitation of Lord Castlereagh, at Gottenburg; that Messrs. Clay and Russell would not sail from the United States until the 1st of April, that I might have time to reach Gottenburg as soon as they; that Mr. Strong was to embark in the next packet for Holland or for Gottenburg, as he should find most advisable, to meet me with diligence. This opens upon me a new prospect of futurity, and a new change in the scenery of life. Upon this change it becomes me to implore the blessing of Heaven, which can turn to good the most unpromising appearances, and, above all, which can preserve integrity and inspire wisdom, whatever turn it may have destined that the event should take.

25th. Continued my Chronological Dissertation and reading Sully's Memoirs, also Crabbe's Poems, lent us by Dr. Beresford. Sully has taken such hold on me that I shall read him through if I have time. Crabbe's colors are gloomy, but his picture of human life is true. His Parish Register gives views of the village very different from those of Goldsmith. He says that since the flood Auburn and Eden can no more be found. But there is a bright and a dark side to almost everything in this world. Goldsmith's picture shows only the sunshine of the village. Crabbe shows scarcely anything but the shade. His characters are drawn with strong and distinct features. His satire is sometimes as caustic as that of Juvenal—especially in the stories of Sir Richard Monday and the Lady of the Manor. I have long doubted the soundness of the *morals* involved in these dismal pictures of human existence. Crabbe is not quite so melancholy as Dr. Johnson. Both of them are too much so. Life in all its forms, high and low, has great, numerous, and exquisite enjoyments; it has also deep afflictions, oppressive cares, and sometimes overwhelming calamities. To show us nothing but its sorrows is to increase them, and it has no tendency to inspire us with gratitude to that Good Being by whose bounty life was given us as a blessing.

26th. Read the second book of Sully's Memoirs. I read them more than twenty years ago in the English translation, which is not a good one. I find them now more interesting, but want the original edition, to see what really belongs to

Sully and what to the Abbé de l'Écluse. Sully's education was imperfect, which I suppose was the reason why his memoirs were so immethodical and confused as to give rise to this transformation of them. He was presented in his eleventh year by his father to Henry IV., then King of Navarre, and attached himself to him from that time. It was just before Henry's marriage and the massacre of Saint Bartholomew; from which Sully escaped almost by a miracle. From that time he abandoned all study of the learned languages, but applied himself assiduously to mathematics, history, and the exercises that give strength and grace to the body. He was one of those beings so happily constituted by nature that, in reading his life, it seems as if virtue itself was a gift of God so entire as to take away all responsibility from human action. His personal courage had so much of rashness in it in his youth, that he must have perished on many occasions but for that unseen Spirit that protects the favorites of Heaven, which we call fortune. His presence of mind in the midst of danger was as great and extraordinary as his valor, and saved him on many occasions when others must have fallen. He had from his childhood a spirit of order and economy, which became one of the firmest pillars of his greatness, yet blended with a liberality which, on proper occasions, made with cheerfulness the greatest pecuniary sacrifices. His control over the passion of love was perhaps too complete, for he married, by the advice of his valet-de-chambre, one lady while he was deeply in love with another—merely because the lady whom he finally fixed upon was richer and of higher rank than the other. He and his father were both believers in judicial astrology, and were convinced he was to be a great man because it had been predicted. Indeed, from the instances he gives of his own genius and discretion in his infancy, the astrologers needed no supernatural light to foretell his future greatness. There was a stubbornness of resolution and perseverance in his composition which I believe indispensable to all truly great characters; but it sometimes betrayed him into faults, which he candidly acknowledges. There is one instance of it at the close of the first book, which arose upon a point of false honor, in which he gave great offence

to his master, and deeply aggravated it by persisting in it with what he himself terms insolent language. But his character and that of Henry IV. were so exactly adapted to each other that it was impossible for them to be permanently separated.

Among the reflections which arise from the perusal of this book, the mind can scarcely credit the strange and horrible picture of civil society which they exhibit—the rapid and continual alternations of peace and war; the mixture of debauchery and devotion, of marriage and massacre, of festive entertainments and pillaged cities; treaties made and broken every year; treachery, assassination, and poison, all upon the pretext of religion. Bad as is this age, that, I think, was worse.

28th. I read the third book of Sully's Memoirs, which attach my attention more and more. It is probably the most interesting book of the work, by the variety and importance of the events related in it: containing the deaths of the Prince of Condé and of Catherine of Medicis; the assassinations of the Duke and Cardinal de Guise by Henry III.; that of Henry III. himself by Jacques Clément; the final alliance of Henry III. and Henry IV. against the League; and the battles of Arques and of Ivry; the whole interspersed with many excellent moral and political reflections. The particulars respecting Sully himself are also curious and important. The death of his wife; his house shut up against him, while she was dying, by his own brother; the dangers he escaped from and the wounds he received at the battle of Ivry; his four prisoners, who surrendered themselves to him alone, and in the most forlorn condition; his quarrel with D'Andelot, a son of Coligny's, for the standard of the House of Guise, and the singular triumphal procession devised by his écuyer, Maignan, are all incidents so striking that I am surprised at having no recollection of them from my former perusal of the book.

29th. I read the fourth book of Sully's Memoirs; it introduces a new military personage and a great general, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, opposed to Henry IV. This book, like the rest, is full of instruction for a general and a statesman; but the best book in the world is like the pipe that Hamlet offers to Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern: it will discourse

excellent music only to those who know how to govern the ventages. Sully tells his story with candor, occasionally acknowledges his own faults, and even, though more gently, those of his master. One of Henry's faults was the rashness with which he exposed his person in action. A signal example of it is given in this book, at the affair which Henry used afterwards himself to call the *error* of Aumale. But I believe it impossible to acquire the reputation of courage, so indispensable to a military commander, without committing many such errors. On that occasion Henry must have perished, or at least been taken prisoner, which to him and his cause would have been the same thing, but for an error of the opposite kind, excess of prudence, in the Prince of Parma, who, thinking it impossible that Henry should expose himself as he was actually doing, suspected an ambuscade, and lost the opportunity of taking or destroying his enemy without danger and without possibility of failure. Yet the Prince of Parma was personally brave, and Henry's courage was tempered with sound judgment and discretion. He had vigilance, activity, and the natural faculty, improved by the study of Cæsar's and Scipio's lives, of seizing the critical moment and moving with rapidity. Sixtus V. said he could not fail of conquering Mayenne, because the *Béarnois* spent less time in bed than the other did at table. It was said of him, too, that he wore out more boots than shoes. Qualities all suited to form a great character. His temper, too, seems to have been expressly adapted to his situation. It would seem as if Sully was the only man who had ever any real attachment to his person. Between the Catholics and the Protestants, filled with all the furies against one another, he was obliged to share his favors, and his armies and his councils were composed of elements more at war with themselves than with his adversaries. His Catholic troops were ever ready to join his enemies on account of his religion, and the Protestants, for want of pay; while his financier, a treacherous Catholic, purposely kept his coffers drained to produce the mutinies which might hasten his ruin. Then the private ends, the selfish projects, the jealousies and rivalries of his principal officers and adherents, the unsteadiness of some, the imbecility of others, and the profli-

gacy of almost all, were such perpetual obstacles to his success that one can scarcely believe it possible that he should have surmounted them. He told Sully, after the battle of Ivry, that until then he had never been in a condition to form *designs*, that he had only felt *desires*. His greatest, or rather his only, vice, was his passion for women; which was so excessive that, in my mind, it casts a foul and indelible stain upon his character. It is, indeed, one of those vices for which mankind always had, and ever will have, great indulgence. But to men in such stations and placed under such circumstances as his, it is one of the most pernicious and fatal of vices. Whether it is so constitutional in some men, and was in him, as to be uncontrollable, I cannot undertake to say. But I can never consider the disgrace of a goat as the honor of a man. On the other hand, his good humor, his attachment to his friends, his humanity, his sacred regard to his word, are such admirable virtues, that it gives us a poor opinion of human nature to see how little they availed to gain him the affection even of his own partisans.

31st. I read the fifth book of Sully's Memoirs, which is at least equally interesting with any of the preceding books. It shows Sully as a great statesman and negotiator as well as a military character. Many of the incidents have an air of romance about them, which raises an involuntary suspicion that there is a little coloring added to the narrative. Yet they are told with such particulars of detail as have all the appearance of truth. Such is the account of his mine by which the castle of Dreux was taken, and that of his obtaining all the papers of secret negotiation between the Duke de Mayenne and Spain, and those of the third party, whose project was to raise the Cardinal de Bourbon to the throne and to get rid of Henry IV. by assassination. The characters of the Count de Soissons and of the Duke d'Épernon are well drawn; those of Jeannin, Villeroy, the Abbé de Bellozanne, and Cardinal Duperron, sketched with a masterly hand. Sully ascribes entirely to his own advice the King's change of religion, the resolution for which was first adopted upon mere motives of policy. This is a very delicate point in the estimate of Henry's character, and it is treated by Sully with great delicacy and circumspection.

He says he believes that Henry's conversion was in the last result sincere; that he finally came to the conclusion that the Catholic faith was the safest; but in the controversial discussion between the divines of the two sects which he attended to fix his creed, it was a tacit understanding on both sides that the Catholic doctors should have the best of the argument, and the Protestants had complaisantly consented to be defeated. Such jugglery in a matter of religion is not very creditable to any of the parties, and very disgraceful to the Protestant champions. It seems to me that both the wisdom and the virtue of Henry's apostasy are very equivocal. Had he firmly adhered to his first faith, the Protestant religion would have prevailed in France, and the intolerance, the persecutions, the monkish bigotry, and the perfidious tyranny of Louis XIV. would never have desolated that country. Yet it is hard to say that the measure was not indispensably necessary, when it was so considered by so sound a head and so firm a heart as Sully; an inflexible Protestant himself, yet the first to advise his master to that change in which he could never be prevailed upon to follow the example. One of the remarkable features of those times is the secrecy with which Henry was obliged to cover his confidence in Sully, who for many years was his most intimate friend and counsellor, without holding under him any office of apparent importance, and without being able to obtain the government even of the places taken by himself. They were obliged to appear in public upon the coldest and most distant terms of reserve, and Sully was habitually introduced to the King's apartment in the night, for the most important consultations, to elude the jealousy and envy of the Catholic nobles.

Day. My rising hour has been something more approaching to regularity this month than the last; but my health has been more infirm. My occupations generally the same, but affected much by the state of my health. My astronomical paroxysm has passed away, and my mathematical propensity must be postponed to a more convenient season. The prospect of a wandering life has again opened upon me, with a view of cares and duties which will probably for many months absorb all

my time and faculties. Never have I had more urgent necessity to implore the aid of the Divine Spirit to enable me to discharge those duties with zeal, energy, and fidelity; never more need of the guiding hand of that Being whose inspiration is wisdom and virtue, and who disposes of all events and controls the passions of men and the course of events. Merciful God! Thou knowest all my wants. Provide for them as to thy infinite wisdom shall seem meet; and, whatever issue thy providence has decreed to the purposes committed to my charge, grant that I may faithfully and entirely fulfil my duties to Thee and to my country.

April 1st. Mr. Nathaniel H. Strong this morning brought me dispatches from the Secretary of State—one addressed to Mr. Bayard and myself, the other to me alone; letters from Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, at Amsterdam, and one from Mr. Bourne, enclosing one from Mr. Beasley. The dispatch to Mr. Bayard and me, of which Mr. Bayard retained the original and enclosed to me a copy, directs us both to repair, immediately upon the receipt of it, to Gottenburg, there to enter upon a negotiation of peace with England, conformably to a proposal made by the British Government and accepted by that of the United States. Mr. Monroe intimates that there will be other American Commissioners; but his letter is dated 8th January, before the nominations were made. Mr. Henry Clay and Mr. Jonathan Russell were the persons ultimately appointed. Mr. Gallatin is not in the commission. Mr. Monroe directs me to leave the affairs of the United States here, in my absence, in the charge of Mr. Harris.

2d. I called upon Lord Walpole at one o'clock, the hour he had appointed, told him the order I had received to go to Gottenburg, and asked him if he could inform me whether commissioners on the part of Great Britain had been appointed. He said he could not; that he had received no dispatches from his Government of later date than 24th December. There are now twenty-two mails from England due. But, he said, by his last accounts from Stockholm, of the 23d of March, he learnt that some of the mails were landed; they might be expected every day. He had heard from private letters that George Hammond

had been appointed, but there must be others; he did not know who. Perhaps Mr. Foster might be one; but he could hardly conjecture who it would be. George Hammond was getting to be an old man; he must be near sixty, and he was very fat. I told him I had known Mr. Hammond from the year 1783, when he was secretary to Mr. Hartley, the British Commissioner, at the definitive treaty of peace; that he was then a student at Oxford, where I afterwards saw him; that he must be now about fifty-one years old. I mentioned the letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Monroe, proposing the direct negotiation, and told him I was surprised to find in it stated that Lord Cathcart's note to Count Nesselrode had been made known to the American Plenipotentiaries and they had answered the overture contained in it; that in fact no communication of it ever had been made to us; that, excepting what he, Lord Walpole, had told me of it, I never knew anything of this note until I found it yesterday in the printed documents I had received. He said he had no doubt that the knowledge of it had been purposely withheld from us, because if it had been communicated, Russia would have had nothing further to do with the matter; but Romanzoff had got into his head some wild and absurd project of a congress, and a maritime law, and he (Walpole) was as sure as he was of his own existence, and he believed he could prove it, that Romanzoff *had been cheating us all.* In the first place, the mediation had never been proposed to Great Britain until they were informed of the appointment of the American Ministers. When they received this information, Lord Cathcart was ordered verbally to decline the acceptance of it; which he did at Bautzen in June. The Emperor said, in answer to this, that he could have nothing further to do in the business; that he had written so to Romanzoff, and had ordered him to make the communication to the American Ministers. His answer to Lord Cathcart had been, "Well, I can do no more in the business; je m'en lave les mains." That Romanzoff, after receiving this order, instead of obeying it, had sent it back to the Emperor, with a project of his own, to renew the offer of the mediation; which the Emperor did afterwards approve, and the instruction to renew the offer of mediation

was sent to Count Lieven—*which he did*. That Romanzoff knew perfectly well the answer of the British Government, and he (Walpole) believed that he could produce proof of it which would be receivable in a court of justice, though he would not say so positively. That Romanzoff had told him so himself, that he knew it inofficially, and not otherwise. He pretended that the only knowledge he had of it was by a letter which General Moreau had written to Monsieur Gallatin, and which Monsieur Gallatin had shown to him, stating that Lord Cathcart had told Moreau the English Government had rejected the mediation. But Romanzoff must, forsooth, cling to his project of a maritime law. It was the folly of all the Russians. Ever since the year 1780, he did not believe there was a Russian breathing but was infected with this absurdity of maritime law. A maritime law by compact between one power and another was a very proper thing, and assuredly if there was a liberal maritime law in the world, it was that of the Treaty between England and Russia, and what could they want more? Yet even such men as Prince Czartorinski and Novosiltzoff (Czartorinski was undoubtedly a very superior man. Novosiltzoff was not; he was a very fair, honorable man, but he meant superior in talent), even they, some years ago, after a dispatch which had no concern or relation with the subject, "apropos de bottes," had added a postscript, saying that they hoped England would hereafter relax in her principles of maritime law. "Maritime law! Russia!" said my Lord, and reddened as he spoke, "why, Russia may fight us till she sinks, and she will get no maritime law from us; that is, no change in the maritime law. Maritime law submitted to a congress! What can there be upon earth more absurd?"[1]

I said that whatever Count Romanzoff's projects about maritime law might have been, he had never manifested to me the most distant idea of connecting them with this mediation; that the offer of mediation came from the Emperor himself; that Count Romanzoff told me it was made to England at the same time as to the United States; that it was merely as a common

[1] A signal example of English dogmatism, viewed in the later light of the present century, in Great Britain.

friend, anxious for the restoration of peace between the two parties, that the Emperor had made the offer. Not a syllable upon the subject of maritime law had ever been said to me by the Count throughout the whole transaction. However, I added, that much as I regretted the failure of this attempt to accomplish a peace, I hoped the issue of the new effort by direct negotiation would be more propitious.

Lord Walpole said he understood the expectations from it were very sanguine, both in England and in America. I said I had heard they were in America; and it was natural they should be, for an object that was so much desired.

He said that wherever the misunderstanding in the former case originated, it was to be regretted, for he was persuaded that had it not happened the peace might have been made eight months ago. He said he heard Mr. Russell was in the new commission—and he looked sour in pronouncing his name—and Mr. Clay—whom he did not know.

I told him that I had no official information of the names. Mr. Bayard and myself were ordered to Gottenburg, with intimations that other commissioners would be joined with us, and meet us there. I had heard that Mr. Russell was appointed Minister to Sweden, and he might be joined in the commission on that account. Mr. Clay, at the time of his appointment, was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States. I concluded by asking him, if he should receive any account of the appointment of British commissioners, to have the goodness to inform me of it, as it would hasten my departure if I saw a probability that they might soon be there. I should be sorry to make any person wait there an hour for me. He said if he heard of an appointment he would give me immediate notice; that he expected some of the mails every hour, and they could not be much longer delayed. He had told me that he himself had written Lord Cathcart's note to Nesselrode of 1st September; that he thinks it was written at Prague, the 23d or 24th of August, but not presented until they came to Töplitz. Our conversation was of about half an hour.

8th. Good Friday. Employed great part of the day in making the copy and translation of my official note to Mr. Weydemeyer.

I called at half-past eleven this morning to see him at the hotel of the Department of Foreign Affairs, being the time and place appointed by him. I found him with an excessively bad cough, and apparently some fever. He had my note in his hand, and was just reading it. I told him it would explain to him the subject upon which I had requested to see him. He assured me that he would immediately transmit the contents of my note to the Emperor, and was certain that his Majesty would receive with peculiar satisfaction the testimonials of continued friendship from the Government of the United States. He asked me whether I wished for an *audience* of the Empress-mother to take leave, or only to be presented to her for that purpose. I said that I wished in that respect precisely what was customary. He said that there was more ceremony in an audience, but as my absence was to be only temporary, and I expected to return, it was merely a presentation that was customary.

I told him that would be then what I should wish, and as I presumed there would be as usual a Court on Easter Monday, which is next week, I had supposed it might suit the Empress's convenience that I should take leave of her on that day, and had therefore sent him my note in season to obtain her Majesty's orders before that time. He promised to take care of it, and to give me seasonable notice of the time she should appoint. I mentioned to him that Mr. Harris was to be left here as Chargé d'Affaires; that I had written to him to give him notice of this arrangement, and that his return might be expected very shortly. I referred him also to the part of my note disavowing the answer stated by Lord Castlereagh to have been given by the American Envoys to the proposition of a negotiation at London or Gottenburg, made in Lord Cathcart's note to Count Nesselrode, dated 1st September, 1813, at Töplitz. He said he would not fail to make the Emperor acquainted with it.

11th. At twelve o'clock I went with Mr. Smith to the Winter Palace, and attended the Te Deum for Marshal Blücher's victory, and the taking of Rheims par assaut; and the Cercle Diplomatique afterwards held by the Empress-mother. It had been preceded by the mass, which we did not attend. The foreign Ministers were there, excepting the Chevalier Bar-

daxi and Captain Guedes. When the mass was finished, the foreign Ministers were introduced into the chapel for the Te Deum; in the performance of which there was a variation from the customary manner. The kneeling was omitted. They said it was always so at Easter-time; but last year there was a Te Deum at the Kazan, Easter Tuesday, when they knelt as usual. We withdrew from the chapel just before the Te Deum closed, to be ready in the Salle du Trône for the cercle. I was presented to take leave by Prince Tuffakin. The Empress asked me several questions about my journey, wished it might be pleasant, and hoped to see me soon again, etc. I offered to take her Majesty's commands, if she had any, for that country, which she received graciously, and with thanks. It was a kiss-hands Court, which Count Maistre forgot, and then was "au désespoir" at his inattention. We waited as usual some time after the cercle, to go to the Grand Duchess Ann's apartments. Lord Walpole, to repose himself, literally lay down on the steps of the throne. There are no chairs in that hall, I suppose because it is not of etiquette to be seated there.

I was presented to the Grand Duchess, to take leave, by her écuyer, Count Soltykoff. Her questions were much the same as those of the Empress-mother. But she asked me whether I intended to go through Sweden or through Germany, at which Jouffroy, the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires, was much diverted. She told Jouffroy that he must feel very happy to be the countryman of such a hero as Marshal Blücher. She spoke to Lord Walpole, too, about the hero Wellington. Like other young ladies, she is a great admirer of heroes. As there is no abundance of Neapolitan heroes, she always speaks to the Duke de Serra Capriola in Italian. In general there was not quite so much triumph and exultation at this Court as there has been at the preceding Te Deums these eighteen months. Count Maistre, whose son is aid-de-camp to General Wittgenstein, and was wounded with him at Bar-sur-Aube, was much dejected. He said that we were singing a Te Deum for some cannon, but that the allies had suffered considerable defeats and great losses; that we should see the Moniteur; that the resistance was greater than had been expected; that there were divisions

among the allies, etc. Yet they are advancing again on all quarters, and are almost at the gates of Paris. The real truth is that the French are not in force to resist them. Princess Woldemar Galitzin was at the Te Deum, not knowing that her grandson, young Count Strogonoff, has been killed, though it has been known all over the city these ten days. Count Maistre was informed only by accident of his son's being wounded, and that it was but slightly. He mentioned it to the Empress, who offered to transmit letters to or from him. "Vous savez," said she, "que j'ai d'excellens Commissionnaires à l'armée à présent. J'ai quatre fils à l'armée, and it gives me many a moment of heartache." As she went away, I said to the Count, "Bella matribus detestata." "Ay," said he, "but for her sons there is no great danger; though, to be sure, the ball that killed Moreau might have struck the Emperor." After we had been at the Grand Duchess's Court, we went to the apartments of the Duke and Duchess of Würtemberg, and were written down. The Duke was present at the Te Deum. He commanded at the siege of Dantzic.

17th. This is, regularly, the last of the Easter holy-days, but this year they are to be continued two or three days longer, by order of the Empress-mother, in rejoicing for new and great victories obtained by the allies over Napoleon, of which the news was brought by a courier this day. The weather was fine and warm, and the crowds of people, on the walks and in the squares, great.

18th. There was a Te Deum at the Kazan Church for the late victories of the allies; but, having taken leave at Court, I received no notice to attend it. I had a morning visit from Baron Blome, who mentioned to me the particulars of the last actions, in which Rapatel was killed with a bayonet in sight of the Emperor. Napoleon is reduced to the last extremity, and his fate cannot be much longer delayed. In the evening the whole city was illuminated.

20th. About two o'clock this afternoon one of the palace couriers came in great haste to congratulate me on the taking of Paris. An estafette had just arrived to the Empress-mother with the news. The reports in circulation afterwards through

the day were various. The estafette came from the Governor of Königsberg. The news to him was from the military Government at Berlin, and to them from Field-Marshal Blücher, who took the city on the 29th of March.

23d. Count Romanzoff appointed eleven o'clock this morning to see me, and at that hour I called upon him and took leave of him. I had about an hour's conversation with him, embracing a variety of political topics, but chiefly of a general nature. He spoke much of his retirement, and told me he had written again to the Emperor, asking him to accept his resignation; that on the one hand he was grateful to the Emperor for his kindness in the reluctance he showed to dismiss him, but on the other he thought he had some "petites reproches à lui faire," for having withheld now for a full year his compliance with his request. He said the Empress-mother had sent him word that the courier with the news of the taking of Paris was not arrived; but there was an estafette from the Duchess of Weimar, confirming the accounts first received from Königsberg, and with further details. The Emperor Napoleon was said to be at Joinville with seventy thousand men, and the Emperor of Austria had retired to Dijon, with all the Quartier-Général Diplomatique.

I said I supposed the war might be considered as finished. The Count replied that, with regard to Paris, all was finished; but if Napoleon was still supported by the army, he thought the recent events rather retarded than advanced the end of the war. If all Greece demanded to be delivered from the Minotaur, he would be killed, and then the affair might be finished. At Bordeaux, the people had declared for the Bourbons. In Brittany and Normandy there were said to be insurrections in their favor. The Comte d'Artois had been at Nancy, and complained that the people in those provinces, who only asked for arms to support the Bourbon cause, had not received them. But he (the Count) knew that since then arms had been sent to them from England, not many indeed, because England, who furnished them to all the world, had exhausted herself of her stock in hand, though not of the means of supplying more in future. But at Paris, the place had capitulated. The Senate

were to assemble to form a Constitution, and the Emperor Alexander, in the name of all the allies, had declared they would not interfere with their deliberations. But the people had manifested nothing *but silence*. It was said they had assumed the white cockade, but that they would of course do in the presence of the allied armies. It was necessary to see what would be the consequences. If there was to be a civil war in France, then war was not yet near its end. It was not a month since the English newspapers stated that Austria had declared she would change sides with a hundred and fifty thousand men if the allies attempted to dethrone Napoleon, and that the Emperor Alexander had informed the British Government that it was with the greatest pain he had been obliged to agree to the preliminaries at Châtillon. And the English ministerial prints published this as the justification of their Government for assenting to the same. Even now the last Berlin gazettes stated that the Emperor of Austria had been received with the greatest acclamations of joy by the people at Dijon, because he was the *father of the Empress*. It appeared that Austria had, however, been prevailed upon by eloquence, or rather by the force of circumstances, to change her policy, for the Emperor Alexander had declared at Paris, in the name of all the allies, that he never would make peace with Napoleon, or with any of his supporters. From all this the Count's conclusion was, that the prospects of a general peace were uncertain ; at least, he saw no appearance that a state of tranquillity was to be expected; and, as I expressed some anxiety to reach as speedily as possible the place of my destination, he said he thought we should lose no time and no chance of eventual success in the negotiation by delay. In my own opinion it makes no difference. The Count hinted that he thought it not improbable that Bonaparte might pass over into Italy and make a stand there, where, he said, it appeared the people remained faithful to him. But in reality the only chance remaining to him is, how and when he shall be killed—a few days sooner, or a few days later. The Count also spoke of Spain, of Holland, of Hanover, of the marriage between the hereditary Prince of Orange and the Princess Charlotte of Wales, of another mar-

riage which he said was likely to take place between the Duke of Cambridge and the Princess of Solms, the late Queen of Prussia's sister, whose present husband, the Prince of Solms, treats her very ill and has become a common sot. So she is to be divorced from him and to marry the Duke of Cambridge; upon which one of the Count's friends had written him that she was going to exchange a drunkard for a man that gets drunk.

I was speaking of the prospect that the progeny from the English marriage might unite the sovereignty of Great Britain with that of Hanover and of Holland; but, he said, Hanover could not descend to or through a female, and must pass to the younger sons of the present King of England, and that Holland was also to be settled upon the younger son of the present Prince of Orange. But, he added, Holland was a country divided in sentiment, friends and enemies of the House of Orange, and not likely to be quiet or contented under the new Government that may be formed. Spain also had a prospect of uneasy and turbulent futurity. He read me from an English newspaper some late occurrences at the Cortes on the approach of Ferdinand the Seventh, and the arrangements making for his reception. But, he said, they had made a new Constitution in Spain, and a King of Spain now would be a very different personage from a King of Spain heretofore.

I concurred with the Count in most of these opinions, but not in his conclusions. I spoke to him of the note I had sent to Mr. Weydemeyer, and which he told me he had not seen. I mentioned my disavowal of the answer stated by Lord Castlereagh to have been given by the American commissioners at St. Petersburg to the overture in Lord Cathcart's note of 1st September. The Count said he had never received any such note as that of Lord Cathcart. He was surprised to hear that it was addressed to Count Nesselrode. Indeed, he had been informed otherwise, that Count Nesselrode had meddled with the foreign affairs (s'étoit mêlé des affaires étrangères), and he supposed Lord Walpole had written to Lord Cathcart reports of conversations, loose and inofficial, from which these assertions of Lord Castlereagh might have arisen. All this proceeded from the double mode of transacting business—here through

one channel, and at head-quarters through another. But he (the Count) had always been frank and explicit with us. Another might have shuffled and equivocated, and, as was customary both in England and France, left our notes three or four months unanswered. That was not his way of doing business; he had told us at once and immediately that he had received nothing from the Emperor on the subject, and the Emperor had forbidden Count Nesselrode to write him anything, except merely to transmit official documents to him. If we had ever answered as Lord Castlereagh pretended, let them produce our answer. It must be in writing, for nothing but a written document could be such an answer. It was clear enough there was none such to produce, for we had more than one note from him, signed by him, and declaring that he had no communication from the Emperor, which we could answer. As to the pretence that we had expressed our desire that this business might not be mixed with the affairs of the continent of Europe, it was absurd, since nothing had ever been said of mixing those things together.

I told him that my colleagues and myself had been much surprised to see these statements, and I in particular, when I compared Lord Cathcart's note, dated 1st September, 1813, with the letter from the Emperor to him (the Count), dated 8th September, 1813, O. S., and therefore twenty days after the note, and which he (the Count) had shown me.

The rest of our conversation was about Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, Clay and Russell, Harris and Todd. He asked me when I expected Mr. Harris would arrive here, and desired me to write to Harris that when he should come he must call upon him. On taking leave of the Count I thanked him for all his civilities to me, and he answered with his usual politeness. I told him I hoped still to see him again at the head of the Emperor's Councils; which he by no means admitted, but of which I think he is not himself without hopes. We soon after met Count Litta, who told us there was this morning an estafette from the King of Würtemberg, further confirming the taking of Paris. It was a good, a great, and a happy piece of news; for everything had passed quietly, and the greatest of all was the

declaration by the Emperor Alexander, alone, but speaking in the name of all the allies. This was very proper, because he was the one in whom the greatest confidence was to be placed. The courier was still expected, but at Berlin they had already had their firing of cannon and their illuminations. It was Count Schwerin that had carried the news there. Mr. Bardaxi told me his news from Spain, brought by a courier to him yesterday. It was the same Count Romanzoff had told me. Mr. Bardaxi said that Bonaparte's system was too violent; it could not stand. He had committed two great faults—the war with Spain, and the war with Russia. He had ruined Spain. But Spain would be indebted to him for her liberty and her happiness. Without him Spain would never have been free; and now within ten years Spain would astonish the world by the wisdom of her institutions. I thought these opinions all sufficiently correct, excepting the last.

25th. As I was going this morning with Charles to school, we heard on the quay the report of fifty cannon from the fortress, announcing the arrival of General Golenischtcheff Koutouzof, the official courier, with the news of the taking of Paris by the allies on the 31st of March.

27th. I was employed the whole day in packing up and preparing for my departure. Mr. Smith attended the Te Deum for Paris. I did not attend, it being the rule of etiquette not to appear in the presence of the Empress after having taken leave. The notice for the last preceding Te Deum was not even sent me. I supposed this one was sent for Mr. Smith. I was likewise so busy with my preparations that I could not conveniently spare the time. I went out, however, in the evening, to see the illuminations, which were universal, and some of them splendid. The most brilliant of all were those at the fortress. It was very cold, and the wind blew so strong that all the designs of illumination were baffled in the execution; for before any one of them was completely lighted, half the lamps were blown out. In many places where expensive preparations had been made they totally failed. At others the lamplighters were constantly employed in relighting the extinguished lamps, but the wind blew out faster than they could

light. There were some transparencies, but none remarkable for ingenuity. The letter A was repeated in thousands of forms, and there were a few Russian, Latin, and French mottoes. The crowd of carriages, and of people walking in the streets, was very great. It was near one in the morning when we returned home.

28th. I had finally fixed upon this day for my departure on the journey to Gottenburg, and was employed from the time of my rising until half-past one P.M. in finishing my preparations. I had visits during the morning from Mr. Hurd, Mr. Norman, and Mr. Montréal; the last of whom informed me that a courier had this morning arrived from the Emperor with the news that Napoleon Bonaparte, on having the decree of the French Senate notified to him, declaring that he was cashiered, had immediately abdicated the throne, and thus that the war is at an end. With this prospect of a general peace in Europe I commenced my journey to contribute, if possible, to the restoration of peace to my own country. The weight of the trust committed, though but in part, to me, the difficulties, to all human appearance insuperable, which forbid the hope of success, the universal gloom of the prospect before me, would depress a mind of more sanguine complexion than mine. On the providence of God alone is my reliance. The prayer for light and vigilance, and presence of mind and fortitude and resignation, in fine, for strength proportioned to my trial, is incessant upon my heart. The welfare of my family and country, with the interests of humanity, are staked upon the event. To Heaven alone it must be committed. That my duty may be performed in sincerity, with fervent zeal and unsullied integrity, is my heart's desire and prayer to God. And let his will be done.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NEGOTIATION FOR PEACE.

April 28th, 1814. At half-past one o'clock, afternoon, I left my house, after taking leave of Mr. and Mrs. Smith. My dear wife and Charles came with me to Strelna, the first stage, where we dined together, at the post-house opposite the Grand Duke Constantine's summer palace. At half-past four I embraced them, and committed them to the protection of a kind and gracious Providence, and proceeded on my journey with my servant, Axel Gabriel Gählroos, a native of Abo, in Finland, whom I have engaged to go with me.

Stages.	Wersts.	Paid. R. C.	Time of Arrival.	Departure.
From St. Petersburg...	.....	.....	.....	28th April, 1.30 P.M.
To Strelna	18	34.01	3.30 P.M.	" 4.30 "
Kipene	23½	5.45	6.45 "	" 7.30 "
Koskova.....	19	4.55	9.30 "	" 10.15 "
Czerkovitz.....	21	4.95	29th April, 1.15 A.M.	" 2.00 A.M.
Opolié	22½	5.25	" 5.00 "	" 5.30 "
Jamburg	15	3.75	" 7.00 "	" 7.45 "
Narva.....	22½	5.25	" 10.35 "	" 11.30 "
Waiwara.....	20	7.75	" 2.45 P.M.	" 3.45 P.M.
Chudleigh.....	17	4.15	" 5.30 "	" 6.15 "
Jeva.....	11	4.05	" 7.30 "	" 8.00 "
Wargle.....	20	6.75	" 10.15 "	30th April, 6.00 A.M.
Hohenkreutz.....	22	7.35	" 8.30 A.M.	" 9.00 "
Pedrous.....	23	7.65	" 12.30 P.M.	" 1.00 P.M.
Loop.....	21	7.05	" 3.45 "	" 4.50 "
Kahal	22	7.35	" 7.15 "	" 8.00 "
Jegelicht.....	23	7.65	1st May, 1.00 A.M.	" 8.00 A.M.
Reval.....	21	7.05	" 11.00 "	

This table contains the itinerary of my journey from St. Petersburg to Reval. Upon my application to Mr. Weydemeyer, he sent me a passport for myself and my servant, with a

sealed letter to General Wiasmitinoff, the Military Governor of the city, which I sent yesterday to him, on which he furnished me the *padorojna*, or order for post-horses. The order was for four courier horses, and was to be exhibited to the postmaster at every station. It mentioned that the road was from St. Petersburg to Reval, that it was three hundred and forty-one wersts, the horses to be paid for at the rate fixed by the ukazes, and that twenty-seven roubles, twenty-eight copecks, that is, eight copecks per werst, was paid for this padorojna. For the horses, the first stage to Strelna, the charge was seven copecks for each horse per werst, and the rest of the road five copecks per werst and horse. At each stage I paid fifty copecks to the postilion and twenty-five copecks to the starost, or peasant who furnished the horses. They were all satisfied with this, and never asked for more. I have marked down in the table the legal payments at each stage, including the seventy-five copecks to the postilion and starost. The first stage also includes the twenty-eight roubles for the padorojna, the Governor's clerk, who made it out, having kept the odd copecks for himself. My actual payments were in some instances more than I have here set down, but the difference was a mere trifle. I have also marked the time of my arrival at each stage, and of my departure from it, which will show the average rate of travelling, and the time of detention, at each post-house, for the horses. It was never less than half an hour, and seldom much more, excepting when I stopped to take some refreshment, or to have the wheels of the carriage greased. I found the roads this evening excessively rough. The snow was gone almost universally. The frost had come out of the ground, making the roads deep, and they were now frozen hard again. The weather was cold, but the night clear and with a moon nearly at the full. I concluded therefore to travel the whole night. At Koskova I remarked the conjunction of the moon and Jupiter.

29th. At the two stages from Koskova to Opolié, which I travelled between one and five o'clock this morning, there was still some depth of snow, and the roads were worse than upon any other part of the road. I breakfasted at Jamburg, and

crossed the river Luga there, about nine. The road to Narva, from the river, is in a straight line, and fine as a turnpike. The post-house at Narva is without the city, which I therefore did not enter. Crossed the river Narova just below it. The circumstance of the post-house's being without the city, I suppose is the cause that two wersts more are charged for on the stage which enters the city from either side. But when the traveller does not enter the city, as was my case, they do not charge the additional wersts for both stages. I crossed the river just at noon, under the salutation of thirty or forty guns, which, on enquiry, I found were fired in rejoicing for the taking of Paris. At the post-office at Chudleigh the name was painted upon the door of the house. The place is grossly misspelt on the post-map and in the books. I asked the postmaster how it came by its English name. He said that the estate upon which it was built had been purchased by the Duchess of Kingston, and that she had long resided at the château, in view of the place where we stood, and which he pointed out to me. I met here a traveller, almost the only one I had seen upon the road, with the exception of two couriers, one last night, and one this morning; and both beyond Narva, towards St. Petersburg. This traveller asked me if there was any late news from the armies at St. Petersburg. I told him of the taking of Paris. He said he knew that, but shook his head, and said he feared the worst danger was yet to come. I had neither time nor inclination to enquire into the motives of his fears, and wished him a pleasant journey. The same postmaster at Chudleigh gave me and charged me for six horses instead of four, which from St. Petersburg to that place had been sufficient for me. Several of the preceding starosts had indeed spoken of six horses, but Mrs. Colombi had told me her husband had never travelled in it with more than four; and I knew not that more than four were required by the ordinances. This postmaster had the printed ordinances suspended at the wall of the room where I waited for the change of the horses. They were dated in 1801, 1808, and 1812,—the last at Wilna. It regulates the price to be paid for the horses, at five copecks for each horse per werst, in this and the neighboring governments. It had been previously

only three copecks per werst, and before the paper currency, only two. The ordinance of 1808 prescribed the number of horses to be taken and charged for every sort of carriage, from two horses to ten. The number for each kind of vehicle is increased by one or two at the two seasons of the year when the roads are broken up. Thus, the two-seated coach, with trunks, and two or three persons, takes four horses from 15th of December to 15th of March, and from 15th of May to 15th of September. During the rest of the year the same carriage and burden must take six horses. My carriage is of this description, and in the heavy parts of the roads really needed the six horses.

The breed of these horses is peculiar to the country. They are very small, very wretched in appearance, and very weak, which last quality must be owing to their bad keeping. For they are hardy, they endure the extremities of the cold as if it was their natural temperature, and they are fleet. The prices charged for horses is lower than in any other country in Europe, and they exact much more from travellers who have not the padorojna for courier horses. It has not even been increased in proportion to the depreciation of the paper, for two copecks in silver are equal to eight of copper or paper. We arrived at Wargel between ten and eleven in the evening. The weather had changed, and it began to snow; I determined, therefore, to stop for the night, and had my bed made in a room which they allowed me at the post-house.

30th. They gave me a breakfast of very good coffee and rye bread. The postmaster attempted to charge me nearly double the fixed price for his horses, but desisted upon my asking him for an explanation. At six I entered the carriage. There had fallen so much snow in the night that the ground was entirely covered. It continued to snow at intervals all the first part of the day. In the afternoon it cleared away, but still continued very cold.

In the course of the day I read the pamphlet upon expatriation sent me by Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State. Mr. Strong told me it was written by Mr. George Hay, who married Mr. Monroe's daughter. The author appears to me to have proved beyond all possibility of reply the falsehood,

absurdity, and tyranny of the doctrine of perpetual allegiance. But I cannot altogether reconcile myself to his doctrine of the unqualified right of expatriation. I consider the social compact as bilateral—allegiance and protection as reciprocal and corresponding obligations of the subject and sovereign. But it is a compact, and I cannot think it dissoluble at the mere pleasure of either party. I also began this day to read Clark's Naval History of the United States. Stopped about an hour and dined at Loop. I had proceeded about four wersts from Kahal, the last stage but one before Reval, when, between eight and nine in the evening, my servant discovered that the crane-neck of the carriage was broken entirely off. We proceeded with much difficulty about three wersts further, to the next village, where, with the assistance of several peasants, the broken parts of the carriage were lashed together; so that we were able between midnight and one in the morning to reach the post-station at Jegelicht. On descending from the carriage, we found that the first accident had occasioned a second and more serious one. My servant's portmanteau, containing all his clothes and all the money he had, was lashed on in front of the carriage and under his own seat. After the carriage was broken it became necessary to remove it, and he lashed it on the trunk behind. When we arrived at the station, it was gone. Whether the ropes which had held it were cut away, or had been worn off by the friction, was not perfectly clear. We had seen no person upon the road, and Axel thought he had seen his portmanteau still on the trunk about eight wersts behind the post-house. I stopped here until the morning, to give him time to go back and see if he could find it on the road. The mail for St. Petersburg from Reval was going through about two hours after, and I wrote by it a few lines to my wife. I then had my mattress thrown upon a sofa, and lay down, without being able to sleep, from two until about six in the morning.

Day. Until the last three days, the distribution of my time has been like that of the preceding months; but my principal occupation has been to prepare for the journey which I have now commenced. At present there can of course be no regularity in my mode of life. The scene changes from day to day

and from hour to hour. I have become once more a wayfaring man, and am separated from every part of my family. Before the close of the next month I hope to be again stationary, at least enough so to resume an orderly disposal of my time.

May 1st. About seven this morning my servant returned from his expedition back in search of his portmanteau, which had been fruitless. The postmaster promised to have it advertised this day at the village church, and to have it forwarded to Reval if it should be found. At eight o'clock we proceeded on our journey, and just before eleven entered the gates of Reval. I was met almost at the gate by Mr. Walther, the son-in-law of Mr. Rodde, and by Mr. Riesenkampf, his partner. They conducted me to the apartments they had engaged for me in the Langstrasse, at the house of a tailor named Dahlström. The chambers are perfectly convenient, pleasantly situated, and neatly furnished. They had written yesterday to the postmaster at Jegelicht, requesting him to inform me on my arrival there where the lodgings were provided for me; which he did. As I entered the city, all the bells were ringing, and the streets were in a tumult of rejoicing for the taking of Paris and the subsequent events, which were known here just as I had left them at St. Petersburg; with the addition, that the peace was already concluded at Paris. There had already been here two successive illuminations, and this evening was to be the third. I had scarcely had time to change my clothes before three young gentlemen came, as a deputation from the club of the young merchants, and invited me to attend this evening their celebration of the late glorious news from the armies. Mr. Walther also invited me to go with him in the evening to the theatre, where there was to be a musical celebration of the same events. At six he called upon me again, and I went with him to the theatre. It is larger than either of the theatres now remaining at St. Petersburg, and was built about four years ago under the direction of Kotzebue, who was then an inhabitant of this city. His family are still here, but he is himself now Russian Consul at Königsberg, in Prussia. The celebration of the Emperor's victories and the taking of Paris was a musical performance, sung by all the singers belonging to the theatre, and

was followed by a German translation of "La Revanche," which I had seen performed in French at the Duke de Vicence's when he was Ambassador at St. Petersburg. After the play I went with Mr. Walther to the club of the young merchants to which I had been invited. It is a sort of a Dutch coffee-house, where there was an assembly of people drinking, smoking, and playing cards. The institution has existed upwards of a century, and was formed under the Swedish Government. All the young merchants as soon as they finish their apprenticeship are obliged to become members of the society, which is a corporation, and has several privileges conferred by Peter the Great —among which is that of wearing a uniform, in which all the marshals were dressed on the present occasion.

About eleven o'clock this evening, the city being illuminated, they made their procession by torch-light, with a band of instrumental music and of singers, thundering the principal Russian national air. The marshals in full uniform, preceded by the music, vocal and instrumental, and followed by the members of the society, marched out with a bust of the Emperor Alexander, followed by one of the marshals, carrying a crown of laurel upon a velvet cushion. They proceeded to the public market-place, and there, in the presence of all the people, placed the crown of laurel upon the head of the bust, with three times three huzzas of the whole multitude. They then returned to the hall of the society, and replaced the bust, crowned with laurel, on its former stand. They were preparing the supper-table, when, it being past midnight, I retired to my lodgings, and there immediately to bed.

2d. I was awaked this morning at seven by a band of music in the street before my door, and the closing procession of the club, the marshals and members of which were dispersing and retiring to their homes in the plenitude of their festivity. I employed the morning in writing. At eleven Mr. Walther called on me and went with me to visit Admiral Spiridoff, the military governor of the city. The civil governor, Count Exkull, is sick; so that I postponed my visit to him. Towards evening, I walked with Mr. Walther to the Dome—a hill upon which stands the castle of the city, and from which there is a

fine prospect of the harbor and gulf, with the neighboring islands and the country round the city. The remainder of the evening I passed at my lodgings, writing. I made few remarks on my journey from St. Petersburg, the natural character of my mind being more adapted to reflection than to observation.

The face of the country at this season presents very little to the observation of any one. It is generally level, though between Narva and this city there are a few hills; one of the highest is within three wersts of the walls. The country is an open champaign, without wood, without hedge, ditch, fence, or wall the greatest part of the way. The exceptions of fence, wall, and wood are occasional, and to a very small extent. The road runs the whole way very near the Gulf of Finland, and at several places in sight of it. There was not an appearance of vegetation about half the way; but the latter half, the rye was two or three inches out of the ground, and caused a perceptible and pleasant verdure. From the day before yesterday morning until noon the whole ground over which I passed was covered with snow, which had fallen the preceding night; but as I advanced, and after the sky cleared away, it all disappeared. I saw scarcely any cattle on the way. The principal cultivation of the country is rye, and there is little or no pasture or grazing land. Excepting the city of Narva, there is no town on the road. Very few country-seats, not many comfortable houses. The post-houses all belong to the Crown. Until Narva, they are large brick white plastered houses, but standing, for the most part, alone, without even a village around them. They have no accommodations as inns, but you may obtain at most of them a dirty bed, and very good coffee, milk, cream, and sugar; no wheat bread, and not always rye. The villages are scattered about at the distance of three or four wersts from each other. They consist of twenty or thirty block-houses, scattered in spots, without yard, fence, or road before them, about twelve feet high, with thatched roofs, often without any chimney, and with the smoke issuing from a hollow passage between the eaves of the roof and the side of the house: they have more the appearance of barns than of dwelling-houses. In some of the villages there is a small brick church with a low steeple; in

most of them none. The peasants all wear the Russian dress, the caftan, and beard. The postmasters all speak German, and have the German dress and manners. I took, as is customary, a bag with twenty-five roubles in copper, to pay away in change upon the road, which just lasted me to Reval. They have scarcely any small change upon the road, but have small cards printed, which pass from stage to stage, for one rouble, half or quarter of a rouble, according as they are marked. They pass, however, only at the stages, and not in the city.

3d. Admiral Spiridoff this morning sent me an officer requesting me to send him my passport; which I did. The same officer, about a quarter of an hour afterwards, brought it back to me. The Admiral soon after paid me a morning visit and invited me to dine with him to-morrow. Mr. Walther came with Captain Brinkman, the master of the vessel bound to Stockholm, with whom I agreed to take my passage and to pay him thirty ducats for myself, my servant, and my carriage. I was much engaged, and almost the whole day, in writing. Took a short walk round the city before dinner, and in the evening went to the theatre; where I saw the opera of Jean de Paris in German. The French author is St.-Just, the German translator Herklots, and the music by Boieldieu. The performance was very good, and the company appears to me generally better than that of the German players at St. Petersburg. The ice has this day broken up, and the harbor is clear. Captain Brinkman told me he expected to go on Sunday or Monday. He cannot venture to go sooner, because the ice is still in the gulf, and by a westerly wind may yet be driven back. Mr. Walther told me that the *official* news of the taking of Paris and the order for a Te Deum had arrived this day from St. Petersburg, so that the regular day of rejoicing and the Te Deum would be to-morrow.

4th. Employed the day in writing and copying, for which purpose I resumed the practice of writing in short-hand. I have so long disused it that I find myself awkward at recommencing, and for the present save no time by it. Until the hour of dinner, I left my writing-desk only to breakfast and dress. At one o'clock Mr. Walther called upon me, and we went and

dined at Admiral Spiridoff's. There were about twenty persons at table; among whom was General Benkendorf, formerly Governor of Riga, and father to Countess Lieven, wife of the Russian Ambassador in England. They had got the new French Constitution as proposed by the Senate to the French people, and the proceedings of the Provisional Government relative to the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte. They were enchanted with the address of the Provisional Government to the French nation, which is extremely well written. The Admiral's lady and several children were there, and are a very agreeable family. I returned home about three, and wrote again until six. Mr. Walther called and took my letter for Mrs. Adams, to go by the post to St. Petersburg this evening. We afterwards went to the theatre, which was decorated and illuminated. There was performed a prologue, written by Kotzebue, and called Europe Delivered—an allegory. Europe, a fair lady, was chained before a pedestal, on which stood an evil genius bearing a lighted torch in one hand and an air-balloon in the other. The Old Year came in lamenting his condition, and attended by War, Poverty, Famine, and Pestilence, whom he pointed out as they stalked successively across the stage. But he announced that he was to be followed by his brother, who would restore all things. Then came another fair lady, representing Russia, who broke the chains of Europe, and at whose command the evil genius vanished. The scene changed, showing a new world rising from the ocean, with a rising sun. After which appeared the New Year, with Peace, Plenty, Public Faith, and Justice; concluding with a chorus from Mozart's opera of Titus, in honor of the Emperor Alexander, whose bust, crowned with laurel, appeared at the back curtain of the scene. The opera of the Caliph of Bagdad was then performed. The author, composer, and translator are the same as of Jean de Paris, and the plays, too, are in substance the same. It is only a change of names and of incidents. The plot is absolutely the same.

After the play I went with Mr. Walther to the ball at the Merchants' Club. There were sixty or seventy ladies, and about as many men. They said it was very thinly attended, and that they often had at their balls in the winter six hundred

persons of both sexes. I met here a Lieutenant Barrett, who introduced himself to me as an American, a native of Boston, and son to Deacon Barrett of that place. He also introduced me to his wife, who is an Englishwoman, and his daughter. Mr. Walther appeared to pay little respect to him, and told me he believed him to be a Scotchman. I left the ball-room about one o'clock in the morning, and, after walking round to see the illuminations, retired to my lodgings. The streets were as crowded with people, and as full of revelry, as I had seen them on the Sunday evening. This was the day of official rejoicing. The Te Deum, with the cannonade, was in the morning, and all the holy images of the city were carried round by the priests in procession.

5th. Mr. Walther called upon me this morning, and delivered me a letter brought by Mr. Rodde, who had just arrived from St. Petersburg. It was from Mr. Krehmer, and enclosed letters of introduction for Stockholm and Gottenburg. Before dinner I went down to the harbor and on board the vessel in which we are to sail. We found them taking in their lading. Towards evening I went on the hill, from which there is a view of the harbor and gulf; the latter of which is still covered with ice. Afterwards, I took a warm bath. The bathing-house is better served than at St. Petersburg. There was a plenteous rain this evening, which I hope will hasten the dissolution of the ice. I employed almost the whole day in writing.

6th. Mr. Rodde called upon me this morning, and invited me to dine with him on Sunday. I walked partly round the walls of the city before dinner, and again towards evening. The rest of the day I employed in writing to my wife, copying, and reading. I finished the sketches of the Naval History of the United States, and resumed the volume of Sully's Memoirs which I was reading when Mr. Strong arrived at St. Petersburg. Began upon the sixth book, the interesting parts of which are Sully's negotiation with Villars, the Governor of Normandy, for the city of Rouen; that with Nugnes, the Spanish Envoy; the unworthy management of Sully, by Henry's orders, to break off the marriage of the King's sister with the Count of Soissons; and the romantic surprise of Fescamp by Bois-

Rosé. There are some very judicious observations upon Brissac's project to turn France into a Roman Republic; an experiment which has been so formally attempted in these times, and the final catastrophe of which is at this moment concluding a horrible tragedy with a disgusting farce.

7th. Mr. Rodde sent me this morning the Riga gazette, the Zuschauer, of last Tuesday, which contains the act of abdication signed by Napoleon Bonaparte at Fontainebleau the 11th of April. I paid a visit to Mr. Rodde, returned him the paper, and gave him two letters for St. Petersburg, to be sent by this evening's post. I walked entirely round the city, entering at the same gate by which I had gone out. I was forty-seven minutes in completing it, and conclude the circle to be exactly four wersts, or two and two-thirds miles. There are seven gates at irregular distances from one another, an empty moat, and a wall flanked with towers. The city is very old, and built in the Gothic style; the streets narrow and crooked; the buildings generally of brick, and plastered, and a few of stone. The roofs of the houses are of tiles, and in sharp, steep angles; the ends of the houses upon the streets. One seems to be transported back to the twelfth century in such a place. I met Mr. Walther and Mr. Riesenkampf in the street. I had thoughts of sending a trunk, with most of my books, directly to Gottenburg, for the sake of lightening the load upon my carriage. But Mr. Walther told me that Captain Weymouth was affronted at my having taken passage in another vessel than his, and refused to take my trunk. I walked again down to the harbor towards evening, but found nobody on board the Ulysses. I employ my time in reading and writing, and find no difficulty in employing it fully. I feel, however, the effect of continual solitude, and the want of society, especially in the after-part of the day. Finished reading the sixth and began the seventh book of Sully's Memoirs. The singular composition of Henry the Fourth's character is exhibited here more distinctly than that of Sully himself. Sully tells his own story. He shows only his own fair side; but he shows Henry on all sides—his vigilance, his intrepidity, his wonderful presence of mind and coolness in the most imminent perils; his generous, affectionate, and humane temper; his

cheerfulness and gaiety; his condescension and fascinating affability; his naturally choleric disposition, and the control that he had acquired over that part of his infirmity; together with his ungovernable passion for the sex, and all the weaknesses and all the follies into which it betrayed him. He tells a story about the Belle Gabrielle, which shows her to have been a mere prostitute, and Henry an egregious dupe—to such a degree as to acknowledge for his own a child to which he had no pretension. And this woman was the channel of the royal favors; and whoever was ambitious of serving the King found it necessary to pay assiduous court to her. The character of the Duke of Bouillon, his insidious intrigues, and the imprudence of Henry in being persuaded by him to declare war against Spain, form an interesting part of this narrative. The treaty for the submission of the Duke of Guise, another. The assassination of Henry the Third by Jean Chatel, under the instigation of the Jesuits, a third. The events at the siege of Laon are interesting as military incidents.

8th. I went out at ten this morning, with the intention of going to church, that being the hour at which I was informed, upon enquiry, that the service began. I met in the street Mr. Rodde, who accompanied me to the principal Lutheran church. We were at least a full half-hour too late, and found the preacher, a Mr. Meyer, in the midst of his sermon. There were about one hundred women present, and, I believe, not twenty men. The clergyman read his discourse; after which there were prayers for births and deaths, and banns of marriage published. The service closed with the singing of one stanza of a hymn, accompanied by the organ. The church is Gothic, built of stone; the walls are lined with armories; in a side chapel, separated by grated gates from the rest of the church, there was a bier and coffin, apparently in a state of preparation for a funeral. It was cold and damp: from the extent of the church, and the height of the Gothic arches, it was scarcely possible to hear the voice of the preacher. There was nothing remarkable in his oratory, but his delivery was very good. After church, I walked round the outside of the city, and, as yesterday, returned to the same gate in forty-seven minutes. When I came to my

lodgings, I found the card of Baron Exkull, the Governor of Esthonia, who had paid me a visit and left a message inviting me to dine with him to-morrow. On my arrival here, I intended to have paid him a visit, but was informed he was sick. One of the captains of the fleet, with whom I dined at Admiral Spiridoff's, also paid me a visit. I dined at Mr. Rodde's. He has a lady, five daughters, and one son. The eldest daughter is married to Mr. Walther, and they all live together. The second daughter is very pretty. There were at the dinner Baron Rosen, an old gentleman of seventy-two, whom I had already met at Admiral Spiridoff's; Baron Dankelmann, a native Prussian, now employed here at the Custom House; a Baron Stakelberg, a Landrath, or one of the twelve judges of the provincial tribunal, and his lady, of the family of Igelström, a young and handsome woman; the preacher whom we had heard at church, Mr. Meyer; Mr. Rodde's partner, Riesenkampf; and two or three others, whom I did not know. The dinner was sumptuous and social.

About four in the afternoon I came home, and, with a second walk towards evening, spent the remainder of the day in writing, and reading Sully. Finished the seventh and began the eighth book. There is a mixture of public and private history in these Memoirs, a talent at giving interest to the narrative and the impression of resemblance to the characters, a soundness of moral and political principle, a keenness of penetration, and a solidity of judgment, in the reflections upon persons and events, which give them a charm beyond that of any novel I ever read. The account of his final and unsuccessful negotiation with the King's sister, Catherine, to prevail upon her to marry the Duke of Montpensier; of her violent sallies of passion against him; of his cool, respectful, and inflexible defiance of her; his distress at the first hasty order given him by Henry, to ask the Princess's pardon; his triumph at the second letter from the King, after receiving his report, and the address and management with which Catherine finally sought a reconcilement with him, are all painting to the life. His scene with the astrologer, and the picture of the man, are diverting; and the manner in which he finally enters the Council of Finance, the intrigues of the other

members against him, Henry's fluctuations about the measure of placing him there, the cunning of Villeroi in delaying the delivery of his commission, Henry's charge to Beringhen to keep the commission until further order, his device afterwards to throw the blame of its detention upon the forgetfulness of the "gros Allemand," who had disclosed the secret to Sully, and who at last took upon himself all the blame of forgetfulness, are comical in the highest degree. The Belle Gabrielle still darkens the shade of Henry's inexcusable vice. Her stratagem to get to the King before Sully, when they were both sent for together, Sully's dispatch to go with her, the dangerous accident they met with upon the road, and the agitation betrayed by the King on being informed of it, are all strong characteristic features. Yet perhaps this woman may claim some indulgence, when it is considered that it was her advice which finally persuaded Henry, against all the cabal of Sully's rivals and enemies, to place him at the head of the finances. The adventure with the Duke of Bouillon's troop of horse is one of those which show the spirit, firmness, and decision of Sully's character. He speaks of Villeroi, D'Epernon, Jeannin, and especially of Cardinal d'Ossat, in terms very much to their disadvantage; and he very directly charges d'Ossat with having betrayed the interests of the King, his master, and the rights of the Gallican Church, in the negotiation with the Pope for Henry's absolution. There was this evening a new illumination of this city—a mere superabundance of joy.

9th. This morning I returned the visit of Baron Exkull, the Governor of the Province, and at one o'clock went and dined with him. He has no family, and there were no ladies at table. The company were seventeen or eighteen persons, among whom were Admiral Spiridoff, General Benkendorf, Baron Stakelberg, Mr. Rodde, and several other gentlemen whose names I did not discover. There were two card-tables and a chess-board set in a chamber adjoining the dining-hall. I sat down with General Benkendorf, the Commandant of the city, and a fourth hand, to whist, while the dinner was serving up. We played one hand, then adjourned to dinner, and after that, and taking coffee, returned to the card-table. We played

four rubbers, and all retired between four and five in the afternoon.

General Benkendorf, who is a great talker and very pleasant companion, told a number of anecdotes, to the great diversion of the company. He told me that his daughter, Countess Lieven, wrote him that she liked the country in England very well, but that the climate did not agree with her health, and that she found London excessively tiresome. She had no society, and her house was so small, and so crowded at her parties, that she was sure some of her company never got beyond the stairs; that they could not live upon the Count's salary, which is thirty-two thousand ducats a year and house-rent free; and that if they stayed there long he would be ruined; that his state carriage cost him seventeen thousand roubles, and her box at the opera, for four months in the year, twenty-five hundred roubles.

I went down to the port, and on board the vessel, to enquire when the captain thought of sailing. He was not there, but the steersman said about Thursday, and to-morrow they would take my carriage aboard. The northwest wind has brought the ice all back into the harbor. I walked round the city towards evening, and read Sully—books seven and eight. He is now entering deeply into the affairs of finance, and shows how he detected and exposed the frauds and malversations of the Council, the establishment and suppression of a ridiculous Council of Reason, the reconciliation of the Duke of Mayenne with the King, and the surprise of Amiens by the Spaniards.

10th. Mr. Walther called upon me this morning, and asked me for my passport and a minute of my baggage, to be delivered at the Custom House, which I accordingly gave him. My carriage was this afternoon shipped on board of the Ulysses. In the evening I went to the theatre, and saw the Swiss Family, an opera said to be from the French of Castelli; the music by Joseph Weigl. It is a bad copy of Nina, which is a bad original, and, as General Pardo used to say, there is no color in the music. I found it very tiresome. Spent part of the day in writing, and reading Sully—books eight and nine. Further details concerning the finances, the infamous corruption and

base intrigues of Messieurs du Conseil, and the baleful influence of the King's mistress. It appears that the edict of Nantes was extorted from the King by the powerful combination of the Protestants, at the head of whom was the Duke of Bouillon. Sully's zeal for the King urges him to an excess of disapprobation of these measures of the Protestants, and he acknowledges that they considered him as a deserter from the party. Sully's religion, and that of Henry himself, were evidently matters of State policy. Sully advised his master to change; and if he did not change himself, it was merely because no motive of sufficient weight was presented to him to overcome the pride of consistency and the scruples of his conscience. If Henry was really sincere in his conversion, it is only a proof how subservient even the sincere opinions of a powerful mind may be made to worldly interests. The penances imposed upon Henry by the Pope, as the price of his absolution, are a burlesque upon religion. He was to say so many rosaries, and so many chaplets, and so many litanies, every week; to hear masses every day, to fast once a week, and go to confession at least four times a year. Was the soul of Henry the Fourth capable of believing that an offended Deity could be propitiated by such mummery as this? or was the principle of his change conformity, and not conviction?

11th. Mr. Rodde called on me this morning, and afterwards sent me the Riga newspapers. Mr. Walther came and returned me my passport, and Captain Brinkman was here to tell me that he had cleared out his vessel and was ready to sail with the first fair wind. But, he said, there had been seen yesterday much ice in the gulf at Baltic Port; and I myself saw this evening a great deal from the hill that overlooks this harbor. I walked down to the vessel and round the city walls before dinner, and went partly over the same pilgrimage in the evening. Employed the rest of the day in writing, and reading Sully—books nine and ten. The details of finance become almost tedious, particularly as they are in a great measure unintelligible. To understand them, it would be necessary to be acquainted with the organization of the department and the official duties of the several officers belonging to it. That it

was a general chaos of confusion, in which nothing was systematic but fraud, peculation, and plunder, is obvious enough. The interests, the passions, and the influence against which Sully had to struggle in effecting a reform, are equally conspicuous; but the explanation of his means, and the details of his measures, I do not understand. The character of Henry appears in all its weakness and all its strength in his project to marry his mistress, and in the deference which he shows to Sully's resistance against that measure; in the insolent airs which he allows her to assume at the baptism of her second son by him; and in the energy with which he supports Sully against her pretensions and her artifices. The scene between them, in which she first reproaches him with sacrificing her to his valets, and ends by imploring mercy and forgiveness at his feet, is delightful. And yet, if this woman had not shortly after died, the King would, in all probability, have disgraced himself by marrying her. The scene between Sully and the Duke of Epernon at the Council board is another incident in which the character of Sully displays itself advantageously; and the account of his own mode of life, the distribution of his time, and the qualities which he describes as essential to a financier, or minister of state, are full of important instructions, and subjects for serious reflection. Mr. Rodde sent me this afternoon a small volume in German, containing a history of the Province of Esthonia.

12th. I find no difficulty in filling up my time; but I am not exempt from the weariness of constant solitude. To vary my exercise, I amused myself this morning by walking round the city, half without and half within the walls, going out and in, alternately, at the seven gates, and finally returning by the same at which I had first gone out. A person came this morning and introduced himself to me by the name of Major Reiners, and asked me to take a foster-son of his, a boy of fourteen years of age, with me to America. I excused myself as civilly as I could, but consented that he should come and present the boy to me to-morrow morning. I walked to the hill again towards evening, and still saw ice in the gulf. I continued to read Sully—books ten and eleven. They relate the marriage of

the King's sister Catherine with the Duke of Bar, and the death of his mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, Duchess of Beaufort, his profound affliction at this event, and his intrigue immediately afterwards with Mademoiselle d'Entragues, with his foolish and ridiculous promise of marriage to her. There is a long account of the political testament of Philip II. of Spain, and a humorous one, of the dialogue between Roquelaure and the Archbishop of Rouen, the King's natural brother, who was the only prelate that could be prevailed upon to perform the ceremony of marrying the King's sister, because she was a Protestant.

13th. Mr. Rodde came this morning and introduced to me a General Norberg, who asked me whether I had been, about thirty-two years ago, at Stockholm, in company with an Italian nobleman named Count Greco. I said I had. He then asked if I recollected having then visited, with the Count, and a Swedish gentleman named Wadstrom, the cabinet of mechanical inventions of the Swedish Academy of Sciences. I answered that I did perfectly well. He said he was then the keeper of that cabinet, and had shown it to us. His name and countenance were equally lost to my memory; but after the name was brought back to it I had a faint remembrance of it. He had no more recollection of my person than I of his. He told me that he had now been for some years in the Russian service; that he resided in the neighborhood of this city; and he invited me to his house, where, he said, if I still retained my fondness for the sight of mechanical inventions, he could show me some curiosities. He invited us to dine with him on Sunday; but, as I had hopes of sailing by that day, I went out this afternoon with Mr. Rodde to the General's house, and returned his visit. It is about a mile without the walls. He showed us several of his inventions, which are ingenious and useful. He is now engaged upon a great and costly work—to enlarge and improve the harbor of this place. Upon this there have already been expended a million and a half of roubles, and it will cost two millions more to finish it. It is under the superintendence of the Marine Department. But he seems not to be satisfied with the Marquis de Traversey, and hopes

Admiral Tchitchagoff will come to the office again. He showed us the drawings and the models of his works, and several other of his inventions. A round table, contrived for the purpose of dispensing with the attendance of servants. He thought if he had this in England he could make money with it; but I believe not much. He appeared to me to have bestowed much labor and ingenuity to produce a small effect. It is merely a movable circular leaf in the middle of the table, which, by the machinery, may be turned round so as to bring each dish before each person at the table; and a shelf under the table, upon which plates may be stowed away. A bedstead for soldiers in barracks, invented by Count Rumford, and improved by the General. It may be used as a chair, a table, or a working-bench. An instrument for drawing in perspective. This, the General said, was not yet published; because Patterson had taken with it all his views of St. Petersburg, and he wished him to enjoy all the benefit of it. But he now intended to publish it shortly. A machine for raising water and circulating it through spiral tubes. A machine for scooping out the staves of barrels. A steam vessel, navigable on the high sea—a project which he said he had presented more than twenty years ago to the Empress Catherine, to be used between St. Petersburg and Cronstadt. But it had not been approved. I told him of the privilege granted to Mr. Fulton. He said he had heard of Mr. Fulton's boats, which were a very admirable invention. After spending a couple of hours with him, we returned to the city. I walked to the castle hill, and saw a quantity of ice floating in the harbor, which convinced me that I must not expect to sail before Monday, if so soon.

14th. Mr. Ross came to me this morning with a letter from Mr. Sterky, the Swedish commercial agent at St. Petersburg, dated last Tuesday. It enclosed one from Count Engestrom, in answer to that which I wrote him the 11th April, and a passport. The Count's letter is dated 26th April, and informs me of the arrival of two of the American Plenipotentiaries at Gottenburg, and that of Mr. Russell at Stockholm. I answered Mr. Sterky's letter, and wrote to my wife. Mr. Rodde came after dinner and took me out with him, first to Catherinendal,

a palace about a mile without the city, built by Peter the First for his Empress Catherine. The house is small, but the gardens are extensive and laid out in the fashionable style of that time. There are three bricks at one corner of the house, painted red, which are said to have been laid by Peter himself. The rest of the house is plastered. It is the usual residence of the Prince of Oldenburg, the Governor-General of these provinces. But he is now absent. Round the gardens there is a little village of barracks for a regiment of soldiers; and on a hill beyond the gardens stands the light-house. There are five lamps placed in a chamber at the front of which is a door opening upon the gulf; and one lamp at the door itself. It is the highest land in the neighborhood of Reval, and a fine prospect of the city, the harbor, the gulf, and the country around. We saw a small vessel coming into the harbor, the first that has appeared this season. The harbor, and the gulf beyond it, are still covered with ice, but not in very large masses, and it appears that the gulf is navigable. We afterwards went to Charlottendal, Mr. Rodde's country-seat, about three wersts on the other side of the city. He has a good house and garden there, which cost him only twenty thousand roubles, and where he resides in the summer; he intends going out there next week. After returning home, I read Sully—books eleven and twelve. It contains the birth of Louis XIII.; a dark and mysterious account of a quarrel between the King and Queen; Sully's embassy to Queen Elizabeth, at Dover, and his long conference with her; and the Duke of Biron's conspiracy against Henry, the relation of which I broke off in the middle. Henry, as well as his Minister, appears to have been infatuated with judicial astrology, and on the birth of his son made his physician, La Rivière, cast his nativity. Another characteristic of the age is Sully's excessive pride of birth, and his profound contempt for every profession and occupation but that of arms. He argues the point as well as he can, and is evidently very sincere in his prejudices; but the prejudice betrays itself. Military renown will in every country, and under every form of government, rise to the highest dignity and give the greatest consideration; but in no civilized age or nation can it ever engross the whole.

The administration of justice must make the profession of the law respectable; and wealth always will command consideration, because it will always confer power.

15th. On rising this morning, I saw by the vanes on the steeples from one of my windows that the wind was favorable for sailing, and, expecting a message from Captain Brinkman, I packed up my boxes with every article not of constant necessity, to be ready to go at as short a notice as possible. Went to church alone, and heard the service performed and the sermon in the Esthonian language—which is altogether different both from the Russian and German. The church was not so large as that of the Germans, but it was full, and even crowded, chiefly with persons from the country—peasants of both sexes. There was an alternation of prayers and hymns sung by the congregation, accompanied by an organ, before and after the sermon. At the administration of the communion I left the church. Mr. Rodde came at one o'clock and took me out to General Norberg's, where we dined. Admiral Spiridoff, the Commandant of Reval, named Berg, and a clergyman were the company, with General Norberg's two sons, youths of about fourteen or fifteen. We dined at his round table without attendants; there was only one servant, who brought in the dishes and put them on the table. But that servant might have waited on the whole company, and would have saved them the continual trouble of helping themselves. This table is a mere gimcrack. After dinner, we made a party at whist until five. The commandant, Berg, invited me to dine with him the day after to-morrow, if I should still be here. When I took leave of General Norberg, he gave me several copies of a pamphlet which he has lately published, relative to some improvement of his invention for the distillation of brandy, which he asked me to distribute among his friends there, if I should meet with any who made enquiries about him. He wished to show them what he was busied about. He gave me also one copy of another, a preceding pamphlet upon the same subject.

When I returned to my own lodgings, my servant told me that the captain had been to desire that I would go on board the vessel this evening, the wind being fair, and it being his

intention to sail very early to-morrow morning. I immediately finished the packing of my clothes, books, and papers, and came on board the vessel—the Ulysses, Captain Brinkman. It was between nine and ten in the evening. Mr. Ross, with ten or twelve other gentlemen, were on board, to take leave of Mr. Zandelin, a Swedish merchant, who freights the vessel and is also going in her as a passenger. They returned on shore in the boat in which I had come on board. Captain Brinkman immediately took my passport on board the guard-ship, where they kept it, together with that of the vessel, telling him to come for them again to-morrow morning. In the leisure of the day I read Sully—books twelve and thirteen: containing the conclusion of Biron's conspiracy, by his trial and execution; the pardon granted by Henry to the Count d'Auvergne, because he was the brother of the King's mistress, the Marchioness of Verneuil; the address with which the Duke of Bouillon kept himself out of Henry's reach, and the manner in which the Duke of Epernon disculpated himself from having been engaged in the plot. Even the name of Sully himself had been implicated by La Fin, the informer who betrayed Biron; but it made no impression upon the King's mind. It is a proof with how much caution all evidence merely suspicious should be received involving persons in conspiracies. Sully refers to other books for Biron's trial, the particulars of the conspiracy, and the proofs against him. There are also some remarks upon Henry's edict against duels, and concerning the coinage—which was debased by Sully's advice, to prevent exportation.

16th. The wind this morning was fair, though very light, and at four o'clock we were ready to sail. It was, however, between seven and eight before the officer from the guard-ship came on board with the vessel's pass and my passport. He apologized to me for having made me wait so long, pretending not to have known I was on board this vessel, because my passport did not mention the name of the vessel in which I was to embark. After taking down in his register the name of the vessel and of the captain, her burden, lading, and where bound, he asked the captain and me, saying he was obliged to do so,

whether we had any Russian money. I had none, contrary to the intent of the law. The captain gave him a five-rouble bill, with which he was well satisfied, and he left the vessel, wishing us a good voyage. We sailed immediately, although the wind had died away almost to a total calm. There were seven other vessels lying with us at the mouth of the harbor ready to depart, but only one of them got under weigh—a Dutch vessel, freighted on the same account as ours, and the captain of which had promised to sail in company with ours. We had not even got outside of the harbor before we saw in the gulf floating masses of ice, so large and so close together that the captain was apprehensive we should be obliged to return. But there was no wind until towards evening, when a light breeze sprang up from the northwest, as directly ahead as it could blow. Notwithstanding the difficulty of beating against a head-wind amidst the floating ice, the captain, at my desire and that of Mr. Zandelin, made the attempt to reach Baltic Port, about twenty miles distant from Reval, but without success. The weather was fine, but so cold that it was impossible for me to write a line the whole day. I read Sully—books thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen, the most interesting parts of which are the details of his embassy to England on the accession of James I., immediately after the death of Queen Elizabeth, and his negotiations with James and his Ministers. Sully, with all his great and good qualities, was a man of harsh and severe character. He speaks ill of almost everybody, and scarcely ever well of any one, excepting King Henry and Queen Elizabeth. In his English negotiations he is extremely bitter against the English nation in general, and most especially so against James's Minister of State, Cecil, a name much respected in English History. Sully is not much more favorable to Barneveld, who was then in London at the head of a deputation from the States-General, and in pursuit of the same object as Sully. He represents himself as having been perfectly successful with James against the advice and cabals of Cecil and all the English Ministry; but he admits that he could not avail himself so advantageously of this success as he might have done, for want of a carte-blanche signed by Henry, upon which he could have concluded a treaty

with James. He touches very lightly upon a gross insult which he received from an English Admiral as he was crossing the Channel, on account of the flag, and on the piracies of the English; against which it was one of the objects of his mission to complain. He had with him a suite of three hundred persons, and immediately after his arrival in London was obliged to try and condemn to death one of them for a murder. He delivered him over for execution to the Lord Mayor of London, but the sentence was not executed. He gives the character of a young man of his suite named Servin, a most extraordinary compound of personal accomplishments and detestable vices; and he makes the conduct of the Spanish ambassador, Count d'Aremberg, appear supremely ridiculous.

17th. After beating against the wind and amidst the floating ice great part of the night, the captain was finally compelled to put about and return to Reval. About three in the morning the vessel struck against a mass of ice, and the shock was so great that it waked me. The ice ahead was in such quantities, and with such narrow passages between the floats, that it was impossible to proceed, although in sight of Baltic Port. The wind was fresh, and about eleven in the morning we came to anchor again in the harbor of Reval, where we lay the remainder of the day. A boat from the guard-ship came alongside, but the officer, upon enquiring whence we came, and being informed by the captain that we had sailed yesterday from hence, returned without coming on board, but told the captain that whenever he went on shore he must first go on board the guard-ship. In the afternoon two gentlemen of Mr. Zandelin's friends came on board and spent an hour with him. Zandelin himself, after waiting four or five weeks for his passport, was obliged to go without it, and to pass himself off for the steersman of the vessel. The weather was still so cold that it was with extreme difficulty I wrote half a page in this journal, and I could not write anything else. Read Sully—books fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen: the conclusion of his embassy to James I., his return to France, and his danger of being lost on the passage between Dover and Calais; the re-establishment of the Jesuits; the introduction of the silk manufactures, and the colony sent to Canada; all in

opposition to his opinions. He pronounces very decisively that no colony in America north of forty degrees of latitude can be of any value. The death of the King's sister, Catherine, who had finally married the Duke of Bar, is noticed in the seventeenth book.

18th. The wind blew fresh west by north the whole day. West by north is precisely our course to Stockholm. Towards evening it died away to a calm. The captain went on shore this morning, and returned in the evening. Three vessels came into the harbor this afternoon—two from the island of Dago, and one from Carlshamn. The weather was fine, and, being not quite so cold as the two preceding days, I was enabled to write more. I brought up entirely my journal. Read Sully—books seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen. The domestic distresses of Henry, occasioned by his vices and the characters of his wife and mistress, are related with candor, and form a picture which excites alternate indignation and compassion. The mistress, the Marchioness of Verneuil, was engaged, with her brother, the Count d'Auvergne, a natural son of Charles IX., and her father, D'Entragues, in a conspiracy against Henry; for which they were sentenced to death, and she to perpetual imprisonment. Henry not only forbore to have the sentence executed, but pardoned her, and submitted to the conditions she required with regard to the others. But the passion for the sex was not Henry's only vice. He was addicted to gaming, and his hunting expenses were extravagant. Altogether, Sully states that the sums he squandered upon his pleasures would have maintained an army of seventy-five thousand men. The treachery of one of Villeroy's clerks, and its detection, is also told here; the manner in which James the First abandoned his alliance with France, and the treaty he concluded with Spain; the treaty of commerce between France and Spain, which was concluded by Sully himself shortly afterwards; and some affairs of minor importance relating to the Swiss, and to a bridge at Avignon. Sully gives his opinion decisively, and with strong reasons, against the famous principle of the Salic law, which forbids the descent of the crown upon a female, or through a female line.

19th. After a night totally calm, there was again a light

breeze this morning west by north. It was impossible to move. The breeze continued freshening all day long, and by five in the afternoon, the time of the new moon, had risen to a brisk gale. It blew hard the whole evening, with some rain. My fellow-passenger Zandelin, for fear of losing his good humor, took to his bed and slept the greatest part of the day. There was a vessel arrived this morning in four days from Stockholm. I was just able to write, and did actually write several hours. Read Sully—books twenty and twenty-one. The twentieth is perhaps the most affecting of the whole work. It contains the conversation between the King and Sully at the time when Henry had been so beset by the artifices and calumnies of his Minister's enemies as to have conceived strong prepossessions against him. The scene between them, in which Sully justifies himself and entirely recovers his favor, moved me even to tears. The account of the Protestant assembly at Châtellerault is of a more general nature, but not without interest. In reflecting upon the general tenor of these Memoirs, I cannot but remark how large a portion of the obstacles with which statesmen have to contend proceeds from the vices and passions and perversities of those with whom they have to co-operate. This is perhaps the most useful lesson of the book.

20th. Blew a strong gale all night. At six this morning the wind was at north-northeast, and Mr. Zandelin was in a flame to get immediately under weigh. The captain was reluctant and fearful, because none of the other vessels lying in the harbor showed any signals of sailing. He was, however, at length prevailed upon to sail, and beat out of the harbor. The Hollander, bound to Stockholm, alone followed us. We were scarcely under weigh when the wind started to the north, then northwest, then west-northwest, and we were just ready to return and anchor again, when it came with a moderate breeze between east and northeast, which enabled us to proceed about noon. The other vessels that had been waiting then all followed us out. The breeze continued moderate and steady the whole day; the weather fine, now and then dropping a few flakes of snow. Réaumur's thermometer on deck, between two and three above zero; in the cabin, at five. We cleared the islands of

Wulf and Nargö, at the mouth of Reval harbor, and passed, before dark, the lights of Surepudd and Rägervik, or Baltic Port. Just before midnight we were abreast of Odensholm, the first light in the Gulf of Finland, which we saw on board the Horace in 1809. Here a field of ice, stretching across the gulf we know not how far, compelled us to change our course and beat northward to seek a passage. I wrote a little this day, and read Sully—books twenty-two and twenty-three: much of Henry's private life and gossiping humors; his acceptance of the Duke of Bouillon's submissions, much against Sully's will, and forcing Sully to fire the cannon upon his (the King's) return to Paris, as if it had been in triumph; the supremely ridiculous questions penned by Father Cotton, the Jesuit, to be put to the devil, in exorcising a woman reputed to be possessed; and a new memoir of Sully upon the subject of duels.

21st. Calms, head-winds, and ice-islands constituted the vicissitudes of this day, during which we saw several vessels beyond the ice, coasting to find the passage to our side, as we were to get on theirs. About four this afternoon we saw three of them succeed, and effect the passage before the wind, through an opening too narrow for us to go through by tacking. In the evening we had sight again of the Odensholm light. The atmosphere is nearly at the temperature of frost, and it is only by walking an hour upon deck that I can warm my fingers enough to hold a pen for another hour. This of necessity abridges my writing. I read Sully—books twenty-three and twenty-four, which are less interesting than many of the others.

22d. About three o'clock this morning we passed through one of the lines of ice-fields, and might have proceeded in our course, but the wind was ahead the whole day. We stretched over to the Finland shore, until admonished, by the sight of rocks showing their heads above the water, to steer back again. Our course of this day was thus bounded: north, by the rocks in the gulf; and south, by the floating ice-fields. We spoke with two vessels, one four days from Stockholm and bound to Reval, the other an English vessel, from which they told us they had met the ice as far south as sixty miles beyond Dagerort. I took my thermometer on deck to ascertain the

temperature of the atmosphere. It was one and a half degrees of Réaumur above zero. In the cabin it is steady between four and five. I walked three times in the day, about an hour each time, to warm my fingers sufficiently to write, but it grows every day more irksome. I read Sully—books twenty-five and twenty-six, in which there are many details concerning the internal government of France which I do not understand, and which are therefore rather tedious than amusing. It is much to the honor of Sully that he resisted all the King's efforts to aggrandize him and his family upon condition that he and his son should change their religion. Here is the first notice of Henry's last passion for Mademoiselle de Montmorency, whom he married to the Prince of Condé. The domestic quarrels with the Queen still continue to occupy much of the narrative, and Sully complains still of the King's gambling habits and prodigalities. A remarkable circumstance is the publicity with which Henry kept his mistresses, four of whom, it is said, had formally, and successively, that title. He had eight children by them, who were all legitimated, and for whom Henry's affection, as well as for his lawful children, is one of the most amiable features in his character.

23d. The weather continues fine; the wind moderate, but so nearly ahead that we cannot steer within five points of our course, and our progress is accordingly slow; the thermometer on deck, between one and two in the shade and at six in the sun —in the cabin, between four and five. I saw this day no ice; the captain says, however, that it was to be seen at the southward. Twice in the course of the day I saw the rocks on the coast of Finland. They are innumerable, and many of them do not appear above water. There is one place laid down on the charts, and from which we are not far distant, where the compass entirely fails, the needle pointing irregularly to every quarter of the sky. This effect is supposed to proceed from great masses of iron among the rocks under the water. I wrote less this than any of the preceding days, the continual cold making it almost impossible. Read Sully—books twenty-six and twenty-seven, the latter closing with the fatal catastrophe, the murder of the King. He was on the point of commencing

the greatest war in which he had ever been engaged—a war for which he and Sully had been many years making every possible preparation, but the issue of which would have been very uncertain, and of the justice of which I am not convinced. In the affair of the Prince and Princess of Condé, Henry was so grossly and outrageously wrong that I feel some indignation at Sully's attempt to throw much of the blame upon the Prince. I see nothing in his conduct which was not justified by the necessity of the case, and nothing in that of Henry, on this occasion, which deserves any other sentiment than contempt and detestation. The presentiments and prognostications of Henry's death show very strongly the character of the age, and, in some degree, the weakness of the man. His reluctance at the coronation of the Queen appears to have arisen altogether from superstition. But the act of Ravaillac had no connection with the coronation, and would doubtless have been committed in the same manner if that ceremony had not taken place. Ravaillac was a fanatic, and had probably no accomplices.

The night was nearly calm. My fellow-passenger Zandelin had exhausted his patience, and told me last evening that if the wind continued as it was it would kill him. About five this morning he came down from deck in an ecstasy of joy, and said, "Sir, I do not know whether I dare to tell you. We have the fairest wind in the world—just this moment sprung up." I answered that he needed not to have told me, for I had seen it in his face the moment he opened the cabin-door. This wind continued fair the whole day, a light breeze, and scarcely a cloud to be seen. About noon we saw the light-house on the island of Utö, which is the entrance to go to Abo. At eight in the evening we passed two small rocks, called Nyskaren and Bogskaren, about sixty English miles distant from our first harbor. In the afternoon we passed three brigs, probably English, bound up the Gulf of Finland. The weather is still cold—between two and three degrees in the shade, and seven in the sun on deck. I read Sully—books twenty-eight, twenty-nine, and thirty: the two first containing the mortifications and persecutions he underwent after Henry's death, until his total retirement from public affairs; and the last, a full exposition

of Henry IV.'s great design. He makes it plausible enough, and probably Henry would have succeeded in his first and main object, which was to humble and reduce the power of the House of Austria. His European Republic, I think, would have proved chimerical.

25th. About five this morning the rocks on the coast of Sweden were first seen, and soon afterwards the two light-houses on the rocks of Grunskär and Korssö, which are at the entrance of the harbor. They were then distant about twenty marine miles. At nine we had nearly come up with them, and a pilot came on board, who took the vessel into Sandhamn, the first harbor, formed by the island of Sandöe, where there is a custom-house and ten or twelve pilot's huts. We got in there about ten, and while the custom-house officers came on board, instead of coming to anchor, the vessel was fastened by a small cable carried to the shore. The captain and Mr. Zandelin went on shore with the papers of the vessel and cargo. The officers of the customs came on board, and visited the vessel, but not my baggage, nor did they ask for any passport. It was half-past twelve, at noon, when we got under sail again, and just as we parted from the rock one of the vessels which sailed from Reval with us came to it. We had a second pilot, who took us up to Stockholm. The passage is of about forty marine miles, very narrow, and winding between a multitude, almost numberless, of rocks, many of them bare, and others covered with firs and other evergreens. About fifteen marine miles below Stockholm is the ancient castle of Friedrichsberg, of which no use is now made; and the modern one of Waxholm, where there is a guard stationed, and where the ship's papers and my passports were sent on shore to be inspected. Just before coming to this castle, at a place where the channel winds between the rocks, the passage, made by nature very narrow, has been still more straitened by two old ships of the line, sunk purposely to obstruct it. This, Mr. Zandelin told me, was done about three years ago, when they were at war with England, from the fear of a visit to Stockholm by a British fleet. It has made the place all but impassable. We anchored about seven in the evening in the harbor of Stockholm; and I very

soon afterwards came on shore. I took a lodging at the English tavern, kept by Mrs. Johnson, and found there an American, a Captain Fairfield, with whom I went immediately to Mr. Speyer's lodgings; not finding him at home, I went to those of Mr. Russell,[1] whom I found with Mr. Lawrence, his Secretary of Legation, and Mr. Russell's son, a boy of about twelve years of age. I sat with them until eleven o'clock, and received from him information of many circumstances, and much American news—the most important of which was the appointment of Mr. Gallatin as a member of the mission to Gottenburg. He showed me letters from Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, who are yet in England, urging a removal of the seat of the negotiation from Gottenburg to Holland or England, with Mr. Clay's answer, consenting conditionally to go to Holland. The reply of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard is expected by the next post. Mr. Russell lent me a file of American newspapers, which I took to my lodgings, and which engaged me until between one and two in the morning.

26th. STOCKHOLM.—I breakfasted and dined with Mr. Russell, and took lodgings in the same house where he lodges. From breakfast-time I spent two or three hours in conversation with him upon the affairs and prospects of our mission, and in reading over the letters and instructions he communicated to me. They convinced me beyond every doubt that this mission will be as fruitless as the last, and led me strongly to doubt whether I ought to consent to go to Holland. While I was with Mr. Russell, Mr. Speyer called upon him. I went with Mr. Speyer to his lodgings, where he gave me letters from my wife and from Charles of 8th May. At two o'clock, afternoon, I went with Mr. Russell to visit Count Engestrom, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at his office, which is in the Royal Palace; he was not there, but we called again at six in the afternoon, and found him. He received me very politely, and recollected our former acquaintance at Berlin. We afterwards called upon the Russian Minister, Baron Strogonoff, who invited me to dine with him on Sunday. It was so late in the evening, and

[1] Jonathan Russell, at this time Minister of the United States in Sweden, and appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace.

the weather bad with rain, that I concluded not to remove from my lodgings until to-morrow morning. My carriage was this day brought ashore.

27th. This morning, before breakfast, I removed my lodgings to the house in which Mr. Russell resides. Immediately after breakfast Mr. Speyer came in with eight large packets for me, brought from St. Petersburg by young Mr. Peyron, who came with a courier's passport obtained for him by Mr. Smith. Peyron left St. Petersburg the 17th, the day after I first sailed from Reval, and has come in two days from Abo. In the packets there were upwards of thirty letters and dispatches, the reading of which employed me more than four hours. After dinner I called and delivered my letters to Messrs. Tottie and Arfuedsen and to Mr. Schön, both of whom received me in their counting-houses. I had letters to Tottie and Arfuedsen when I was at Stockholm in the year 1782, but neither they nor I recollected one another personally. Arfuedsen the father is an old gentleman of eighty, and wears a large green riband, it being the custom in Sweden to admit distinguished merchants to certain orders of knighthood. The son gave me a letter from Meyer and Brüxner, enclosing two from my mother, which they received at St. Petersburg the day after my departure. It was from Meyer and Brüxner that I had the letter of introduction and of credit to Tottie and Arfuedsen. That to Mr. Schön was from Mr. Krehmer. I had also a packet to be left at Mr. Schön's, which had been given me by young Peyron, to whom I delivered it again; for I found him at Mr. Schön's. I spent the evening at my new lodgings alone, reflecting on the subjects of the many letters I received this morning; not without much perplexity of mind and doubt whether I ought not, instead of proceeding any further, immediately to return to St. Petersburg.

28th. I called this morning to see Mr. Speyer, but he was not at home; I left at his lodgings the packet which had been intrusted to me by Baron Klinkowström. Walked round the city, and observed the statues of Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, and Gustavus III., the column erected by the last King in honor of the citizens of Stockholm, and the church on the hill adjoining the palace. All the rest of the day I passed

at my lodgings, writing, deciphering a dispatch from the Secretary of State, and in conversation with Mr. Russell relative to our joint mission.

29th. Began again the reading of the Bible. I was then employed all the remainder of the morning in writing, copying, and ciphering a letter to the Secretary of State. About an hour before dinner I walked out and crossed the river, to a part of the city which I had not visited before. It is Whitsunday, and a distinguished holy-day here, as well as in Russia. I went into one of the churches, where I saw a clergyman officiating in Swedish. On coming out of the church, there was a gravestone among those in the yard, a small cylindrical pillar, which attracted my notice. I went and looked at the inscription, and found it was the monument of Olof von Asp, one of my oldest Swedish friends and acquaintance, whom I had known in 1784 and '5 as the Secretary of the Swedish Embassy at Paris, and in 1797 as the Swedish Minister in London. There it was that I last saw him, and dined with him. I scarcely recollect having heard of him since. The epitaph on his monument says that he died in the year 1808.

I dined at the Russian Minister Baron Strogonoff's. A diplomatic dinner, but not more than eighteen persons at table —among them Count Engestrom, Count Mörner, the Governor of Stockholm, Admiral Stedingk, the Field Marshal's brother, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Von Hausvulf, the Spanish, Austrian, and Prussian Chargés d'Affaires, Moreno, Weiss, and Tarrach, Baron Strogonoff's Secretary of Legation, named Bloudoff, Mr. Russell, and Mr. Lawrence. Mr. Weiss told me that Count St. Julien, formerly the Austrian Minister at St. Petersburg, was dead. After we came home Mr. Speyer called on Mr. Russell, and we spent the evening, until nine, in conversation together. I had called this morning on Mr. Speyer, to make some arrangements for my departure. Mr. Russell had intended to go with me, but has now concluded to stay here some time longer.

30th. The second holy-day of Pentecost, or Whitmonday, which is kept here with much solemnity, though it be a Protestant country. I walked round the city an hour before

dinner, and again an hour in the evening; went into one of the public gardens, where I found a band of music and a great crowd of people, all of the lower classes. Crossed also one of the bridges, of which there are many, Stockholm being built upon several islands, or rather upon a number of the rocks which form the whole coast and extend down to Sandhamn. The remainder of the day I was constantly engaged in writing and copying.

31st. Rain all the morning. Mr. Russell received, and showed me, a letter from Mr. Clay, which brought me to the determination to wait no longer than the day after to-morrow for my departure. I was again employed in writing and copying the whole day, with the exception of the time spent in my walks before dinner and in the evening. Mr. Speyer has lent me his copying-press; but it differs so much from mine that I have not been able to obtain from it a good copy of one paper.

Day. My rising hour, and that of retiring at night, has been generally the same this month as it had been before; my employments also are in a great measure the same. But I passed half the month at Reval, the next ten days on board of the Ulysses, and the remainder here at Stockholm. My dining hour has varied from noon to three hours after. Here I have lived with Mr. Russell, his son, and Mr. Lawrence, his secretary. I have spent two or three hours every day with them, and the rest of the time in reading and answering the letters I have received, and copying my own papers. A more regular day is not to be expected of a traveller.

June 1st. Having determined to take my departure for Gottenburg to-morrow, I called on Mr. Speyer this morning to make my arrangements for that purpose. I gave him fifty Dutch ducats, which he undertook to exchange for Swedish money. I took them with me as the money in most general circulation throughout the North of Europe, but I find there will be some loss upon the exchange of them here. I am obliged to hire a driver for my carriage, the peasants who furnish post-horses being able to drive no other carriages than their little wagons. I must also send on a messenger, a day beforehand, to order my horses at the several stages. I deter-

mined to send on my servant, Axel, as the forebudd to order my horses, and I engaged another man, named Ericson, to drive my carriage. Mr. Speyer recommended me to go from here about six o'clock in the evening, for the convenience of obtaining horses with more certainty. He made out three lists of the stages, which I signed and sealed—the first from hence to Örebro, which I gave to Axel to take on with him. At Örebro he is to wait for my arrival, and then immediately to proceed with the second list, about half-way to Gottenburg. There he is to wait for me again, and then go on the third day's journey, which is to bring me, by this calculation, to Gottenburg. The hours at which he is to order the horses are all marked down on the first list; but I kept the two others, to ascertain by experience how I shall get along by this mode of travelling with my carriage. Axel went from hence between eleven and twelve o'clock this evening. I went with Mr. Speyer to a bookseller's shop and purchased a post map of Sweden.

The English mail of 13th May arrived this day. Mr. Russell had a letter from Mr. Beasley of that date, informing him that the British Government had appointed three Commissioners to meet those of the United States—Admiral Lord Gambier, Mr. Adams, a lawyer, and Mr. Goulburn, a Secretary in the Colonial Department; that the British Government would probably propose in form the removal of the seat of negotiations from Gottenburg to Holland, and that it was to be decided the day after he wrote. I made, however, a draft of a letter to Lord Castlereagh, notifying our appointment, and our readiness to meet the British Commissioners at Gottenburg; which Mr. Russell, after making some alteration in it, signed, and which I am to take on to Gottenburg to be forwarded, if the removal to Holland has not been finally agreed upon.

I went with Mr. Russell, his son, and Mr. Lawrence to the Arsenal, and saw the collection of curiosities deposited there. Complete sets of steel armor for knights, worn by the Kings of Sweden from the time of the Statthalter Birger Jarl, in the thirteenth century, to the Carrousel armors of the two last Kings. Trophies taken in war, from the time of Gustavus Vasa down to the present Crown Prince, inclusively; for there are some

Danish standards taken in Holstein last December. One of them, the man who shows the things told us, the King had sent for last week, to have at the palace at the reception of the Crown Prince, who has arrived at Carlskrona and is expected at Stockholm the day after to-morrow. There is nothing at this place of much curiosity but the clothes of Charles the Twelfth which he wore when he was killed—hat, gloves, coat, waistcoat, breeches, shirt, stockings, upper and under boots, and sword. The stain of blood is yet on the gloves and sword-hilt. There is also a large staff, upon which, it was said, he was leaning when he was killed. The hole made by the bullet through the hat is so precisely at the spot which must have covered the temples, as certainly to countenance the suspicion that he was assassinated. All the remainder of the day I was very busily engaged in writing and preparing for my departure.

2d. The first part of the day, and until dinner-time, I was engaged in writing to St. Petersburg, and finishing the necessary preparations for my departure. My horses had been ordered at five in the afternoon, that I might get away by six. It was about a quarter of an hour later when I actually took leave of Mr. Russell and his son, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Speyer, and started from the door of my lodgings. There had been rain part of the afternoon, and a prospect of foul weather, but it cleared away before I was without the bounds of the city, and the evening was fine. The road at the first three stages from Stockholm, though generally good, was hilly, and the peasants complained that the carriage was too heavy for four horses. I had already added a quarter of an hour to Mr. Speyer's allowance for every stage between Stockholm and Örebro. At Gran, the third post-house, I was already two hours in arrear of my time. I was to have arrived there at midnight, but really reached the place only at two in the morning.

3d. As I alighted from my carriage at Gran, I was accosted by Mr. Connell, who was going from Gottenburg to Stockholm as a special messenger from Mr. Clay to Mr. Russell and me. He gave me, together with the letter from Mr. Clay, more than thirty letters and dispatches, most of which had been forwarded by Mr. Clay. His letter was to enclose copies of a correspond-

ence between Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard and Lord Bathurst, by which, on a proposition from him, assented to by them, the place of the proposed negotiation is transferred from Gottenburg to Ghent, in Flanders. Mr. Clay's letter was dated 31st May, and mentioned his determination to proceed, as yesterday, by land. The John Adams, he observed, was ready to receive us on board, and to sail, if we should choose to go on by water. After a few minutes of deliberation what was most advisable on this occasion for me to do, I determined to continue my journey to Gottenburg. I sealed up again the letter from Mr. Clay with its enclosures, retaining the duplicates of the full powers to treat, which he had also transmitted. I had neither time nor materials for writing to Mr. Russell, and verbally requested Mr. Connell to say to him that I hoped he would use the utmost possible dispatch to join me at Gottenburg, or to give me notice if he should conclude to go on by land. I was detained at Gran exactly one hour, and left it at three in the morning, taking with me all the rest of the dispatches and letters delivered to me by Mr. Connell. I was now three hours in arrear of my time, and continued so the remainder of the day. I travelled two whole stages, to Lislena and Enköping, while reading my letters and dispatches. I stopped another hour to breakfast, at Wästeras, and arrived at Örebro at eleven in the evening. From Gran, I had at every stage one or two hours of waiting-money to pay to the peasants who furnished the horses. The ordinances require them to wait four hours from the time when the horses are ordered. For the first hour they are allowed nothing, but for the three succeeding hours they are entitled to eight schillings banco for each horse by the hour. The fare is from the country post-houses twelve schillings banco per horse and Swedish mile, from the city post-houses sixteen schillings, and from Stockholm thirty-two. A Swedish mile is six and a half English miles. Each peasant furnishes two horses, and goes with them himself. There is at each post-house a peasant called the Hollkarl, whose duty it is to go for the horses, and it usually takes about two hours after they are ordered to procure them. Immediately after arriving at Örebro, I sent on my servant, Axel, with the marche-route,

or list of stages, for to-morrow, until Kallängen, where I calculate upon arriving at eleven to-morrow evening.

4th. Started from Örebro at five of the morning, and arrived at Mosas, the first stage, at six. The horses had been ordered there at that hour, but they were not ready, and I waited half an hour before they came. Just as they arrived, the village clock struck six, and the postmaster appealed to his clock for proof of his punctuality. The succeeding three stages I rode exactly according to my calculation. But at Bodarne, where I arrived between noon and one o'clock, they assured me that the road of that stage was so mountainous and heavy with sand that four horses could not draw my carriage. They had, however, no more than four in readiness for me, and with them I was obliged to depart. The horses themselves were unusually bad; and, after proceeding with them about half a Swedish mile, which took me more than an hour, I found it absolutely impossible to get along with them, and was obliged to send back to the post-house for two more horses. This detained me an hour and a half longer, and even with the six horses it was three full hours more before I reached the stage at Hofva. Thus I was again three hours in arrear of my time. At Haslerör, the next stage, they detained me two hours for horses, and obliged me to pay for the detention occasioned by themselves. Their clocks now were half an hour in advance of the real time, as they had been half an hour behind it this morning. I was obliged here again to take six horses, and to pay for three hours' detention of the horses, the remainder of the road to Kallängen.

5th. I rode again the whole night, and just before seven o'clock this morning arrived at Kallängen, which I had expected to reach at eleven last night. My driver, Niels Ericson, was so exhausted with fatigue that the whole night through he had been continually dropping asleep upon his seat. I stopped about two hours at Kallängen to breakfast, and sent forward Axel, to bespeak the horses at Marslaby. I had still fourteen Swedish miles to Gottenburg, and it was now impossible for me to arrive there this evening. As I was riding the stage to Marslaby, I found, by consulting the post-book, that by adding only two Swedish miles to my journey I could come

this evening to Trolhättan, visit the curiosities of the place to-morrow morning, have a night's repose for myself, and, what was still more necessary, for my driver, and yet reach Gottenburg to-morrow evening. I therefore changed my road from Marslaby, and about ten this evening arrived at Trolhättan.

6th. There was a company of ladies and gentlemen here from Gottenburg, who had come to see the waterfalls and canal, and who had engaged the man who usually shows them to strangers. His name is Strömbom. We all went out in company together at five of the morning. We first saw the canal cut through and blown out of the solid rock, about two English miles long, twenty-two feet wide, and eight feet deep. There are eight locks, forming a descent of one hundred and fifty feet. We saw several vessels coming from Lake Wener descend through three or four of these locks. Strömbom told us that if the canal had been thirty-six feet wide vessels of a size suitable for navigating the ocean might have descended by it; but that it was narrowed to twenty-two feet by the influence of the Gottenburg merchants, for the purpose of securing their own monopoly. On visiting the waterfalls, I immediately recognized them as the same that I had seen in January, 1783. The canal and locks had not then been commenced, but were in contemplation; they were completed in the year 1800. About nine o'clock I returned to the inn, and, having breakfasted, proceeded upon my journey. From Fors to Kärra, and from Lahall, the last stage, to Gottenburg, I took six horses. At both these places I overtook Axel, whom I had sent forward this morning to bespeak the horses, and I waited for them nearly an hour at every stage. Wherever I had six horses, there were three peasants came with me to take them back. One of them, at one of the stages, was a woman, and it is a very common thing at the post-houses in Sweden. The women also row the boats upon the rivers, and in general perform almost every kind of labor which in other countries exclusively belongs to the male sex. The road from Trolhättan to Gottenburg is along the banks of the river called the Gotha-elf, and over a pleasant, though a hilly and rocky country. On the stage between Fors and Kärra I met Count Rosen, the Governor of Gotten-

burg, who was going to Wenersborg. I arrived at Gottenburg between ten and eleven in the evening, and took lodgings at Segerlind's Inn. About half an hour after I arrived came a soldier, and required me to go with him. He took me to a guard-house where there were a lieutenant and two subalterns, only one of whom spoke a very little bad French. He told me I must go with him to the commandant to be examined. The commandant was in bed, but told the lieutenant to take my passport and bring it to him to-morrow morning; upon which the lieutenant turned to me and said, "Vous avez permission d'aller à votre quartier." It was about midnight when I returned to my lodgings.

7th. Mr. Connell arrived this evening from Stockholm, and brought me a letter from Mr. Russell. His intention, he says, is to leave Stockholm this day; and he expects to reach Gottenburg next Friday.

10th. Mr. Russell arrived this afternoon with his son from Stockholm, and we determined to embark on board the corvette John Adams with the first fair wind.

11th. Captain Angus came up this morning from the ship, and informed us that the wind was fair and he was ready to sail. Mr. Russell and myself concluded to go on board this day. I was obliged to take an additional trunk, which Mr. Hall furnished me, to carry the packets of public documents from the Department of State, received here, and four-fifths of which I have not yet had even time to open. I wrote to my wife by this day's post, and, with Mr. Russell, paid a visit in person to the Governor, Count Rosen. He received us with much politeness, and gave us an invitation to dine with him, from which we excused ourselves, being too much engaged in the preparations for our departure. We requested of him passports, which he sent us, to land either in Holland or in the Netherlands. About six this afternoon we came in the ship's boat on board the United States corvette John Adams, Samuel Angus commander. She was lying about three marine miles in the harbor below the town. When we came on board, we were received with the marines under arms, and a salute of thirteen guns was fired. I sent my carriage on board by

a Swedish tender. Mr. Hall came on board with us, and we found Mr. Strong here; also Captain Barron of our navy, who arrived this morning from Copenhagen with the wish to embark in the ship for the United States. He asked my opinion whether he could take a passage in her without a departure from the neutrality of a cartel. I thought he could not, and had expressed the same opinion in relation to fifty or sixty American seamen who are here waiting for an opportunity of returning to America. Mr. Russell being of the same opinion, none of them were admitted. Mr. Connell, a Mr. Pease, and a Mr. Lee, non-combatants, obtained a passage. Mr. Wyer was desirous of going to Ghent, but Mr. Russell objected to taking him. He asked me if I should have any objection against his coming there in any other way. I said, none, provided he should go without any project of commercial speculation; but that I could not imagine he could have any other motive for going there. He finally promised me that he would not go, but proceed directly to his destination in Russia. Captain Barron, Mr. Strong, and Mr. Hall left us to return on shore about ten this evening, immediately after Mr. Connell came on board. My servant, Axel, whom I now dismissed, returned on shore with them. Captain Angus concluded to weigh anchor at three o'clock to-morrow morning.

12th. About four this morning we sailed from the anchoring-place in the harbor of Gottenburg with a fair but very light breeze and fine weather. We passed Wingo Castle in two or three hours, and soon after were entirely out of the harbor and on the Skagerrack. The Skaw light-house was in sight this afternoon, but in the interval our breeze had died away to a calm, and was succeeded by another so scanty that we were obliged to make a tack of four or five hours to clear the Skaw Point. We had land in sight the whole day. I wrote part of a letter, but suffered my journal still to run in arrear. The weather was so fine, and the temptations to conversation so many, that I made not all the improvement of my time that I should have done.

13th. The wind last night and the whole of this day was fair, but so small that our progress was slow; we came down the sleeve, between Norway and Jutland—all the way down in sight

of the Jutland coast. This evening we had entered on the North Sea, and about midnight the wind came round, almost directly ahead. The weather has continued fine, and we have scarcely felt more motion than if we were on shore.

I began the examination of the documents received from the Department of State; and also to retrieve the arrears of my journal. In February, March, and April, 1778, I crossed the Atlantic in an American frigate. From that time until now I have never again been in the same situation, except in the spring of 1779, when I was for some weeks on board the Alliance. I now find the recurrence of many incidents which revive recollections that have been during that long interval buried in oblivion. The John Adams, though a corvette, or sloop-of-war, is nearly of the same size as was the Boston frigate. She carries twenty-two guns, but is now only half armed, having but twelve forty-two-pound carronades.

17th. We were beating to windward from seven o'clock last evening until four this morning, when we tacked again, with a breeze which carried us between nine and ten knots an hour upon a wind. About eight this morning, the land again appeared, and this time it was the Texel. A gun was fired for a pilot, and at ten there were two on board the ship. We were obliged to lay to, and wait for the high tide, about four hours. On the bar, at the entrance of the roads, we had only three and a quarter fathoms of water, and the ship draws eighteen feet. The captain thought her keel struck the ground as we passed. We anchored in one fathom of water, at three in the afternoon. A clerk of Mr. Hoogland, the American Consular Agent at the Helder, immediately came on board, and offered his services. Mr. Connell was going on shore with him, to enquire concerning the best method of going to Amsterdam, when he was met by an officer from the Helder, who obliged him to return to the ship, and came on board himself. He told us that we could not land and proceed to Amsterdam until he should have written to the Minister of Marine and received his answer, which would take four days. We pleaded our office, public character, and business. He finally concluded to refer the matter to his superior, the Brigadier commanding the fleet in the New Diep. Mr.

Connell and Lieutenant Cooper went with him on board the Brigadier's yacht, and returned in less than half an hour. He then came with apologies and excuses, and an order from the Brigadier to give every assistance and show every due distinction to the ship, and that the Ministers should land when they pleased, and proceed by land or by water, as was most agreeable to themselves. We immediately went on shore at the Helder, and called on Mr. Hoogland, who advised us to go by land. He said that unless we should be particularly favored by the wind, the passage by water might take us two or three days. Mr. Russell engaged carriages and horses for himself and his son, and for his baggage, and part of mine, and I bespoke six horses for my carriage—they were to be all at five o'clock to-morrow morning on the beach, and I ordered a lighter to come to the ship and take my carriage on shore at four o'clock. As we left the ship to land, Captain Angus ordered a salute to be fired, intending to salute the commanding Admiral and the fort to-morrow morning. He sent Lieutenant Cooper with us, to see the Admiral (or Brigadier) and arrange with him the salute for the morning. He took, as I had told Captain Angus I thought he would, the salute meant for us as intended for him, and returned it gun for gun, from the fort at the Helder. He apologized for not returning it from the ships, as they were not manned. About eight this evening, we returned for the night to the ship.

18th. It blew almost a gale the whole night, and this morning the wind was so fair for going to Amsterdam, that we might have made the passage in seven or eight hours. We persevered, however, in the determination of going by land, and between four and five in the morning we disembarked from the ship, in the lighter which had come for my carriage. The carriages and horses were waiting for us on the beach, with a blacksmith and coachmaker, to suspend my carriage. They were more than three hours about the work. Mr. Russell therefore started about two hours before me, and waited for me at the first stage, where we breakfasted. The remainder of the day we were on the road to Buchsluyten, opposite to Amsterdam. Here we crossed the Zuider-Zee to the city, and at eight in the

evening I took my lodgings at the Arms of Amsterdam, the same house where I have always lodged on my visits to this city, from the year 1780 until now. Mr. Russell had arrived about half an hour before me, and on going to his chamber I found Mr. Bourne, the Consul, with him. Captain Bates and a Mr. Richards, of Boston, soon afterwards came in, and we sat in conversation about two hours, when, finding myself much fatigued, I retired to my chamber and bed.

The road through North Holland from the Helder was new to me, never having travelled it before. But the face of the country resembles so much what I had so often seen throughout the Province of Holland, that it seemed as if I was at home. It is the season of the year when it appears to the greatest advantage. The meadows are clothed in their most beautiful verdure, and are covered with sheep and cattle. The canals are lively with the constant passage to and fro of the treckschuyts and other boats, and the cleanliness of the houses and villages on the road is such as I had always seen in this country. At the Helder there appears to be some encroachment upon the immemorial usages of the land, particularly in the apparel of the women; but at Purmerend and Schermerhorn, and the other villages on the road, the dress is as it always was. The distance from the Helder is about fifty English miles. We had some expectation of finding Mr. Clay here, but he has not yet arrived.

20th. Mr. Russell having concluded to leave his son at school here, and to take a seat with me in the carriage, to go to Ghent, I determined to send round a part of my baggage by water. Mr. Bourne had recommended to me a man as a servant, but I found he could not write or keep accounts, and therefore that he would not suit me I packed up and sent off two trunks with my mattress, to go to Antwerp, and from thence to Ghent. Mr. Bourne called upon me at one, and we went to see the palace, which was formerly called the Stad-house. It has been travestied to make a palace, and was the residence of Louis Bonaparte when he was King of Holland. The apartments on the lower floor are now appropriated for the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands and his family. On the upper floor there

is a gallery of pictures, almost entirely of the Dutch school, and many of which are excellent paintings. After dining at the table-d'hôte, I walked out with Captain Angus and Mr. Connell to the great dyke opposed to the Zuider-Zee, and upon it, until we came to the sea itself. We returned through the Muyden gate and the Plantagie walk. Mr. Schimmelpenninck, the principal remaining member of the house of Van Staphorst, and brother of the late Senator, called upon me. He told me his brother was in this city, and I promised to call and see him to-morrow morning. Nicholas and Jacob and Rolof van Staphorst are all dead.

21st. I engaged a servant this morning, and, having now no room to take him with me, sent him by the water stage and diligence to meet me at Ghent. We had intended to leave the city this day, but, at Mr. Russell's desire, I agreed to postpone our departure until to-morrow morning. I bespoke four horses for Rotterdam, to be, at five in the morning, with the carriage, at our door. At eleven I called upon the Messrs. Willink, Junrs.—William and John—at their counting-house. They showed me a letter from Messrs. Baring, of London, dated last Friday, mentioning that Mr. Gallatin was still there, and that they knew not when he was to leave that city. I afterwards paid a visit, and had an hour's conversation with Mr. Schimmelpenninck, late a Count and Senator of the French Empire—before that, Grand Pensionary of Holland—whom I had first known in 1794, as a lawyer of high reputation at Amsterdam, and afterwards as member and President of the Batavian National Convention. He has now been some years blind; but, after all the vicissitudes through which he has passed, he appears to retain his cheerfulness and his spirits. His wife is with him, and has the same pleasing and attractive manners which she had when twenty years younger. He resigned his seat in the French Senate before the late changes which excluded the other members, his countrymen. He conversed with as much freedom upon the late events in France as in his peculiar situation could be expected. He expressed some satisfaction at the restoration of his country's independence, and spoke disadvantageously, and somewhat contemptuously,

of Bonaparte. In the evening I went to the French theatre, and saw "Les deux Journées," an opera, music of Cherubini, and "Ambroise, ou Voilà ma Journée," music of D'Alayrac. There is rather too much resemblance between the plot and characters of the two plays; but difference enough in the music. The company of performers is pretty good. I met Mr. John Willink, Junr., there. Between the acts they played two or three times a national Dutch air, and God save the King.

Mr. Clay arrived this afternoon from Hamburg; but he lodged at the Doelen, and it was so late before I returned from the theatre that I did not see him. I had visits from Captain Bates and from Mr. Eves, the latter of whom told me that the Government of the United States had sent out to Spain last November a Mr. Anthony Morris, of Philadelphia, as Minister, but without a formal character. He appeared surprised that I had not been informed of this, and I was myself surprised that nothing about it had been said to me by Mr. Russell. I asked him afterwards, and he said he was not at liberty to say what he knew about it.

22d. I had packed up the principal part of my baggage last night, but found still employment enough until the carriage came to the door, which was punctually at five. We had then another hour of preparation, and left the house precisely at six. We changed horses only once to Rotterdam—at Schouwen. We passed through Haerlem and the Hague without stopping. The road from Haerlem to the Hague is much improved since I was last here, in 1797. I should have wished to stop a day or two at the Hague, but the first and most urgent duty was to repair as speedily as possible to the place of our destination.

I can scarcely account to myself for the sensations which I felt on approaching the Hague, where I resided at several of the most interesting periods of my life. I saw it first at the age of thirteen years, in July, 1780, when I came from Paris to Holland with my father and my brother Charles. In 1783, on my first return from Russia, I lived with the family of C. W. F. Dumas from April to the last of July; in 1784, from January to May, and again, June and July. It was the precise time of my change from boy to man, and has left indelible impressions

upon my memory. From November, 1794, to October, 1795, and from June, 1796, to June, 1797, I dwelt at the Hague on my first public mission from the United States, and at that time commenced the regular diary which I have continued without interruption to this day. It was here that the social passion first disclosed itself with all its impetuosity in my breast. It was here that, ten years later, I made my entrance on the political theatre as a public man. It was not in my command of language to express what I felt on passing through the yard of the house in the wood, and thence through the town along the road between the canal and Ryswick to Delft. It was a confusion of recollections so various, so tender, so melancholy, so delicious, so painful, a mixture so heterogeneous, and yet altogether so sweet, that, if I had been alone, I am sure I should have melted into tears.

At four in the afternoon we came to the gate of Rotterdam, and, without entering the city, dined there, and took fresh horses for Zwyndrecht. We crossed the Maes first about three English miles below Rotterdam, and again from Zwyndrecht to Dortrecht. At Zwyndrecht we changed horses again to Prinsen Polder, and then, having a favorable wind and tide, made the water passage, of about five English miles, to Lage Zwaluwe. From Rotterdam this road was entirely new to me. I had been twice between that place and Antwerp, but both times by the passage of the Moerdyke. It was about eleven at night when we landed at Lage Zwaluwe.

23d. We had ordered our horses at five this morning, and I had agreed with Mr. Russell that we should start at six. We did so, and proceeded, by way of Breda, to Antwerp. The arrangement of the posts here, and the moneys yet circulating, are those of France; but the country is in a state of interregnum—severed from France, and uncertain to whom it is to belong. Austria, France, Holland, and even England, all have pretensions, and the great anxiety of the people is to know who is to be their master. We arrived at Antwerp at three in the afternoon, and, upon enquiry at the post-house, were told that the tide being low we could not cross the river with a carriage till to-morrow morning. We took lodgings for the night at

the Hotel of the Grand Laboureur. I went and delivered a letter of introduction and credit, which Mr. Willink had furnished me, to a Mr. Dutari. He made me offers of service, and excuses for not inviting me to his house, because he had fourteen English soldiers quartered upon him. There is a small English garrison of three or four thousand men now here, and more expected. Mr. Dutari has just returned from Paris. He thinks that this country will belong to England, and will pay off part of the Austrian debt to purchase it. He says that the allies parted at Paris in very ill humor with one another, and all of them excessively dissatisfied with Austria; that Austria is now levying new troops, and that he thinks the Congress at Vienna will not end well; that they are daily expecting here the arrival of English Commissaries to take possession of one-third of the ships of the fleet and one-half of the materials of those upon the stocks; that the English are sending troops and taking possession of all the sea-ports on the coast; and that the Hollanders will certainly be disappointed in their expectations of having this country annexed to them. In the evening we went to the theatre. Saw "Les deux Ages," an opéra comique; "Arlequin apprentif Magicien," a pantomime; and rope-dancing, by Madame Sacchi. The plays were both very indifferent, and not well performed; but the rope-dancing was superior to anything I had ever seen of that kind. But it was more painful than pleasing—a continual effort to do more than they could accomplish, frequent failures, several falls, and more than once with imminent danger of broken bones. The house was crowded, and half filled with English officers. We sat in the stage-box, with a family of French ladies and children before us. A gentleman accosted me, to remark that he supposed I was the father of those children. I answered him that I was a stranger. He said that he was himself the father of three children; that he had married Mademoiselle Storch, the most beautiful young lady of Antwerp, and that she was eighteen years old when they were married. He soon afterwards addressed the ladies, and asked the mother who she was. The husband, who afterwards came in, amused himself with the appearance of the English officers in the opposite boxes—their

round faces, their portly bellies. He said it was a pleasant thing to see such wholesome, full-fed bodies; that they prided themselves upon it; that the English thought it an excellent joke to laugh at the lanthorn jaws and spindle shanks of the Frenchmen. "And truly," said he, "they take special good care of their bodies. On voit que la partie animale est bien soignée." The house was very warm, and I was so much fatigued as to be thoroughly weary before the play finished.

24th. Saint John's day, and the day of our arrival at Ghent. We came down to the ferry about nine in the morning, and were obliged to wait there an hour and a half before we could cross it. We saw several ships of the line on the river, with the white flag, and thirteen large ships on the stocks—eight of the line, and five frigates, all of which are to be demolished and half the materials to be delivered up to the English. At the "Tête de Flandre," where we landed, there was a dispute between the postmaster and some collecting officers, new-comers, which of them should not receive our money for the turnpikes. The postmaster was at last obliged to receive it. We came through St. Nicholas and Lokeren to Ghent, where we arrived at four in the afternoon, and took lodgings at the Hôtel des Pays-Bas, on the Place d'Armes, the best public house in the city. I dined in my chamber alone, Mr. Russell having been the whole day quite unwell. Towards evening I took a walk round the city, and wrote part of a letter. At an early hour I retired for the night. The distance from Antwerp here is six and a half posts—about thirty English miles; the road a perfect level, and well paved; the country a continual garden. The fields of wheat, rye, barley, and flax on both sides of the road left scarcely an interval between them. They appear now in their fullest beauty, some of them almost ready for the harvest, the others less advanced, but all waving above the ground and in their fairest verdure. The road is bordered on both sides with large and shady trees—elms, lime-trees, and poplars, with a younger growth of oaks planted between the old trees, and too near them to flourish. From their size, they must have been planted shortly after this country came into the possession of France. We saw likewise one or two

nurseries of young oaks. But in general these trees, although they appeared to have been much cherished, had not a healthy aspect. The soil does not seem to be favorable to their growth. When we alighted at the house, the landlady enquired if it was Mr. Bayard; Colonel Milligan had been here the day before yesterday, and, after engaging apartments for him, had gone upon a tour to Lille, from which he had not returned. One of the singularities which we met with in this country, and which as much as anything indicates its condition, is the multitude and diversity of the coins in circulation. The French weights, measures, and coins have been established by law and provisionally confirmed by the present temporary Government; but the people most commonly reckon according to the old Austrian currency. In the short space of our journey since yesterday morning we have received coins of Maria Theresa, Joseph II., Louis Seize Roi des Français, Union et force five-franc pieces, Bonaparte Premier Consul, Napoleon Empereur, République Française, Italian Napoleon lire, and finally Monnoie Obsidionale d'Anvers, copper coins of five and ten centimes, struck during the late siege of Antwerp. Dutch florins and stuivers also pass, but at a discount of ten or fifteen per cent.

25th. We found the city in no small bustle of agitation, expecting hourly the arrival here of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia. I saw a proclamation placarded on the walls, signed by the Mayor of the city, Philippe Comte de Lens, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and by the Intendant D'Hane de Steenhuyse. It stated that, by a letter from the Gouverneur-Général de la Belgique, it was probable that the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia would land on the 25th instant at Ostend, and that they would pass through this city on their way to Antwerp. In consideration of which, and to receive with all suitable pomp these sovereigns and their illustrious suite, the programme, in eight articles, was ordained by the Mayor, with the approbation of the Intendant. 1. Upon the arrival of their Majesties, the bells and chimes are to ring. 2. The ringing and chiming is to be repeated several times throughout the day. 3. The Mayor, his adjoints, the Municipal Council of the city, the five Confréries, and the Society of St.

Cecilia are to go out and meet the two monarchs. The Mayor is to harangue them. 4. They are to enter at the Porte de Bruges, and to proceed through certain streets and squares to the hotel of the Intendant, unless their Majesties should order otherwise. 5. No carriages are to *circulate* in the parts of the city through which they will pass. 6. The streets are to be strewed with flowers and green foliage. 7. At eight o'clock in the evening is to commence a general illumination. 8. Copies of the programme are to be sent to suitable persons.

The Prussian troops, of which there is here a garrison of six or seven thousand men, were under arms almost the whole day. Mr. Russell and I sent a messenger to the Mayor of the city to enquire when it would suit his convenience to receive his visit. He was not at home, but came in the afternoon, about four, with a gentleman, I suppose his adjoint, both in full costume, with their official sashes, and paid me a visit. The Mayor made many obliging offers of service to the mission, with the object of which he was acquainted, and particularly offered to provide us a place for holding the conferences, if we should desire it.

26th. All the bustle of yesterday was again renewed this day in expectation of the Emperor of Russia, for it is now understood that the King of Prussia will not come here. He is to land at Calais and go through France. One of his aides-de-camp passed here this day and showed the itinerary of the Emperor, according to which he is to go from Ostend to Antwerp in one day, and of course to make no stay here. The troops were under arms again the greatest part of the day. I received an invitation from the Mayor to the American Envoys to attend the ball to be given on the occasion of the Emperor's passage; and the Mayor himself paid me a visit, and extended the invitation to all the persons attached to the mission, and generally to any person whom we should think proper to introduce. He also told me that he heard we were looking out for furnished apartments; that we should not easily find any that would accommodate us; but that the house where General Bülow had lodged would probably be at liberty in a few days; that we might perhaps hire it by the month, and that part of the furniture now in it belonged to the city, and should be left

in it for our use. I walked out this morning and went into a church, where there was a priest officiating at the altar—but few persons there, and those of the lowest classes. I saw a notification that there would be this day at the Cathedral a solemn mass said for the return of his Holiness the Pope to Rome, and for the return of the bishop of this city here. He was one of the bishops who had been imprisoned in 1811 by the Emperor Napoleon.

29th. Soon after I arose this morning I saw the troops again under arms in front of my chamber-windows, and an extraordinary activity among them indicated the approach of the Emperor of Russia. The bells and the carillon began soon afterwards to ring. About eleven o'clock I went out, and followed the crowd to one of the streets through which he was to pass. He passed just at noon, on horseback, with a suite of fifteen or twenty officers. He was distinguished from them only by the greater simplicity of his dress—a plain green uniform, without any decoration, and even without facings. Very few of the crowd knew him as he passed. He stopped about ten minutes at one of the squares, while a Prussian regiment, drawn up there, defiled before him. He afterwards stopped again, while a French regiment of the garrison of Hamburg passed. But he went through the city and immediately proceeded on his journey to Antwerp. It rained almost the whole day, and there was a heavy shower while he rode through the city. He had entered it, however, in an open calèche, that everybody might have an opportunity of seeing him. His condescension and affability were, as usual, conspicuous. The bells and carillon rang several times in the course of the day. In the evening Messrs. Bayard, Clay, Shaler, Milligan, and myself went to the ball at the Hôtel de Ville. There were two or three hundred persons at the ball. The ladies not remarkable either for beauty or elegance. We stayed about two hours, and returned to our lodgings before midnight. This afternoon Mr. Clay gave me the papers, addressed to the mission, which he had received by the Chauncey at Gottenburg; and, as there are now four of the five Commissioners here, it was agreed that we should have a meeting in my chamber at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

30th. At eleven o'clock this morning the American Commissioners now here had a meeting at my chamber. Mr. Bayard, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Russell attended it. The conversation was desultory, and came only to the result of determining to send the John Adams home as soon as may be convenient; and of writing to Mr. Beasley, to obtain a passport for her from the British Admiralty. We agreed also to order two English newspapers to be sent us, and several other articles of necessity. We proposed to have regular meetings, and to keep a journal of our proceedings, when we shall all be assembled. We received information that Mr. Gallatin had arrived in Paris.

July 2d. Messrs. Bayard, Clay, Russell, and myself went at noon to pay visits to Count d'Hane Steenhuyse, the Intendant, and to the Count de Lens, the Mayor of the city. The Intendant was not at his house, and we left cards. We met the Mayor in the street as we were going to his house. He told us he thought General Bülow would go to-morrow, and that we could see the house immediately afterwards.

8th. Prince Henry left this city about noon. I dined again at the table-d'hôte, at one. The other gentlemen dined together, at four. They sit after dinner and drink bad wine and smoke cigars, which neither suits my habits nor my health, and absorbs time which I cannot spare. I find it impossible, even with the most rigorous economy of time, to do half the writing that I ought.

9th. The American Ministers had this day a meeting in my chamber, from twelve o'clock noon until four. All the members were present, and we had a general conversation upon a variety of objects relating to our own situation here, and to our present mission. We agreed to have in future daily meetings, and to meet again in my chamber at twelve o'clock on Monday. I proposed the question whether we should make an official communication to the British Government of our being here, waiting for their Commissioners. This was not agreed to; but it was determined that a letter to our own Government should be written, to inform the Secretary of State that we are here, and transmit copies of the correspondence relating to the removal of the seat of negotiation from Gottenburg to Ghent.

There was much discussion, but no final determination, with regard to our personal arrangements during our residence here. I think it will be very short; but the other gentlemen are all of a different opinion. They calculate upon passing the winter here. It is impossible to form a decisive opinion upon the subject until the British Commissioners arrive. There was also much conversation respecting the manner of keeping the books of the mission, and the obligations of the Secretary. It was finally understood that in the books were to be copied only the papers of which there is but one copy; that the individual members of the mission must provide for the keeping of their own books; that they have a right to ask the Secretary for copies of particular papers which they may want; and that Mr. Shaler is to assist Mr. Hughes in the copying which may be found necessary. We adjourned at four o'clock, and I dined with my colleagues, as I propose to do hereafter, Mr. Clay having expressed some regret that I had withdrawn from their table yesterday.

11th. I am this day forty-seven years of age. Two-thirds of the period allotted to the life of man are gone by for me. I have not improved them as I ought to have done. I pray God that of the remainder so large a portion may not be lost; that my children may all survive me, and all be in their day and generation wiser and better men than their father.

The American Ministers met in my chamber at noon. My draft of a dispatch to the Secretary of State was read, agreed to with some alterations, and I gave it to Mr. Hughes to be copied. We discussed various other topics relating to the affairs of the mission; and a question concerning the accountability for the contingent expenses authorized by individual members was left unsettled. Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell, on their arrival at Gottenburg, sent Mr. Lewis as a special messenger with dispatches to me, and promised that his expenses should be paid. Mr. Bayard, with approbation of Mr. Gallatin, sent Colonel Milligan as a special messenger to Gottenburg, to negotiate with Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell for the change of the place of negotiation, and engaged that his expenses should be paid, going and returning, with some expectation even of

further compensation. Mr. Clay sent Mr. Carroll to Paris, as a special messenger to Mr. Crawford, with a promise that his expenses should be paid. But Mr. Crawford has taken that as a contingency of his legation. Mr. Clay sent Mr. Connell as a special messenger from Gottenburg to Mr. Russell and me, at Stockholm, with the agreement for the removal to Ghent, and engaged that his expenses, going and returning, should be paid. Mr. Clay says he understood from the Secretary of State that we should send special messengers as often as we could, and rather make than miss the occasions for them. I should not have sent one of the messengers hitherto employed, neither were they in either of the cases at all necessary. Mr. Lewis has now sent his account, about two hundred dollars, to authorize the payment of which Mr. Clay applies to the whole mission. We are to take the subject up again.

13th. The mission had a meeting from twelve at noon until two. We assorted all the papers that are to be copied into the general letter-book of the mission. Marshal Prince Blücher passed through this city upon his return from England; he dined at this house, but I did not see him.

15th. Meeting of the Ministers at twelve o'clock. The report that the British Commissioners had arrived was a mistake. The Mayor had told it to Mr. Meulemeester.

18th. I had promised Mr. Meulemeester to call upon him about two o'clock this afternoon, to go with him and see the public library belonging to the city; but, as the mission had its ordinary meeting at noon, with which we were occupied until nearly four o'clock, I could not go. I proposed that we should deliberate upon the subjects mentioned in our instructions, and endeavor to prepare something upon the principal points referred to in them, to have it ready upon the arrival of the British Commissioners. I instanced the article concerning impressment, and mentioned the difficulty which there would be in attempting to draw it up. Some essays to that end were made by Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin. It was found we had not here a set of the laws and treaties of the United States, without which we cannot proceed. Mr. Bayard has, however, a set on board the Neptune, at Antwerp. We had some consultation

as to the best mode of proceeding with the British Commissioners, whether by verbal conferences or by written communications; but this must also be concerted with them—whether we should make or receive the first propositions, and whether they should be a mere summary statement of the objects to be discussed, or the formal projects of a treaty. It was supposed that this last would be unnecessary, as there is every probability that we shall break off upon the basis of the negotiation, and shall have no occasion for coming to the details. If we should come to the formal project of a treaty, it was suggested by Mr. Bayard that it would be advisable to give and receive the reciprocal projects at the same time, with the understanding that each party should include in his project every point intended by him to be brought into discussion. The result of this meeting was to convince me of the necessity of applying immediately and closely to our business; but I immediately found the want of the Laws and Treaties.

19th. I had been charged to draw up a project of an article on the subject of impressment, but found it useless to make the attempt without having the United States Laws and Treaties to refer to. At the meeting this day Mr. Bayard agreed to send to Antwerp for his trunk containing the Laws of the United States, and I engaged to make an abstract, or index, to all the subjects enjoined upon our attention by our instructions.

20th. I went with Mr. Clay to the Hôtel de Ville, which was formerly the imperial palace, and we saw the ceremony of the "mariage civil" performed by the adjoint Mayor of the city. There were about twenty couples to be married this day. We saw six or seven of them go through the ceremony, which was very short. It appeared to consist only in the calling over the names, age, and characters of the parties and their witnesses, who were usually five or six. A short passage from the register was then read by the clerk, in Flemish, and the Mayor delivered a paper to the bridegroom—I suppose the certificate of the marriage. There was a brass box on the table, into which each of the parties put a small piece of money, and which was probably a charity for the poor. The brides were all ugly, and almost all apparently older than the bridegrooms.

August 1st. About ten o'clock the municipal procession passed by our house. I immediately went out and followed them with the crowd. They marched to the Hôtel de Ville, and proceeded to the hall where the distribution of the prizes was to be made. I found a seat on one of the benches. The Intendant of the department, the Mayor, and the Municipal Council soon after entered, and took seats upon a stage erected at one end of the hall. The Mayor read a speech from a printed pamphlet. He announced the occasion of this distribution of prizes to be the exertions of the adjoint Mayor, Mr. Verhaeggen, of the Commanders of the City Foot and Horse Guards, of the five Fraternities, and of the Society of St. Cecilia, for the preservation of tranquillity, and the protection of property, on the late change, after the French authorities had disappeared, and before others had taken their place. The Deputy Mayor had a large silver medallion, and a smaller gold one; the Commander of the City Foot Guard, a sword; the Commander of the Horse Guard, a sabre; the five Fraternities, each a silver medal; the Society of St. Cecilia, the same, and also a stand of colors richly embroidered. The Intendant and the Mayor distributed the prizes. The Commander of the Horse Guard, on receiving the sabre, made a speech, and said if any future danger should arise, it should be used for the defence of the city. An officer in uniform, one of the members of the Society of St. Cecilia, sung a hymn, à la Reconnoissance, written and composed for the occasion, of which printed copies were circulated, as well as of the Mayor's speech. This ceremony lasted about an hour, and when it was over I returned home. At three in the afternoon there was another at the same place, to which we were all invited. To this we went in company with the Intendant and Mayor, and were seated next to them on the stage. The Mayor, the President of the Academy of Fine Arts, a lawyer named Hellebaut, and the Intendant read speeches, after which the victors were proclaimed, and the prizes given for the best works of painting, drawing, and architecture, exposed at the saloon. We were requested to take a part in the distribution of the prizes, and each of us delivered one of them to one of the successful candidates. There was a flourish of

horns and clarions every time that a prize was given. The pupil who had obtained the first prize of architecture read a speech, to return thanks in the name of the victors. When these ceremonies were finished, we passed into another hall, and were requested, each of us, to return home with one of the pupils who had obtained a prize. I went in company with one of the directors of the academy, and a lad about fifteen years, named Maligo. The streets in the neighborhood of where the victors lived were hung with evergreens and flowers in bloom. In the evening they were illuminated. The father of the youth with whom I went is a goldsmith, and apparently very poor. He and the mother appeared, however, to be much delighted with the success of their son. The boy presented to the gentleman who took him home a letter requesting his friendly assistance to get him and his father a place as clerk in some public office, or for himself in some counting-house. The gentleman gave it to me, but I could not obtain what the lad wanted. It was six in the evening before we reached home to dinner, and Messrs. Hughes, Dallas, Milligan, and Carroll dined with us. Mr. Shaler and Mr. Ecky came in after dinner. The Society of St. Cecilia came and serenaded us at our door while we were at dinner. We invited them in, but they declined. At ten in the evening we went to the ball given by the President and Directors of the Society of the Fine Arts. The hall where they were assembled was small, and much crowded with company. I knew scarcely a person there.

3d. Mr. Gallatin and I attended this morning at a sitting of the Cour d'Assize, or Criminal Tribunal. We had seats assigned to us, and the President of the tribunal addressed us in a short complimentary speech, which, on the motion of the Accusateur Publique, or Attorney-General, was ordered to be entered on the records of the Court. There were, besides the President, four judges on the bench. Their dress was a black gown, over which the President had a scarlet surplice. There were present only two lawyers, the public accuser, and the prisoner's counsel, or défenseur officieux. The jury appeared to consist altogether of gentlemen. Mr. Meulemeester was one of them. The trial was of a man charged with having written

three incendiary letters to extort money. The letters were produced, and French translations of them were read. The witnesses were then heard, but only one by one; they were all sent out of Court, and then called in successively. The proceedings were in French, but the witnesses and the prisoner spoke altogether in Flemish. There was an interpreter, who translated what was said by them and by the President. There was a continued interrogatory of the prisoner, who was always called upon to say what he had to answer to the testimony of each witness, after it was delivered. The leaning of the Court, or rather of the President, was very hard against the prisoner, and his answers before the judge who committed him were continually referred to as contradictory to those he gave now. His counsel once ventured to object that the Court was asking leading questions, but he was instantly silenced by the President, who declared he had a right, and that it was his duty, to use every means to discover the truth, and advised the counsel to keep within his own bounds. At one time two of the judges were speaking together, and the President turned to them and said, "Taisez-vous, Messieurs—c'est à dire, s'il vous plaît." The Attorney-General observed that many of the words in the incendiary letters were misspelt, and in a very extraordinary way. He proposed that the clerk should dictate to the prisoner to write the same words, and that the spelling in the two papers might be compared together—which was done. The Court adjourned between one and two o'clock until half-past three, to hear the remaining witnesses; and to-morrow the cause is to be argued by the counsel.

Thus far the record has given only the proceedings preliminary to the assemblage of the Commissioners of the two sovereign powers on the important duty of restoring peace. The details of the negotiation will be better understood if kept entirely together: hence it has been deemed best to embrace them all in the next volume.

END OF VOL. II.